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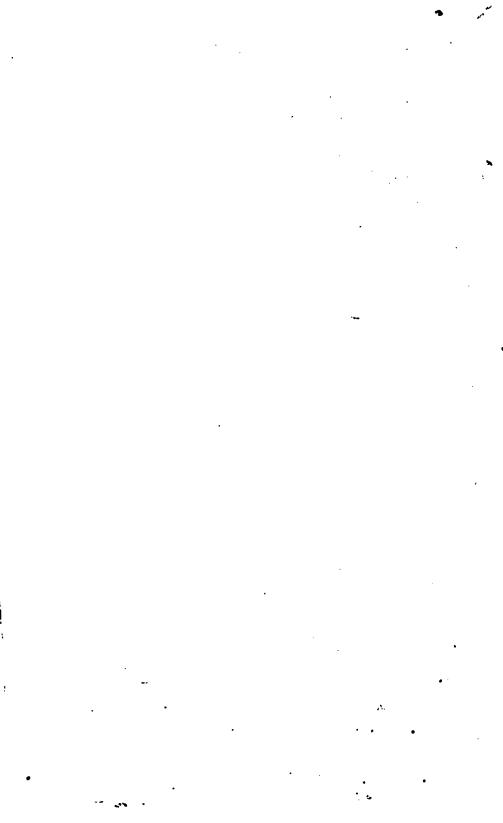
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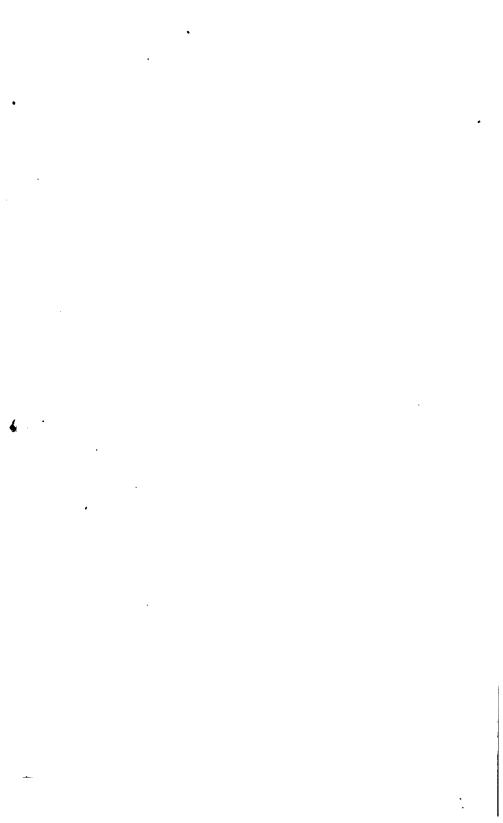
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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., March 11, 1908.

SIR: I have the honor to submit herewith for publication, subject to your approval, as Bulletin 40, Part 1, of this Bureau, the manuscript of a portion of the Handbook of American Indian Languages, prepared under the editorial supervision of Dr. Franz Boas.

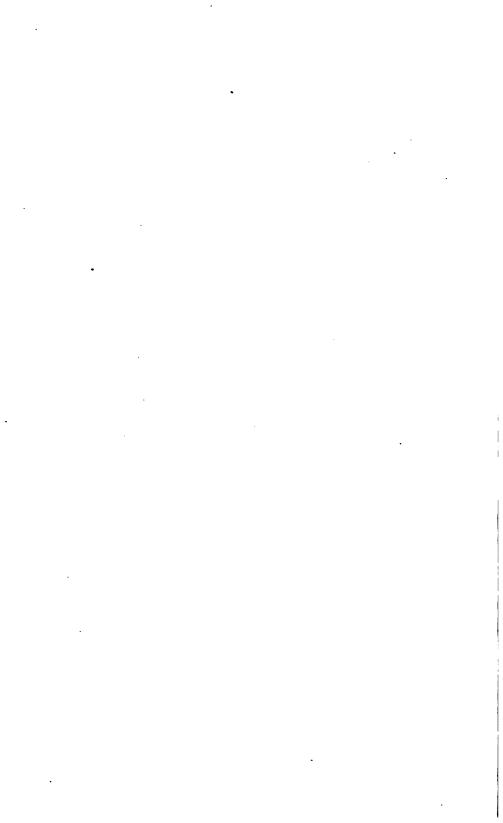
Yours, respectfully,

W: H. Holmes,

Chief.

Dr. CHARLES D. WALCOTT,

Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.



PREFACE

The Handbook of American Indian Languages, the first Part of which is here presented, had its inception in an attempt to prepare a revised edition of the "Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages," by Major J. W. Powell.

During the first twenty years of the existence of the Bureau of American Ethnology much linguistic material had been accumulated by filling in the schedules contained in Major Powell's Introduction, and in this manner many vocabularies had been collected, while the essential features of the morphology of American languages remained unknown.

It seemed particularly desirable to call attention, in a new edition of the Introduction, to the essential features of the morphology and phonetics of American languages, and to emphasize the necessity of an analytical study of grammar. The object next to be attained by linguistic studies of American languages is a knowledge of their phonetic processes and of the psychological foundation of their structure. The former of these objects has hardly been attempted; knowledge of the latter has been obscured by the innumerable attempts to represent the grammars of Indian languages in a form analogous to that of the European grammars.

It was originally intended to give a somewhat elaborate introduction, setting forth the essential psychological characteristics of American languages; but with the development of the plan of work it was found necessary to relegate this discussion to the end of the whole work, because without a somewhat detailed discussion of the various languages the essential points can not be substantiated by reliable evidence.

I have not attempted to give either exhaustive grammars or exhaustive discussions of phonetics, because the object of the whole work has been to describe as clearly as possible those psychological principles of each language which may be isolated by an analysis of grammatical forms. A detailed discussion of phonetics and of the probable historical development of grammatical forms belongs rather to detailed studies of linguistic stocks, which should be the next step in the progress of our knowledge of American languages.

In the collection of the material embodied in the present volume, I have been liberally assisted by investigators employed by a number

VI PREFACE

of institutions, particularly the American Museum of Natural History and the University of California. Most of the material contained in the first Part, except that contained in the sketches of the Athapascan, by Dr. P. E. Goddard, and of the Eskimo, by Dr. William Thalbitzer, was collected in connection with extended ethnological research conducted under the joint auspices of these institutions and the Bureau of American Ethnology; and the grammatical sketches are based on the discussion of texts published by the Bureau of American Ethnology and by other institutions, and which are referred to in the various sketches.

The work of collecting and of revision has extended over the period from 1897 to 1908. Lack of funds prevented a more rapid completion of the work.

I desire to express my sincere thanks to the collaborators who have contributed to the volume, and who have willingly adopted the general plan of presentation of grammar outlined by the editor.

FRANZ BOAS.

NEW YORK, February 26, 1910.



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BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

38

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HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

BY

FRANZ BOAS

PART 1

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE SKETCHES

By ROLAND B. DIXON, P. E. GODDARD, WILLIAM JONES
AND TRUMAN MICHELSON, JOHN R. SWANTON,
AND WILLIAM THALBITZER



WASHINGTON GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

1911

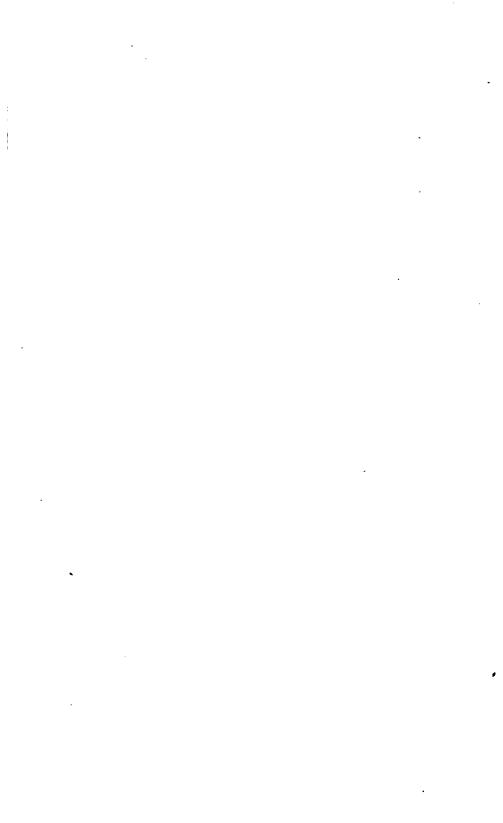
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(A. A. Zhalest)

The word will

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BY

FRANZ BOAS



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INTRODUCTION

By Franz Boas

I. RACE AND LANGUAGE

Early Attempts to Determine the Position of the American Race

When Columbus started on his journey to reach the Indies, sailing westward, and discovered the shores of America, he beheld a new race of man, different in type, different in culture, different in language, from any known before that time. This race resembled neither the European types, nor the negroes, nor the better-known races of southern Asia. As the Spanish conquest of America progressed, other peoples of our continent became known to the invaders, and all showed a certain degree of outer resemblance, which led the Spaniards to designate them by the term "Indios" (Indians), the inhabitants of the country which was believed to be part of India. Thus the mistaken geographical term came to be applied to the inhabitants of the New World; and owing to the contrast of their appearance to that of other races, and the peculiarities of their cultures and their languages, they came to be in time considered as a racial unit.

The same point of view still prevailed when the discoveries included more extended parts of the New World. The people with whom the Spaniards and Portuguese came into contact in South America, as well as the inhabitants of the northern parts of North America, all seemed to partake so much of the same characteristics, that they were readily classed with the natives first discovered, and were considered as a single race of mankind.

It was only when our knowledge of the Indian tribes increased, that differences between the various types of man inhabiting our continent became known. Differences in degree of culture, as well as differences in language, were recognized at an early time. Much later came a recognition of the fact that the Indians of our continent differ in type as much among themselves as do the members of other races.

As soon as investigators began to concern themselves with these questions, the problem of the position of the natives of America among the races of mankind came to be of considerable interest, and speculations in regard to their origin and relationships occur even in the early descriptions of the New World.

Among the earlier attempts we find particularly endeavors to prove that certain parts of the beliefs and customs of the Indians agree with those of the Old World. Such agreements were considered proof that the Indians belong to one of the races enumerated in biblical history; and the theory that they represent the lost tribes of Israel was propounded frequently, and has held its own for a long time. In a similar way were traced analogies between the languages of the New World and those of the Old World, and many investigators believe even now that they have established such relationships. Attempts were also made to prove similarities in appearance between the American races and other races, and thus to determine their position among the races of the Old World.

Classifications based on Physical Type, Language, and Customs

The problems involved in the determination of the relations of the various races have been approached from two different points of view—either the attempt has been made to assign a definite position to a race in a classificatory system of the races of man, or the history of the race has been traced as far back as available data may permit.

The attempts to classify mankind are numerous. Setting aside the classifications based on biblical tradition, and considering only those that are based on scientific discussion, we find a number of attempts based on comparisons of the anatomical characteristics of mankind, combined with geographical considerations; others are based on the discussion of a combination of anatomical and cultural character-

istics—traits which are considered as characteristic of certain groups of mankind; while still others are based primarily on the study of the languages spoken by people representing a certain anatomical type.

The attempts that have thus been made have led to entirely different results. Blumenbach, one of the first scientists who attempted to classify mankind, first distinguished five races—the Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay. It is fairly clear that this classification is based as much on geographical as on anatomical considerations, although the description of each race is primarily an anatomical one. Cuvier distinguished three races—the white, yellow, and black. Huxley proceeds more strictly on a biological basis. He combines part of the Mongolian and American races of Blumenbach into one, assigns part of the South Asiatic peoples to the Australian type, and subdivides the European races into a dark and a light division. The numerical preponderance of the European types has evidently led him to make finer distinctions in this race, which he divides into the xanthochroic and melanochroic races. would be easy to make subdivisions of equal value in other races. Still clearer is the influence of cultural points of view in classifications like those of Gobineau and Klemm (who distinguishes the active and passive races), according to the cultural achievements of the various types of man.

The most typical attempt to classify mankind from a consideration of both anatomical and linguistic points of view is that of Friederich Müller, who takes as the basis of his primary divisions the form of hair, while all the minor divisions are based on linguistic considerations.

Relations between Physical Type, Language, and Customs

An attempt to correlate the numerous classifications that have been proposed shows clearly a condition of utter confusion and contradiction. If it were true that anatomical form, language, and culture are all closely associated, and that each subdivision of mankind is characterized by a certain bodily form, a certain culture, and a certain language, which can never become separated, we might expect that the results of the various investigations would show better agreement. If, on the other hand, the various phenomena which were made the leading points in the attempt at classification are not

closely associated, then we may naturally expect such contradictions and lack of agreement as are actually found.

It is therefore necessary, first of all, to be clear in regard to the significance of anatomical characteristics, language, and culture, as characteristic of any subdivision of mankind.

It seems desirable to consider the actual development of these various traits among the existing races.

Permanence of Physical Type; Changes in Language and Culture

At the present period we may observe many cases in which a complete change of language and culture takes place without a corresponding change in physical type. This is true, for instance, among the North American negroes, a people by descent largely African; in culture and language, however, essentially European. While it is true that certain survivals of African culture and language are found among our American negroes, their culture is essentially that of the uneducated classes of the people among whom they live, and their language is on the whole identical with that of their neighbors—English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, according to the prevalent language in various parts of the continent. It might be objected that the transportation of the African race to America was an artificial one, and that in earlier times extended migrations and transplantations of this kind have not taken place.

The history of medieval Europe, however, shows clearly that extended changes in language and culture have taken place many times without corresponding changes in blood.

Recent investigations of the physical types of Europe have shown with great clearness that the distribution of types has remained the same for a long period. Without considering details, it may be said that an Alpine type can easily be distinguished from a north-European type on the one hand, and a south-European type on the other. The Alpine type appears fairly uniform over a large territory, no matter what language may be spoken and what national culture may prevail in the particular district. The central-European Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, and Slavs are so nearly of the same type that we may safely assume a considerable degree of blood relationship, notwithstanding their linguistic differences.

Instances of similar kind, in which we find permanence of blood with far-reaching modifications of language and culture, are found in other parts of the world. As an example may be mentioned the Veddah of Ceylon, a people fundamentally different in type from the neighboring Singhalese, whose language they seem to have adopted, and from whom they have also evidently borrowed a number of cultural traits. Still other examples are the Japanese of the northern part of Japan, who are undoubtedly, to a considerable extent, Ainu in blood; and the Yukaghir of Siberia, who, while retaining to a great extent the old blood, have been assimilated in culture and language by the neighboring Tungus.

Permanence of Language; Changes of Physical Type

While it is therefore evident that in many cases a people, without undergoing a considerable change in type by mixture, have changed completely their language and culture, still other cases may be adduced in which it can be shown that a people have retained their language while undergoing material changes in blood and culture, or in both.

As an example of this may be mentioned the Magyar of Europe, who have retained their old language, but have become mixed with people speaking Indo-European languages, and who have, to all intents and purposes, adopted European culture.

Similar conditions must have prevailed among the Athapascans, one of the great linguistic families of North America. The great body of people speaking languages belonging to this linguistic stock live in the northwestern part of America, while other dialects are spoken by small tribes in California, and still others by a large body of people in Arizona and New Mexico. The relationship between all these dialects is so close that they must be considered as branches of one large group, and it must be assumed that all of them have sprung from a language once spoken over a continuous area. the present time the people speaking these languages differ fundamentally in type, the inhabitants of the Mackenzie river region being quite different from the tribes of California, and these, again, differing from the tribes of New Mexico. The forms of culture in these different regions are also quite distinct; the culture of the California Athapascans resembles that of other Californian tribes, while the culture of the Athapascans of New Mexico and Arizona is influenced by that of other peoples of that area. It seems most plausible to assume in this case that branches of this stock migrated from one part of this large area to another, where they intermingled with the neighboring people, and thus changed their physical characteristics, while at the same time they retained their speech. Without historical evidence this process can not, of course, be proved. I shall refer to this example later on.

Changes of Language and Type

These two phenomena—a retention of type with a change of language, and a retention of language with a change of typeapparently opposed to each other, are still very closely related, and in many cases go hand in hand. An example of this is, for instance, the distribution of the Arabs along the north coast of Africa. On the whole, the Arab element has retained its language; but at the same time intermarriages with the native races were common, so that the descendants of the Arabs have often retained the old language and have changed their type. On the other hand, the natives have to a certain extent given up their own languages, but have continued to intermarry among themselves and have thus preserved their type. So far as any change of this kind is connected with intermixture, both types of changes must always occur at the same time, and will be classed as a change of type or a change of language, as our attention is directed to the one people or the other, or, in some cases, as the one or the other change is more pronounced. Cases of complete assimilation without any mixture of the people involved seem to be rare, if not entirely absent.

Permanence of Type and Language; Change of Culture

Cases of permanence of type and language and of change of culture are much more numerous. As a matter of fact, the whole historical development of Europe, from prehistoric times on, is one endless series of examples of this process, which seems to be much easier, since assimilation of cultures occurs everywhere without actual blood mixture, as an effect of imitation. Proof of diffusion of cultural elements may be found in every single cultural area which covers a district in which many languages are spoken. In North America, California offers a good example of this kind; for here many languages are spoken, and there is a certain degree of differentiation of type, but at the same time a considerable uniformity of culture pre-

vails. Another case in point is the coast of New Guinea, where, notwithstanding strong local differentiations, a certain fairly characteristic type of culture prevails, which goes hand in hand with a strong differentiation of languages. Among more highly civilized peoples, the whole area which is under the influence of Chinese culture might be given as an example.

These considerations make it fairly clear that, at least at the present time, anatomical type, language, and culture have not necessarily the same fates; that a people may remain constant in type and language and change in culture; that they may remain constant in type, but change in language; or that they may remain constant in language and change in type and culture. If this is true, then it is obvious that attempts to classify mankind, based on the present distribution of type, language, and culture, must lead to different results, according to the point of view taken; that a classification based primarily on type alone will lead to a system which represents, more or less accurately, the blood relationships of the people, which do not need to coincide with their cultural relationships; and that, in the same way, classifications based on language and culture do not need at all to coincide with a biological classification.

If this be true, then a problem like the much discussed Aryan problem really does not exist, because the problem is primarily a linguistic one, relating to the history of the Aryan languages; and the assumption that a certain definite people whose members have always been related by blood must have been the carriers of this language throughout history; and the other assumption, that a certain cultural type must have always belonged to this people—are purely arbitrary ones and not in accord with the observed facts.

Hypothesis of Original Correlation of Type, Language, and Culture

Nevertheless, it must be granted, that in a theoretical consideration of the history of the types of mankind, of languages, and of cultures, we are led back to the assumption of early conditions during which each type was much more isolated from the rest of mankind than it is at the present time. For this reason, the culture and the language belonging to a single type must have been much more sharply separated from those of other types than we find them to be at the present period. It is true that such a condition has nowhere

been observed; but the knowledge of historical developments almost compels us to assume its existence at a very early period in the development of mankind. If this is true, the question would arise, whether an isolated group, at an early period, was necessarily characterized by a single type, a single language, and a single culture, or whether in such a group different types, different languages, and different cultures may have been represented.

The historical development of mankind would afford a simpler and clearer picture, if we were justified in assuming that in primitive communities the three phenomena had been intimately associated. No proof, however, of such an assumption can be given. On the contrary, the present distribution of languages, as compared with the distribution of types, makes it plausible that even at the earliest times the biological units may have been wider than the linguistic units, and presumably also wider than the cultural units. that it may be safely said that all over the world the biological unit is much larger than the linguistic unit: in other words, that groups of men who are so closely related in bodily appearance that we must consider them as representatives of the same variety of mankind, embrace a much larger number of individuals than the number of men speaking languages which we know to be genetically related. Examples of this kind may be given from many parts of the world. Thus, the European race-including under this term roughly all those individuals who are without hesitation classed by us as members of the white race—would include peoples speaking Indo-European, Basque, and Ural-Altaic languages. West African negroes would represent individuals of a certain negro type, but speaking the most diverse languages; and the same would be true, among Asiatic types, of Siberians; among American types, of part of the Californian Indians.

So far as our historical evidence goes, there is no reason to believe that the number of distinct languages has at any time been less than it is now. On the contrary, all our evidence goes to show that the number of apparently unrelated languages has been much greater in earlier times than at present. On the other hand, the number of types that have presumably become extinct seems to be rather small, so that there is no reason to suppose that at an early period there should have been a nearer correspondence between the number of distinct linguistic and anatomical types; and we are thus led to

the conclusion that presumably, at an early time, each human type may have existed in a number of small isolated groups, each of which may have possessed a language and culture of its own.

However this may be, the probabilities are decidedly in favor of the assumption that there is no necessity to assume that originally each language and culture were confined to a single type, or that each type and culture were confined to one language: in short, that there has been at any time a close correlation between these three phenomena.

The assumption that type, language, and culture were originally closely correlated would entail the further assumption that these three traits developed approximately at the same period, and that they developed conjointly for a considerable length of time. This assumption does not seem by any means plausible. The fundamental types of man which are represented in the negroid race and in the mongoloid race must have been differentiated long before the formation of those forms of speech that are now recognized in the linguistic families of the world. I think that even the differentiation of the more important subdivisions of the great races antedates the formation of the existing linguistic families. At any rate, the biological differentiation and the formation of speech were, at this early period, subject to the same causes that are acting upon them now, and our whole experience shows that these causes act much more rapidly on language than on the human body. consideration lies the principal reason for the theory of lack of correlation of type and language, even during the period of formation of types and of linguistic families.

What is true of language is obviously even more true of culture. In other words, if a certain type of man migrated over a considerable area before its language assumed the form which can now be traced in related linguistic groups, and before its culture assumed the definite type the further development of which can now be recognized, there would be no possibility of ever discovering a correlation of type, language, and culture, even if it had ever existed; but it is quite possible that such correlation has really never occurred.

It is quite conceivable that a certain racial type may have scattered over a considerable area during a formative period of speech, and that the languages which developed among the various groups

of this racial type came to be so different that it is now impossible to prove them to be genetically related. In the same way, new developments of culture may have taken place which are so entirely disconnected with older types that the older genetic relationships, even if they existed, can no longer be discovered.

If we adopt this point of view, and thus eliminate the hypothetical assumption of correlation between primitive type, primitive language, and primitive culture, we recognize that any attempt at classification which includes more than one of these traits can not be consistent.

It may be added that the general term "culture" which has been used here may be subdivided from a considerable number of points of view, and different results again might be expected when we consider the inventions, the types of social organization, or beliefs, as leading points of view in our classification.

Artificial Character of All Classifications of Mankind

We recognize thus that every classification of mankind must be more or less artificial, according to the point of view selected, and here, even more than in the domain of biology, we find that classification can only be a substitute for the genesis and history of the now existing types.

Thus we recognize that the essential object in comparing different types of man must be the reconstruction of the history of the development of their types, their languages, and their cultures. The history of each of these various traits is subject to a distinct set of modifying causes, and the investigation of each may be expected to contribute data toward the solution of our problem. The biological investigation may reveal the blood-relationships of types and their modifications under social and geographical environment. The linguistic investigation may disclose the history of languages, the contact of the people speaking them with other people, and the causes that led to linguistic differentiation and integration; while the history of civilization deals with the contact of a people with neighboring peoples, as well as with the history of its own achievements.

II. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF LANGUAGE

Definition of Language

The discussions of the preceding chapter have shown that a consideration of the human languages alone must not be understood to yield a history of the blood-relationships of races and of their component elements, but that all that we can hope to obtain is a clear understanding of the relationship of the languages, no matter by whom they may be spoken.

Before discussing the extent to which we may reconstruct the history of languages, it seems necessary to describe briefly the essential traits of human speech.

In our present discussion we do not deal with gesture-language or musical means of communication, but confine ourselves to the discussion of articulate speech; that is, to communication by means of groups of sounds produced by the articulating organs—the larynx, oral cavity, tongue, lips, and nose.

Character of Phonetics

Speech consists of groups of sounds produced by the articulating organs, partly noises made by opening and closing certain places in the larynx, pharynx, mouth, or nose, or by restricting certain parts of the passage of the breath; partly resonant sounds produced by the vocal chords.

Number of Sounds Unlimited

The number of sounds that may be produced in this manner is unlimited. In our own language we select only a limited number of all possible sounds; for instance, some sounds, like p, are produced by the closing and a sudden opening of the lips; others, like t, by bringing the tip of the tongue into contact with the anterior portion of the palate, by producing a closure at this point, and by suddenly expelling the air. On the other hand, a sound might be produced by placing the tip of the tongue between the lips, making a closure in this manner, and by expelling the air suddenly. This sound would to our ear partake of the character of both our t and our p, while it would correspond to neither of these. A comparison of the sounds of the well-known European languages—like English, French, and German; or even of the different dialects of the same

languages, like those of Scotch and of the various English dialects—reveals the fact that considerable variation occurs in the manner of producing sounds, and that each dialect has its own characteristic phonetic system, in which each sound is nearly fixed, although subject to slight modifications which are due to accident or to the effects of surrounding sounds.

Each Language Uses a Limited Number of Sounds

One of the most important facts relating to the phonetics of human speech is, that every single language has a definite and limited group of sounds, and that the number of those used in any particular dialect is never excessively large.

It would seem that this limitation in the use of sounds is necessary in order to make possible rapid communication. If the number of sounds that are used in any particular language were unlimited, the accuracy with which the movements of the complicated mechanism required for producing the sounds are performed would presumably be lacking, and consequently rapidity and accuracy of pronunciation, and with them the possibility of accurate interpretation of the sounds heard, would be difficult, or even impossible. On the other hand, limitation of the number of sounds brings it about that the movements required in the production of each become automatic, that the association between the sound heard and the muscular movements, and that between the auditory impression and the muscular sensation of the articulation, become firmly fixed. Thus it would seem that limited phonetic resources are necessary for easy communication.

Alleged Lack of Differentiation of Sounds in Primitive Languages

It has been maintained that this is not a characteristic found in more primitive types of languages, and particularly, examples of American languages have often been brought forward to show that the accuracy of their pronunciation is much less than that found in the languages of the civilized world.

It would seem that this view is based largely on the fact that certain sounds that occur in American languages are interpreted by observers sometimes as one European sound, sometimes as another. Thus the Pawnee language contains a sound which may be heard

more or less distinctly sometimes as an l, sometimes an r, sometimes as n, and again as d, which, however, without any doubt, is throughout the same sound, although modified to a certain extent by its position in the word and by surrounding sounds. It is an exceedingly weak r, made by trilling with the tip of the tongue at a point a little behind the roots of the incisors, and in which the tongue hardly leaves the palate, the trill being produced by the lateral part of the tongue adjoining the tip. As soon as the trill is heard more strongly, we receive the impression of an r. When the lateral movement prevails and the tip of the tongue does not seem to leave the palate, the impression of an l is strongest, while when the trill is almost suppressed and a sudden release of the tongue from the palate takes place, the impression of the d is given. The impression of an n is produced because the sound is often accompanied by an audible breathing through the nose. This peculiar sound is, of course, entirely foreign to our phonetic system; but its variations are not greater than those of the English r in various combinations, as in broth, mother, where. The different impression is brought about by the fact that the sound, according to its prevailing character, associates itself either with our l, or our r, n, or d.

Other examples are quite common. Thus, the lower Chinook has a sound which is readily perceived as a b, m, or w. As a matter of fact, it is a b sound, produced by a very weak closure of the lips and with open nose, the breath passing weakly both through the mouth and through the nose, and accompanied by a faint intonation of the vocal chords. This sound associates itself with our b, which is produced by a moderately weak release of the lips; with our m, which is a free breath through the nose with closed lips; and with our w, which is a breath through the lips, which are almost closed, all accompanied by a faint intonation of the vocal chords. The association of this sound with w, is particularly marked when it appears in combination with a u vowel, which imitates the characteristic u tinge of our w. Still another example is the b sound, which is produced with half-closed nose by the Indians of the Strait of Fuca, in the State of Washington. In this case the characteristic trait of the sound is a semiclosure of the nose, similar to the effect produced by a cold in the head. Not less common are sounds intermediate between our vowels. Thus we seem to find in a number of Indian languages

a vowel which is sometimes perceived as o, sometimes as u (continental pronunciation), and which is in reality pronounced in a position intermediate between these two sounds.

The correctness of this interpretation of Indian phonetics is perhaps best proved by the fact that observers belonging to different nationalities readily perceive the sounds in accordance with the system of sounds with which they are familiar. Often it is not difficult to recognize the nationality of a recorder from the system selected by him for the rendering of sounds.

Still another proof of the correctness of this view of Indian phonetics is given by the fact that, wherever there is a greater number of Indian sounds of a class represented by a single sound in English, our own sounds are misinterpreted in similar manner. Thus, for instance, the Indians of the North Pacific coast have a series of l sounds, which may be roughly compared to our sounds tl, cl, gl. Consequently, a word like close is heard by the Indians sometimes one way, sometimes another; our cl is for them an intermediate sound, in the same way as some Indian sounds are intermediate sounds to our ears. The alternation of the sounds is clearly an effect of perception through the medium of a foreign system of phonetics, not that of a greater variability of pronunciation than the one that is characteristic of our own sounds.

While the phonetic system of each language is limited and fixed, the sounds selected in different types of languages show great differences, and it seems necessary to compare groups of languages from the point of view of their constituent phonetic elements.

Brief Description of Phonetics

A complete discussion of this subject can not be given at this place; but a brief statement of the characteristics of articulate sounds, and the manner of rendering them by means of symbols, seems necessary.

All articulate sounds are produced by the vibrations of the articulating organs, which are set in motion by breathing. In the vast majority of cases it is the outgoing breath which causes the vibrations; while in a few languages, as in those of South Africa, the breath, while being drawn in, is used for producing the sound.

One group of sounds is produced by the vibration of the vocal chords, and is characterized by the form given to the cavities of DOTE]

mouth and nose. These are the vowels. When the nose is closed, we have pure vowels; when the posterior part of the nose is more or less open, more or less nasalized vowels. The character of the vowel depends upon the form given to the oral cavity. The timbre of the vowels changes according to the degree to which the larynx is raised; the epiglottis lowered or raised; the tongue retracted or brought forward and its back rounded or flattened; and the lips rounded and brought forward, or an elongated opening of the mouth produced by retracting the corners of the mouth. With open lips and the tongue and pharynx at rest, but the soft palate (velum) raised, we have the pure vowel a, similar to the a in father. From this sound the vowels vary in two principal directions. The one extreme is u (like oo in English fool), with small round opening of the protruding lips, tongue retracted, and round opening between tongue and palate, and large opening between larynx and pharynx, the larynx still being almost at rest. The transitional sounds pass through â (aw in English law) and o (as in most), but the range of intermediate positions is continuous. In another direction the vowels pass from a through e (a in English mane) to i (ee in fleet). The i is pronounced with extreme retraction of the corners of the mouth and elongated opening of the lips, with very narrow flat opening between tongue and palate, and the posterior part of the tongue brought forward, so that there is a wide opening in the back part of the mouth, the larynx being raised at the same time.

Variations of vowels may be produced by a different grouping of the movements of the articulating organs. Thus, when the lips are in i position, the tongue and pharynx and larynx in u position, we have the sound \ddot{u} , which is connected with the a by a series passing through \ddot{o} . These sounds are similar to the German umlaut.

Other combinations of positions of the tongue and of the lips occur, although the ones here described seem to be the most frequent vowel-sounds. All vowels may become very much weakened in strength of articulation, and dwindle down to a slight intonation of the vocal chords, although retaining the peculiar vowel timbre, which depends upon the position of mouth, nose, and lips. When this articulation becomes very weak, all the vowels tend to become quite similar in character, or may be influenced in their timbre by neighboring consonants, as will be described later.

All sounds produced by vibrations in any part of the articulating organs other than the vocal chords are consonants. These vibrations may be produced either by closing the air-passages completely and then suddenly opening the closure, or by producing a narrowing or stricture at any point. The former series of sounds are called "stops" (like our p, t, k). In all of these there is a complete closure before the air is expelled. The latter are called "spirants" or "continued" (like our s and f), in which there is a continuous escape of breath. When a stop is made and is followed by a breathing through a stricture at the same place, sounds develop like our ts. These are called "affricatives." When the mouth is completely stopped, and the air escapes through the nose, the sound is called a "nasal consonant" (like our m and n). There may also be stricture and nasal opening. A rapidly repeated series of stops, a trill, is represented by our r. The character of the sound depends largely upon the parts of the articulating organs that produce the closure or stricture, and upon the place where these occur. or stricture may be made by the lips, lips and tongue, lips and teeth, tongue and teeth, tongue and hard palate, tongue and soft palate (velum), by the vocal chords, and in the nose.

In the following table, only the principal groups of consonants are described. Rare sounds are omitted. According to what has been said before, it will be recognized that here also the total number of possible sounds is infinitely large.

Bilabial stop	p
O 1 .	
Apical (dental, alveolar, post-alveolar)	t
Cerebral (produced with the tip of the tongue	
turned backward)	t
Dorsal:	
Anterior palatal	k.
$\mathbf{Medial} $	k
Velar	\mathbf{q}
Glottal (a stop produced with the vocal chords)	8
Nasal	N

Almost all these stops may be modified by giving to the closure a different degree of stress. In English we have two principal degrees of stress, represented, for instance, by our b and p or d and t. In many languages, as, for instance, in Sioux and in the languages of the Pacific coast, there are three degrees of stress that may be

readily differentiated. The strongest of these we call the "fortis," and indicate it by following the consonant by an ! (p!, t!).

When these stops are not accompanied by any kind of vibration of the vocal chords, they are called "surds."

It is, of course, also possible that more than one stop may be made at one time. Thus it might be possible to close at the same time the lips and the posterior part of the mouth with the tongue. This type of combination is, however, rare; but we find very frequently articulation of the vocal chords with stops. This results in the voiced consonants, or sonants. In English we find that almost always the stress of articulation of the voiced sound is less than the stress of articulation of the unvoiced sound, or surd; but this correlation is not necessary. In American languages particularly, we find very commonly the same degree of stress used with voicing and without voicing, which brings it about that to the European ear/the surd and sonant are difficult to distinguish.

A third modification of the consonants is brought about by the strength of breathing accompanying the release of the closure. In a sound like t, for instance, the sound may be simply produced by closing the mouth, by laying the tip of the tongue firmly against the palate, producing a slightly increased amount of air-pressure behind the tongue, and then releasing the closure. On the other hand, the sound may be produced by bringing about the closure and combining the release with the expiration of a full breath. Sounds which are accompanied by this full breathing may be called "aspirates," and we will designate the aspiration by ', the symbol of the Greek spiritus asper. This full breathing may follow the stop, or may begin even before the completion of the closure. With the increased stress of closure of the fortis is connected a closure of the glottis or of the posterior part of the tongue, so that only the air that has been poured into the vocal cavity is expelled.

In the case of voiced consonants, the voicing may either be entirely synchronous with the consonant, or it may slightly precede or follow it. In both of these cases we may get the impression of a preceding or following exceedingly weak vowel, the timbre of which will depend essentially upon the accompanying consonant. When the timbre is very indefinite, we write this vowel E; when it is more definite, A, I, O, U, etc. In other cases, where the release at the

closure is made without a full breath going out, and simply by compressing the air slightly in the space behind the closure, a break is very liable to originate between the stop and the following sound of the word. Such a hiatus in the word is indicated by an apostrophe ('). It seems likely that, where such a hiatus occurs following a vowel, it is generally due to a closing of the glottis.

Most of the phenomena here described may also occur with the spirants and nasals, which, however, do not seem to differ so much in regard to strength; while the character of the outgoing breath, the voicing and the breaking-off, show traits similar to those observed among the stops.

All the stops may be changed into nasals by letting the air escape through the nose while the closure is continued. In this manner originate our n and m. The nasal opening may also differ in width, and the stricture of the upper nares may produce semi-nasalized consonants.

In the spirant sounds before described, the escape of the air is along the middle line of the palate. There are a number of other sounds in which the air escapes laterally. These are represented by our *l*. They also may vary considerably, according to the place and form of the opening through which the air escapes and the form of closure of the mouth.

It seems that the peculiar timbre of some of the consonants depends also upon the resonance of the oral opening. This seems to be particularly the case in regard to the t and k sounds. In pronouncing the t sounds, one of the essential characteristics seems to be that the posterior part of the mouth is open, while the anterior portion of the mouth is filled by the tongue. In the k series, on the other hand, the posterior portion of the mouth is filled by the tongue, while the anterior portion remains open. Sounds produced with both the posterior and anterior portion of the mouth open partake of the character of both the k and t series.

Two of the vowels show a close affiliation to consonants of the continuant series. These are i and u, owing largely to the fact that in i the position of the tongue is very nearly a stricture in the anterior portion of the mouth, while in u the position of the lips is quite near to a stricture. Thus originate the semi-vowels y and w. The last sound that must be mentioned is the free breathing h, which, in its

most characteristic form, is produced by the expiration of the breath with all the articulating organs at rest.

In tabular form we obtain thus the following series of the most important consonantic sounds:

i	Stops.			Spirants.		Nasals.		THU.	
	Sonant.	Surd.	Fortis.	Sonant.	Surd.	Sonant.	Surd.	Sonant.	Surd.
Bilabial	ь	p	p!		f '	m	m		
Labio-dental	· • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •			v	ſ				
Linguo-labial	đ	t l	t!	c	¢	n	ņ		
Linguo-dental	d	t	t!	ç		n	n		
Dental		ļ		i	c				
Lingual— Apicai Cerebral Dorsal—	}	t.	ti		8	n	ů.	r	r
Medial	g	k	k!	γ	Ŧ	ñ	Ď.	r	F
Velar	g	q	q!	7	x	Ď.	n,	r	R
Lateral	ī	L	L!	i	1		J	.	
Glottal	i .		ļ 	.		.		.	
Nasal	N	l	ļ	.l				<u> </u>	l

Semi-vowels y, w. Breath, 'h. Hiatus '.

The vocalic tinge of consonants is expressed by superior vowels following them: a o i o u. The series of affricatives which begin with a stop and end with a continued sound have been omitted from this table.

It will be noticed that in the preceding table the same symbols are used in several columns. This is done, because, ordinarily, only one, or at most two, series of these groups occur in one language, so that these differences can be expressed in each special case by diacritical marks. Attempts have been made by other authors to give a general system of sound representation. For any particular language, these are liable to become cumbersome, and are therefore not used in the sketches contained in this volume.

Unconsciousness of Phonetic Elements

In the preceding pages we have briefly discussed the results of an analysis of the phonetic elements of human speech. It must, however, be remembered that the single sound as such has no independent existence, that it never enters into the consciousness of the speaker, but that it exists only as a part of a sound-complex which conveys a definite meaning. This will be easily recognized, if we consider for a moment grammatical forms in the English language in which the modification of the idea is expressed by a single sound. In the word

hills, the terminal s does not enter our consciousness as a separate element with separate significance, expressing the idea of plurality,—except, perhaps, in so far as our grammatical training has taught us the fact that plurals may be formed by the use of a terminal s,—but the word forms a firm unit, which conveys a meaning only as a whole. The variety of uses of the terminal s as a plural, possessive, and third person singular of the verb, and the strong effort required to recognize the phonetic identity of these terminal elements, may be adduced as a further proof of the fact that the single phonetic elements become conscious to us only as a result of analysis. A comparison of words that differ only in a single sound, like mail and nail, snake and stake, makes it also clear that the isolation of sounds is a result of secondary analysis.

Grammatical Categories

Differences in Categories of Different Languages

In all articulate speech the groups of sounds which are uttered serve to convey ideas, and each group of sounds has a fixed meaning. Languages differ not only in the character of their constituent phonetic elements and sound-clusters, but also in the groups of ideas that find expression in fixed phonetic groups.

Limitation of the Number of Phonetic Groups Expressing Ideas

The total number of possible combinations of phonetic elements is also unlimited; but only a limited number are used to express ideas. This implies that the total number of ideas that are expressed by distinct phonetic groups is limited in number.

Since the total range of personal experience which language serves to express is infinitely varied, and its whole scope must be expressed by a limited number of phonetic groups, it is obvious that an extended classification of experiences must underlie all articulate speech.

This coincides with a fundamental trait of human thought. In our actual experience no two sense-impressions or emotional states are identical. Nevertheless we classify them, according to their similarities, in wider or narrower groups the limits of which may be determined from a variety of points of view. Notwithstanding their individual differences, we recognize in our experiences common elements, and consider them as related or even as the same, provided a

sufficient number of characteristic traits belong to them in common. Thus the limitation of the number of phonetic groups expressing distinct ideas is an expression of the psychological fact that many different individual experiences appear to us as representatives of the same category of thought.

This trait of human thought and speech may be compared in a certain manner to the limitation of the whole series of possible articulating movements by selection of a limited number of habitual If the whole mass of concepts, with all their variants, were expressed in language by entirely heterogeneous and unrelated sound-complexes, a condition would arise in which closely related ideas would not show their relationship by the corresponding relationship of their phonetic symbols, and an infinitely large number of distinct phonetic groups would be required for expression. were the case, the association between an idea and its representative sound-complex would not become sufficiently stable to be reproduced automatically without reflection at any given moment. As the automatic and rapid use of articulations has brought it about that a limited number of articulations only, each with limited variability, and a limited number of sound-clusters, have been selected from the infinitely large range of possible articulations and clusters of articulations, so the infinitely large number of ideas have been reduced by classification to a lesser number, which by constant use have established firm associations, and which can be used automatically.

It seems important at this point of our considerations to emphasize the fact that the groups of ideas expressed by specific phonetic groups show very material differences in different languages, and do not conform by any means to the same principles of classification. To take again the example of English, we find that the idea of WATER is expressed in a great variety of forms: one term serves to express water as a liquid; another one, water in the form of a large expanse (LAKE); others, water as running in a large body or in a small body (RIVER and BROOK); still other terms express water in the form of RAIN, DEW, WAVE, and FOAM. It is perfectly conceivable that this variety of ideas, each of which is expressed by a single independent term in English, might be expressed in other languages by derivations from the same term.

Another example of the same kind, the words for snow in Eskimo, may be given. Here we find one word, aput, expressing snow on

THE GROUND; another one, qana, FALLING SNOW; a third one, piq-sirpoq, DRIFTING SNOW; and a fourth one, qimuqsuq, A SNOWDRIFT.

In the same language the SEAL in different conditions is expressed by a variety of terms. One word is the general term for SEAL; another one signifies the SEAL BASKING IN THE SUN; a third one, a SEAL FLOATING ON A PIECE OF ICE; not to mention the many names for the seals of different ages and for male and female.

As an example of the manner in which terms that we express by independent words are grouped together under one concept, the Dakota language may be selected. The terms naxta'ka to kick, paxta'ka to bind in bundles, yaxta'ka to bite, ic'a'xtaka to be near to, boxta'ka to pound, are all derived from the common element xtaka to grip, which holds them together, while we use distinct words for expressing the various ideas.

It seems fairly evident that the selection of such simple terms must to a certain extent depend upon the chief interests of a people; and where it is necessary to distinguish a certain phenomenon in many aspects, which in the life of the people play each an entirely independent rôle, many independent words may develop, while in other cases modifications of a single term may suffice.

Thus it happens that each language, from the point of view of another language, may be arbitrary in its classifications; that what appears as a single simple idea in one language may be characterized by a series of distinct phonetic groups in another.

The tendency of a language to express a complex idea by a single term has been styled "holophrasis," and it appears therefore that every language may be holophrastic from the point of view of another language. Holophrasis can hardly be taken as a fundamental characteristic of primitive languages.

We have seen before that some kind of classification of expression must be found in every language. This classification of ideas into groups, each of which is expressed by an independent phonetic group, makes it necessary that concepts which are not readily rendered by a single one among the available sound-complexes should be expressed by combinations or by modifications of what might be called the elementary phonetic groups, in accordance with the elementary ideas to which the particular idea is reduced.

This classification, and the necessity of expressing certain experiences by means of other related ones, which by limiting one another

define the special idea to be expressed, entail the presence of certain formal elements which determine the relations of the single phonetic groups. If each idea could be expressed by a single phonetic group, languages without form would be possible. Since, however, ideas must be expressed by being reduced to a number of related ideas, the kinds of relation become important elements in articulate speech; and it follows that all languages must contain formal elements, and that their number must be the greater, the fewer the elementary phonetic groups that define special ideas. In a language which commands a very large, fixed vocabulary, the number of formal elements may become quite small.

Grammatical Processes

It is important to note that, in the languages of the world, the number of processes which are utilized to express the relations of terms is limited. Presumably this is due to the general characteristics of articulate speech. The only methods that are available for expressing the relations between definite phonetic groups are their composition in definite order, which may be combined with a mutual phonetic influence of the component elements upon one another, and inner modification of the phonetic groups themselves. Both these methods are found in a great many languages, but sometimes only the method of composition occurs.

Word and Sentence

In order to understand the significance of the ideas expressed by independent phonetic groups and of the elements expressing their mutual relations, we have to discuss here the question, What forms the unit of speech? It has been pointed out before that the phonetic elements as such can be isolated only by analysis, and that they occur in speech only in combinations which are the equivalents of definite concepts.

Since all speech is intended to serve for the communication of ideas, the natural unit of expression is the sentence; that is to say, a group of articulate sounds which convey a complete idea. It might seem that speech can readily be further subdivided, and that the word also forms a natural unit from which the sentence is built up. In most cases, however, it is easy to show that such is not the case, and that the word as such is known only by analysis. This is particularly

clear in the case of words like prepositions, conjunctions, or verbal forms which belong to subordinate clauses. Thus it would be exceedingly difficult to imagine the use of words like and, for, to, were, expressed in such a way that they would convey a clear idea, except perhaps in forms like the Laconic If, in which all the rest of the sentence is implied, and sufficiently indicated by the if. In the same way, however, we who are grammatically trained may use a simple ending to correct an idea previously expressed. Thus the statement He sings beautifully might elicit a reply, sang; or a laconically inclined person might even remark, in reply to the statement He plays well, -ed, which by his friends might be well understood. It is clear that in all these cases the single elements are isolated by a secondary process from the complete unit of the sentence.

Less clear appears the artificiality of the word as a unit in those cases in which the word seems to designate a concept that stands out clearly from others. Such is the case, for instance, with nouns; and it might seem that a word like *stone* is a natural unit. Nevertheless it will be recognized that the word *stone* alone conveys at most an objective picture, not a complete idea.

Thus we are led to the important question of the relation of the word to the sentence. Basing our considerations on languages differing fundamentally in form, it would seem that we may define the word as a phonetic group which, owing to its permanence of form, clearness of significance, and phonetic independence, is readily separated from the whole sentence. This definition obviously contains a considerable number of arbitrary elements, which may induce us, according to the general point of view taken, sometimes to designate a certain unit as a word, sometimes to deny its independent existence. We shall see later on, in the discussion of American languages, that this practical difficulty confronts us many times, and that it is not possible to decide with objective certainty whether it is justifiable to consider a certain phonetic group as an independent word or as a subordinate part of a word.

Nevertheless there are certain elements contained in our definition which seem to be essential for the interpretation of a sound-complex as an independent word. From the point of view of grammatical form, the least important; from the point of view of phonetics, how-

ever, the most fundamental, is the phonetic independence of the element in question. It has been pointed out before how difficult it is to conceive the independence of the English s, which expresses the plural, the possessive, and the third person singular of the verb. - This is largely due to the phonetic weakness of this grammatical element. If the idea of plurality were expressed by an element as strong phonetically as the word many; the possessive part of the word, by an element as strong as the preposition of; and the third person singular, by an element like he-we might, perhaps, be much more ready to recognize the character of these elements as independent words, and we actually do so. For example, stones, John's, loves, are single words; while many sheep, of stone, he went, are each considered as two words. Difficulties of this kind are met with constantly in American Thus we find in a language like the Chinook that modifying elements are expressed by single sounds which phonetically enter into clusters which are pronounced without any break. To give an example: The word aniā'lōt i give him to her may be analyzed into the following elements: a (tense), n I, i HIM, a HER, l TO, \bar{o} (direction away), t to give. Here, again, the weakness of the component elements and their close phonetic association forbid us to consider them independent words; while the whole expression appears to us as a firm unit.

Whenever we are guided by this principle alone, the limitation of the word unit appears naturally exceedingly uncertain, on account of the difference in impression of the phonetic strength of the component elements.

It also happens that certain elements appear sometimes with such phonetic weakness that they can not possibly be considered as independent units of the sentence, while closely related forms, or even the same forms in other combinations, may gain the strength which they are lacking in other cases. As an example of this kind may be given the Kwakiutl, in which many of the pronominal forms appear as exceedingly weak phonetic elements. Thus the expression HE STRIKES HIM WITH IT is rendered by $mix^*i/dxqs$, in which the two terminal elements mean: q HIM, s WITH IT. When, however, substantives are introduced in this expression for object and instrument, the q assumes the fuller form xa, and the s the fuller form sa, which we might quite readily write as independent words analogous to our articles.

I doubt very much whether an investigator who would record French in the same way as we do the unwritten American languages would be inclined to write the pronominal elements which enter into the transitive verb as independent words, at least not when recording the indicative forms of a positive verb. He might be induced to do so on discovering their freedom of position which appears in the negative and in some interrogative forms.

The determining influence of the freedom of position of a phonetically fixed part of the sentence makes it necessary to include it in our definition of the word.

Whenever a certain phonetic group appears in a variety of positions in a sentence, and always in the same form, without any, or at least without material, modifications, we readily recognize its individuality, and in an analysis of the language we are inclined to consider it as a separate word. These conditions are fully realized only in cases in which the sound-complex in question shows no modifications at all.

It may, however, happen that minor modifications occur, particularly at the beginning and at the end, which we may be ready to disregard on account of their slight significance as compared to the permanence of the whole word. Such is the case, for instance, in the Dakota language, in which the terminal sound of a permanent word-complex which has a clearly defined significance will automatically modify the first sound of the following word-complex which has the same characteristics of permanence. The reverse may also occur. Strictly speaking, the line of demarcation between what we should commonly call two words is lost in this case; but the mutual influence of the two words in connection is, comparatively speaking, so slight that the concept of the individuality of the word outweighs their organic connection.

In other cases, where the organic connection becomes so firm that either both or one of the component elements may never occur without signs marking their close coupling, they will appear to us as a single unit. As an example of this condition may be mentioned the Eskimo. This language contains a great many elements which are quite clear in their significance and strong in phonetic character, but which in their position are so limited that they always follow other definite parts of the sentence, that they can never form the beginning of a complete phonetic group, and

that the preceding phonetic group loses its more permanent phonetic form whenever they appear added to it. To give an example: takuvoq means he sees; takulerpoq means he begins to see. In the second form the idea of seeing is contained in the element taku-, which by itself is incomplete. The following element, -ler, can never begin a sentence, and attains the significance of BEGINNING only in connection with a preceding phonetic group, the terminal sound of which is to a certain extent determined by it. In its turn, it requires an ending, which expresses, in the example here selected, the third person singular, -poq; while the word expressing the idea of seeing requires the ending -voq for the same person. can not possibly begin a sentence, and their initial sounds, v and p, are determined solely by the terminal sounds of the preceding elements. Thus it will be seen that this group of sound-complexes forms a firm unit, held together by the formal incompleteness of each part and their far-reaching phonetic influences upon one another. would seem that, in a language in which the elements are so firmly knit together as in Eskimo, there could not be the slightest doubt as to what constitutes the word in our ordinary sense of the term. The same is true in many cases in Iroquois, a language in which conditions quite similar to those in the Eskimo prevail. Here an example may be given from the Oneida dialect. Watgajijanegale THE FLOWER BREAKS OPEN consists of the formal elements wa-, -t-, and -g-, which are temporal, modal, and pronominal in character; the vowel -a-, which is the character of the stem-jija Flower, which never occurs alone; and the stem -negale TO BREAK OPEN, which also has no independent existence.

In all these cases the elements possess great clearness of significance, but the lack of permanence of form compels us to consider them as parts of a longer word.

While in some languages this gives us the impression of an adequate criterion for the separation of words, there are other cases in which certain parts of the sentence may be thus isolated, while the others retain their independent form. In American languages this is particularly the case when nouns enter the verbal complex without any modification of their component elements. This is the case, for instance, in Pawnee: tā'tuk*t I HAVE CUT IT FOR THEE, and rīks ARROW, combine into tatā'rīksk*t I CUT THY ARROW. The closeness of connection of these forms is even clearer in cases in which far-reach-

ing phonetic modifications occur. Thus the elements ta-t-ru^sn combine into ta'hu^sn i make (because tr in a word changes to h); and ta-t- $r\bar{t}k$ s-ru^sn becomes $tah\bar{t}kstu$ ^sn i make an arrow (because r after s changes to t). At the same time $r\bar{t}ks$ arrow occurs as an independent word.

If we follow the principle laid down in the preceding remarks, it will readily be seen that the same element may appear at one time as an independent noun, then again as a part of a word, the rest of which has all the characteristics before described, and which for this reason we are not inclined to consider as a complex of independent elements.

Ambiguity in regard to the independence of parts of the sentence may also arise either when in their significance they become dependent upon other parts of the sentence, or when their meaning is so vague and weak as compared to the other parts of the sentence that we are led to regard them as subordinate parts. Words of this kind, when phonetically strong, will generally be considered as independent particles; when, on the other hand, they are phonetically weak, they will generally be considered as modifying parts of other words. A good example of this kind is contained in the Ponca texts by the Rev. James Owen Dorsey, in which the same elements are often treated as independent particles, while in other cases they appear as subordinate parts of words. Thus we find plant these (p. 23, line 17), but jábe amá the beaver (p. 553, line 7).

The same is true in regard to the treatment of the grammar of the Sioux by the Rev. S. R. Riggs. We find in this case, for instance, the element pi always treated as the ending of a word, probably owing to the fact that it represents the plural, which in the Indo-European languages is almost always expressed by a modification of the word to which it applies. On the other hand, elements like kta and śni, signifying the future and negation respectively, are treated as independent words, although they appear in exactly the same form as the pi mentioned before.

Other examples of this kind are the modifying elements in Tsimshian, a language in which innumerable adverbial elements are expressed by fairly weak phonetic groups which have a definite position. Here, also, it seems entirely arbitrary whether these phonetic groups are considered as separate words, or whether they

are combined with the verbal expressions into a single word. In these cases the independent existence of the word to which such particles are joined without any modification will generally determine us to consider these elements as independent particles, provided they are phonetically strong enough; while whenever the verbal expression to which they are joined is modified either by the insertion of these elements between its component parts, or in some other way, we are inclined to consider them as parts of the word.

It seemed important to discuss somewhat fully the concept of the word in its relation to the whole sentence, because in the morphological treatment of American languages this question plays an important rôle.

Stem and Affix

The analytic treatment of languages results in the separation of a number of different groups of the elements of speech. When we arrange these according to their functions, it appears that certain elements recur in every single sentence. These are, for instance, the forms indicating subject and predicate, or, in modern European languages, forms indicating number, tense, and person. Others, like terms expressing demonstrative ideas, may or may not occur in a sentence. These and many others are treated in our grammars. According to the character of these elements, they seem to modify the material contents of the sentence; as, for instance, in the English sentences he strikes him, and I struck thee, where the idea of striking somebody appears as the content of the communication; while the ideas he, present, him, and I, past, thee, appear as modifications.

It is of fundamental importance to note that this separation of the ideas contained in a sentence into material contents and formal modifications is an arbitrary one, brought about, presumably, first of of all, by the great variety of ideas which may be expressed in the same formal manner by the same pronominal and tense elements. In other words, the material contents of the sentence may be represented by subjects and predicates expressing an unlimited number of ideas, while the modifying elements—here the pronouns and tenses—comprise, comparatively speaking, a very small number of ideas. In the discussion of a language, the parts expressing the material contents of sentences appear to us as the subject-matter of lexi-

cography; parts expressing the modifying relations, as the subject-matter of grammar. In modern Indo-European languages the number of ideas which are expressed by subordinate elements is, on the whole, limited, and for this reason the dividing-line between grammar and dictionary appears perfectly clear and well drawn. In a wider sense, however, all etymological processes and word compositions must be considered as parts of the grammar; and, if we include those, we find that, even in Indo-European languages, the number of classifying ideas is quite large.

In American languages the distinction between grammar and lexicography often becomes quite obscure, owing to the fact that the · number of elements which enter into formal compositions becomes very large. It seems necessary to explain this somewhat more fully by examples. In the Tsimshian language we find a very great number of adverbial elements which can not be considered as entirely independent, and which, without doubt, must be considered as elements modifying verbal ideas. On account of the very large number of these elements, the total number of verbs of motion seems to be somewhat restricted, although the total number of verbs that may be combined with these adverbial ideas is much larger than the total number of the adverbial ideas themselves. Thus, the number of adverbs appears to be fixed, while the number of verbs appears unlimited; and consequently we have the impression that the former are modifying elements, and that their discussion belongs to the grammar of the language, while the latter are words, and their discussion belongs to the lexicography of the language. The number of such modifying elements in Eskimo is even larger; and here the impression that the discussion of these elements belongs to the grammar of the language is increased by the fact that they can never take an initial position, and that they are not placed following a complete word, but are added to an element which, if pronounced by itself, would not give any sense.

Now, it is important to note that, in a number of languages, the number of the modifying elements may increase so much that it may become doubtful which element represents a series of ideas limited in number, and which represents an almost unlimited series of words belonging to the vocabulary. This is true, for instance, in Algonquian, where in almost all verbs several elements appear in conjunction, each in a definite position, but each group so numerous

that it would be entirely arbitrary to designate the one group as words modified by the other group, or vice versa.

The importance of this consideration for our purposes lies in the fact that it illustrates the lack of definiteness of the terms stem and affix. According to the ordinary terminology, affixes are elements attached to stems or words, and modifying them. This definition is perfectly acceptable as long as the number of modifying ideas is limited. When, however, the number of modifying elements becomes exceedingly large, we may well doubt which of the two is the modifier and which the modified, and the determination finally becomes entirely arbitrary. In the following discussions the attempt has been made to confine the terms prefix, suffix, and affix entirely to those cases where the number of ideas expressed by these elements is strictly limited. Wherever the number of combined elements becomes so large that they can not be properly classified, these terms have not been used, but the elements have been treated as co-ordinate.

Discussion of Grammatical Categories

From what has been said it appears that, in an objective discussion of languages, three points have to be considered: first, the constituent phonetic elements of the language; second, the groups of ideas expressed by phonetic groups; third, the methods of combining and modifying phonetic groups.

It seems desirable to discuss the second of these points somewhat more fully before taking up the description of the characteristics of American languages.

Grammarians who have studied the languages of Europe and western Asia have developed a system of categories which we are inclined to look for in every language. It seems desirable to show here in how far the system with which we are familiar is characteristic only of certain groups of languages, and in how far other systems may be substituted for it. It seems easiest to illustrate this matter by discussing first some of the characteristics of the Indo-European noun, pronoun, and verb, and then by taking up the wider aspects of this subject.

Nominal Categories

In the treatment of our noun we are accustomed to look for a number of fundamental categories. In most Indo-European languages, nouns are classified according to gender, they are modified by forms expressing singular and plural, and they also appear in syntactic combinations as cases. None of these apparently fundamental aspects of the noun are necessary elements of articulate speech.

GENDER

The history of the English language shows clearly that the gender of a noun may practically be suppressed without interfering with the clearness of expression. While we still find traces of gender in English, practically all inanimate objects have come to belong to one single gender. It is interesting to note that, in the languages of the world, gender is not by any means a fundamental category, and that nouns may not be divided into classes at all, or the point of view of classification may be an entirely different one. Bantu languages of Africa classify words into a great many distinct groups the significance of most of which is not by any means clear. The Algonquian of North America classify nouns as animate and inanimate, without, however, adhering strictly to the natural classification implied in these terms. Thus the small animals may be classified as inanimate, while certain plants may appear as animate. Some of the Siouan languages classify nouns by means of articles, and strict distinctions are made between animate moving and animate at rest, inanimate long, inanimate round, inanimate high, and inanimate collective objects. The Iroquois distinguish strictly between nouns designating men and other nouns. The latter may again be subdivided into a definite and indefinite group. The Uchee distinguish between members of the tribe and other human beings. In America, true gender is on the whole rare; it is found, perhaps, among a few of the languages of the lower Mississippi; it occurs in the same way as in most Indo-European languages in the Chinook of Columbia river, and to a more limited extent among some of the languages of the state of Washington and of British Columbia. Among North American languages, the Eskimo and Athapascan have no trace of a classification of nouns. The examples here given

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show clearly that the sex principle, which underlies the classification of nouns in European languages, is merely one of a great many possible classifications of this kind.

PLURAL

Of a somewhat different character is the plural of Indo-European nouns. Because, for the purpose of clear expression, each noun must be expressed either as a singular or as a plural, it might seem that this classification is almost indispensable; but it is not difficult to show, by means of sentences, that, even in English, the distinction is not always made. For instance, in the sentence The wolf has devoured the sheep, it is not clear whether a single sheep is meant, or a plurality of sheep are referred to. Nevertheless, this would not, on the whole, be felt as an inconvenience, since either the context would show whether singular or plural is meant, or an added adjective would give the desired information.

While, according to the structure of our European languages, we always tend to look for the expression of singularity or plurality for the sake of clearness of expression, there are other languages that are entirely indifferent towards this distinction. A good example of this kind is the Kwakiutl. It is entirely immaterial to the Kwakiutl whether he says, There is a house or There are houses. The same form is used for expressing both ideas, and the idea of singularity and plurality must be understood either by the context or by the addition of a special adjective. Similar conditions prevail in the Athapascan languages and in Haida. In Siouan, also, a distinction between singularity and plurality is made only in the case of animate objects. It would seem that, on the whole, American languages are rather indifferent in regard to the clear expression of plurality, but that they tend to express much more rigidly the ideas of collectivity or distribution. Thus the Kwakiutl, who are rather indifferent to the expression of plurality, are very particular in denoting whether the objects spoken of are distributed here or there. When this is the case, the distribution is carefully expressed. In the same way, when speaking of fish, they express by the same term a single fish and a quantity of fish. When, however, they desire to say that these fish belong to different species, a distributive form expressing this idea is made use of. A similar indifference to the idea of singular and plural may be observed in the pronouns of several languages, and will be noted later on.

On the other hand, the idea of number may be much more strongly emphasized than it is in the modern languages of Europe. The dual, as in Greek, is of common occurrence the world over; but it happens also that a trialis and paucalis—expressions for three and a few—are distinguished.

CASE

What is true of number is no less true of case. Psychologically, the substitution of prepositional expressions for cases would hardly represent a complete absence of the concept of cases. This is rather found in those languages in which the whole group of relations of the nouns of a sentence is expressed in the verb. . When, for instance, in Chinook, we find expressions like he her it with cut, man, woman, knife, meaning The man cut the woman with the knife, we may safely say that the nouns themselves appear without any trace of caserelationship, merely as appositions to a number of pronouns. true that in this case a distinction is made in the pronoun between subject and object, and that, in this sense, cases are found, although not as nominal cases, but still as pronominal cases. The caserelation, however, is confined to the two forms of subject and object, since the oblique cases are expressed by pronominal objects, while the characteristic of each particular oblique relation is expressed by adverbial elements. In the same language, the genitive relation is eliminated by substituting for it possessive expressions, like, for instance, the man, his house, instead of the man's house. While, therefore, case-expressions are not entirely eliminated, their number, which in some European languages is considerable, may be largely reduced.

Thus we find that some of our nominal categories either do not occur at all, or occur only in very much reduced forms. On the other hand, we must recognize that other new categories may occur which are entirely foreign to our European languages. Classifications like those referred to before—such as animate and inanimate, or of nouns designating men, and other nouns; and, further, of nouns according to form—are rather foreign to us, although, in the connection of verb

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and noun, form-classifications occur. Thus we do not say, a tree is somewhere, but a tree stands; not, the river is in New York, but the river flows through New York.

TENSE

Tense classes of nouns are not rare in American languages. As we may speak of a future husband or of our late friend, thus many Indian languages express in every noun its existence in presence, past, or future, which they require as much for clearness of expression as we require the distinction of singular and plural.

Personal Pronouns

The same lack of conformity in the principles of classification may be found in the pronouns. We are accustomed to speak of three persons of the pronoun, which occur both in the singular and in the plural. Although we make a distinction of gender for the third person of the pronoun, we do not carry out this principle of classification consistently in the other persons. The first and second persons and the third person plural have the same form for masculine, feminine, and neuter. A more rigid application of the sex system is made, for instance, in the language of the Hottentots of South Africa, in which sex is distinguished, not only in the third person, but also in the first and second persons.

Logically, our three persons of the pronoun are based on the two concepts of self and not-self, the second of which is subdivided, according to the needs of speech, into the two concepts of person addressed and person spoken of. When, therefore, we speak of a first person plural, we mean logically either self and person addressed, or self and person or persons spoken of, or, finally, self, person or persons addressed, and person or persons spoken of. A true first person plural is impossible, because there can never be more than one self. This logical laxity is avoided by many languages, in which a sharp distinction is made between the two combinations self and person or persons spoken to, or self and person or persons spoken of. I do not know of any language expressing in a separate form the combination of the three persons, probably because this idea readily coalesces with the idea of self and persons spoken to. These two forms are generally designated by the rather inaccurate term of

"inclusive" and "exclusive first person plural," by which is meant the first person plural, including or excluding the person addressed. The second and third persons form true plurals. Thus the principle of division of the pronouns is carried through in many languages more rigidly than we find it in the European group.

On the other hand, the lack of clear distinction between singular and plural may be observed also in the pronominal forms of a number of languages. Thus the Sioux do not know any pronominal distinction between the singular and plural of the second person, and only a very imperfect distinction between the third person singular and plural; while the first person singular and plural, according to the fundamental difference in their significance, are sharply distinguished. In some Siouan dialects we may well say that the pronominal object has only a first person singular, first person plural, and a second person, and that no other pronoun for the object occurs. Thus the system of pronouns may be reduced to a mere fragment of what we are accustomed to find.

Demonstrative Pronouns

In many cases, the analogy of the personal pronouns and of the demonstrative pronouns is rigid, the demonstrative pronoun having three persons in the same way as the personal pronoun. Thus the Kwakiutl will say, the house near me (this house), the house near thee (that house), the house near him (that house).

But other points of view are added to the principle of division corresponding to the personal pronoun. Thus, the Kwakiutl, and many other American languages, add to the pronominal concept just discussed that of visibility and invisibility, while the Chinook add the concepts of present and past. Perhaps the most exuberant development of the demonstrative idea is found among the Eskimo, where not only the ideas corresponding to the three personal pronouns occur, but also those of position in space in relation to the speaker,—which are specified in seven directions; as, center, above, below, in front, behind, right, left,—and expressing points of the compass in relation to the position of the speaker.

It must be borne in mind that the divisions which are mentioned here are all necessary parts of clear expression in the languages mentioned. For instance, in Kwakiutl it would be inconceivable to use an expression like our that house, which means in English the single

house away from the speaker. The Kwakiutl must express this idea in one of the following six forms:

The (singular or plural) house visible near me

invisible near me visible near thee invisible near thee visible near him invisible near him

while the Eskimo would express a term like this man as

This man near me

near thee
near him
behind me
in front of me
to the right of me
to the left of me
above me
below me, etc.

behind me in front of me

Verbal Categories

We can follow out similar differences in the verb. In our Indo-European languages we have expressions signifying persons, tenses, moods, and voices. The ideas represented by these groups are quite unevenly developed in various languages. In a great many cases the forms expressing the persons are expressed simply by a combination of the personal pronoun and the verb; while in other cases the phonetic complexes expressing personal relations are developed in an astonishing manner. Thus the Algonquian and the Eskimo possess special phonetic groups expressing definite relations between the subject and object which occur in transitive verbs. For example, in sentences like I strike thee, or They strike me, the combination of the pronouns I — thee, and they — me, are expressed by special phonetic equivalents. There are even cases in which the indirect objects (as in the sentence, I send him to you) may be expressed by a single form. The characteristic trait of the forms here referred to is, that the combined pronoun can not be reduced to its constituent elements, although historically it may have originated from combinations of separate forms. It is obvious that in cases in which the development. of the pronoun is as weak as in the Siouan languages, to which I have referred before, the definiteness of the pronominal forms of the verb, to which we are accustomed, is entirely lost. Thus it happens that in the Sioux the verb alone may be used as well for the more or less abstract idea of verbal action as for the third person of the indicative.

Much more fundamental are the existing differences in regard to the occurrence of tenses and modes. We are accustomed to verbal forms in which the tense is always expressed with perfect definiteness. In the sentence The man is sick we really express the idea, The single definite man is sick at the present time. This strict expression of the time relation of the occurrence is missing in many languages. The Eskimo, for instance, in expressing the same idea, will simply say, single man sick, leaving the question entirely open whether the man was sick at a previous time, is sick at the present time, or is going to be sick in the future. The condition here is similar to the one described before in relation to plurality. The Eskimo can, of course, express whether the man is sick at the present time, was sick, or is going to be sick, but the grammatical form of his sentences does not require the expression of the tense relation. In other cases the temporal ideas may be expressed with much greater nicety than we find in our familiar grammars. Generally, languages in which a multiplicity of tenses are found include in their form of expression certain modifications of the tense concept which might be called "semi-temporal," like inchoatives, which express the beginning of an action; duratives, which express the extent of time during which the action lasts; transitionals, which express the change of one state of being into another; etc. There is very little agreement in regard to the occurrence of such tenses, and the characteristics of many languages show that tenses are not by any means required for clear expression.

What is true of tenses is also true of modes. The number of languages which get along with a single mode, or at most with the indicative and imperative, is considerable; although, in this case also, the idea of subordination may be expressed if it seems desirable to do so.

The few examples that I have given here illustrate that many of the categories which we are inclined to consider as essential may be absent in foreign languages, and that other categories may occur as substitutes.

Interpretation of Grammatical Categories

When we consider for a moment what this implies, it will be recognized that in each language only a part of the complete concept that we have in mind is expressed, and that each language has a peculiar * tendency to select this or that aspect of the mental image which is conveyed by the expression of the thought. To use again the example which I mentioned before, The man is sick. We express by this sentence, in English, the idea, a definite single man at present sick. In Kwakiutl this sentence would have to be rendered by an expression which would mean, in the vaguest possible form that could be given to it, definite man near him invisible sick near him invisible. Visibility and nearness to the first or second person might, of course, have been selected in our example in place of invisibility and nearness to the third person. An idiomatic expression of the sentence in this language would, however, be much more definite, and would require an expression somewhat like the following, That invisible man lies sick on his back on the floor of the absent house. Eskimo, on the other hand, the same idea would be expressed by a form like (single) man sick, leaving place and time entirely indefinite. In Ponca, one of the Siouan dialects, the same idea would require a decision of the question whether the man is at rest or moving, and we might have a form like the moving single man sick. If we take into consideration further traits of idiomatic expression, this example might be further expanded by adding modalities of the verb; thus the Kwakiutl, whose language I have used several times as an example, would require a form indicating whether this is a new subject introduced in conversation or not; and, in case the speaker had not seen the sick person himself, he would have to express whether he knows by hearsay or by evidence that the person is sick, or whether he has dreamed it. It seems, however, better not to complicate our present discussion by taking into consideration the possibilities of exact expression that may be required in idiomatic forms of speech, but rather to consider only those parts of the sentence which, according to the morphology of the language, must be expressed.

We conclude from the examples here given that in a discussion of the characteristics of various languages different fundamental categories will be found, and that in a comparison of different languages it will be necessary to compare as well the phonetic characteristics as the characteristics of the vocabulary and those of the grammatical concepts in order to give each language its proper place.

III. CLASSIFICATION OF LANGUAGES

Origin of Dialects

In many cases the determination of the genetic relationship of languages is perfectly simple. Wherever we find close similarities in phonetics, in vocabularies, and in details of grammar, there can not be the slightest doubt that the languages that are being studied are varieties of the same ancestral form.

To a certain extent the differentiation of a single language into a number of dialects is spontaneous. When communication between peoples speaking the same tongue ceases, peculiarities of pronunciation will readily manifest themselves in one region or the other and may become permanent. In some cases these modifications of prenunciation may gradually increase and may become so radical that several quite different forms of the original language develop. At the same time words readily assume a new significance, and if the separation of the people should be accompanied by a differentiation of culture, these changes may proceed at a very rapid rate.

In cases of such phonetic changes and of modifications in the significance of words, a certain degree of regularity may always be observed, and for this reason the historical relationship between the new dialects and the older forms can always be readily established and may be compared to the modifications that take place in a series of generations of living beings.

Another form of modification may occur that is also analogous to biological transformations. We must recognize that the origin of language must not be looked for in human faculties that have once been active, but which have disappeared. As a matter of fact, new additions to linguistic devices and to linguistic material are constantly being made. Such spontaneous additions to a language may occur in one of the new dialects, while they do not occur in the other. These, although related to the structure of the older language, will be so entirely new in their character that they can not be directly related to the ancestral language.

It must also be considered that each of these dialects may incorporate new material. Nevertheless in all cases where the older material constitutes the bulk of the material of the language, its close relationship to the ancestral tongue will readily be recognized. In

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all these cases, phonetics, details of grammatical structure, and vocabulary will show far-reaching similarities.

Comparison of Distinct Languages

The problem becomes much more difficult when the similarities in any of these traits become less pronounced. With the extension of our knowledge of primitive languages, it has been found that cases are not rare in which languages spoken in certain continuous areas show radical differences in vocabulary and in grammatical form, but close similarity in their phonetic elements. In other cases the similarity of phonetic elements may be less pronounced, but there may exist a close similarity in structural details. Again, many investigators have pointed out peculiar analogies in certain words without being able to show that grammatical form and general phonetic character coincids. Many examples of such conditions may be given. In America, for instance, the phonetic similarity of the languages spoken between the coast of Oregon and Mount St. Elias is quite striking. All these languages are characterized by the occurrence of a great many peculiar k sounds and peculiar l sounds, and by their tendency towards great stress of articulation, and, in most cases, towards a clustering of consonants. Consequently to our ear these languages sound rough and harsh. Notwithstanding these similarities, the grammatical forms and the vocabularies are so utterly distinct that a common origin of the languages of this area seems entirely out of the question. A similar example may be given from South Africa, where the Bantu negroes, Bushmen, and Hottentots utilize some peculiar sounds which are produced by inspiration by drawing in the breath, not by expelling it—and which are ordinarily called "clicks." Notwithstanding this very peculiar common trait in their languages, there is no similarity in grammar and hardly any in vocabulary.

We might also give the example of the Siouan and the Iroquois languages of North America, two stocks that have been in proximity, and which are characterized by the occurrence of numerous nasalized vowels; or the phonetic characteristics of Californian languages, which sound to our ear euphonious, and are in strong contrast to the languages of the North Pacific coast.

It must be said that, on the whole, such phonetic characteristics of a limited area appear in their most pronounced form when we

compare the whole region with the neighboring districts. They form a unit rather by contrast with foreign phonetics than when compared among themselves, each language having its own peculiar characteristics in a group of this kind. Thus, the Tlingit of the North Pacific coast differs very much from the Chinook of Columbia river. Nevertheless, when both languages are compared to a language of southern California, the Sioux or the Algonquian, traits that are common to both of them appear to quite a marked degree.

What is true of phonetics is also true of grammatical form, and this is evidently a characteristic trait of the languages of the whole world. In North America particularly such groups of languages can be readily recognized. A more detailed discussion of this problem will be given in another place, and it will be sufficient to state here, that languages—like, for instance, the Athapascan, Tlingit, and Haida—which are spoken in one continuous area on the northwest coast of our continent show certain common characteristics when compared with neighboring languages like the Eskimo, Algonquian, and Tsimshian. In a similar way, a number of Californian languages, or languages of southern British Columbia, and languages like the Pawnee and Iroquois, each form a group characterized by certain traits which are not found in other languages.

In cases where such morphological similarities occur without a corresponding similarity of vocabulary, it becomes exceedingly difficult to determine whether these languages may be considered as descendants of one parent language; and there are numerous cases in which our judgment must be suspended, because, on the one hand, these similarities are far-reaching, while, on the other hand, such radical differences are found that we can not account for them without assuming the introduction of an entirely foreign element.

Similar phenomena have recently induced P. W. Schmidt to consider the languages of Farther India and of Malaysia as related; and the same problem has been discussed by Lepsius, and again by Meinhoff, in reference to the relation of the languages of the Hottentot to a number of east African languages and to the languages of the Hamitic peoples of North Africa.

Difficulties also arise in cases where a considerable number of similar words are found without a corresponding similarity of grammatical forms, so that we may be reluctant to combine two such languages, notwithstanding their similarities of vocabulary.

The comparison of vocabularies offers peculiar difficulties in American languages. Unfortunately, our knowledge of American languages is very limited, and in many cases we are confined to collections of a few hundred words, without any information in regard to grammatical forms. Owing to the strong tendency of many American languages to form compound words or derivatives of various kinds, it is very difficult in vocabularies of this kind to recognize the component elements of words, and often accidental similarities may obtrude themselves which a thorough knowledge of the languages would prove to be of no significance whatever.

Setting aside this practical difficulty, it may happen quite often that in neighboring languages the same term is used to designate the same object, owing, not to the relationship of the languages, but to the fact that the word may be a loan word in several of them. Since the vocabularies which are ordinarily collected embrace terms for objects found in most common use, it seems most likely that among these a number of loan words may occur.

Even when the available material is fuller and more thoroughly analyzed, doubt may arise regarding the significance of the apparent similarities of vocabulary.

Mutual Influences of Languages

In all these cases the final decision will depend upon the answer to the questions in how far distinct languages may influence one another, and in how far a language without being subject to foreign influences may deviate from the parental type. While it seems that the time has hardly come when it is possible to answer these questions in a definite manner, the evidence seems to be in favor of the existence of far-reaching influences of this kind.

Phonetic Influences

This is perhaps most clearly evident in the case of phonetics. It is hardly conceivable why languages spoken in continuous areas, and entirely distinct in vocabulary and in grammatical structure, should partake of the same phonetic characteristics, unless, by imitation, certain phonetic traits may be carried beyond a single linguistic stock. While I do not know that historical evidence of such occurrences has been definitely given, the phenomenon as it occurs in South Africa, among the Bantu and Hottentot, admits of hardly

any other explanation. And the same is true, to a more or less pronounced extent, among other distinct but neighboring languages.

The possibility of such a transfer of sounds can not be denied. Among the American Indians, for instance—where intermarriages between individuals belonging to different tribes are frequent; where slave women raise their own and their masters' children; and where, owing to the small number of individuals constituting the tribe, individuals who have mastered several distinct languages are not by any means rare—ample opportunity is given for one language to exert its phonetic influence over another. Whether this explanation is adequate, is a question that remains to be decided by further historical studies.'

Grammatical Influences

Influence of the syntax of one language upon another, and even, to a certain extent, of the morphology of one language upon another, is also probable. The study of the languages of Europe has proved clearly the deep influence exerted by Latin upon the syntax of all the modern European languages. We can also recognize how certain syntactic forms of expression occur in neighboring languages on our American continent. To give an instance of this kind, we find that, in the most diverse languages of the North Pacific coast, commands are given in the periphrastic form, It would be good if you did so and so; and in many cases this periphrastic form has been substituted entirely for the ordinary imperative. Thus it may well be that groups of psychological concepts which are expressed by means of grammatical forms have developed in one language under the influence of another; and it is difficult to say, if we once admit such influence, where the limit may be to the modifications caused by such processes.

On the other hand, it seems exceedingly difficult to understand why the most fundamental morphological traits of a language should disappear under the influence of another form of thought as exhibited in another language. This would mean that the greater number of grammatical forms would disappear, and entirely new categories develop. It certainly can not be denied that far-reaching modifications of this kind are possible, but it will require the most cautious proof in every single case before their existence can be accepted.

Cases of the introduction of new suffixes in European languages are not by any means rare. Thus, the ending -able of French words has been adopted so frequently into English that the ending itself has attained a certain independence, and we can form words like estable, or even get-at-able, in which the ending, which was originally French, is added to an English word. In a similar way the French verbal ending -ir, combined with the German infinitive ending in -en, is used in a large number of German words as though it were a purely German ending. I do not know, however, of any observations which would point to a radical modification of the morphological traits of a language through the influence of another language.

Lexicographic Influences

While the phonetic influence of distinct languages upon one another and the modification of morphological traits in different languages are still obscure, the borrowing of words is very common, and sometimes reaches to an enormous extent. The vocabulary of English is an excellent example of such extensive amalgamation of the vocabularies of quite distinct languages, and the manner by which it has been attained is instructive. It is not only that Anglo - Saxon adopted large parts of the vocabulary of the Norman conquerors, that it took over a few terms of the older Celtic language, and adopted some words from the Norse invaders; but we find also, later, introductions from Latin and Greek, which were introduced through the progress of the arts and sciences, and which filtered down from the educated to the uneducated classes. Furthermore, numerous terms were adopted from the less civilized peoples with whom the English-speaking people came into contact in different parts of the world. Thus, the Australian and the Indian-English have each adopted a great many native terms, quite a number of which have found their way into colloquial and written modern English. This phenomenon is so common, and the processes by which new words enter into a language are so obvious, that a full discussion is not required. Another example that may be mentioned here is that of the Turkish language, which has adopted a very large number of Arab words.

In such a transfer of the vocabulary of one language into another, words undergo, of course, far-reaching changes. These may be

partly due to phonetic difficulties, and consist in the adaptation of an unfamiliar group of sounds to the familiar similar sounds of the language by which the word has been adopted. There may be assimilations by which the grammatical form of a word is made similar to more familiar forms. Furthermore, changes in the significance of the word are common, and new derivations may be formed from the word after it has once become entirely familiar, like other native words.

In this respect a number of American languages seem to behave curiously when compared with European languages. Borrowing of words in Europe is particularly common when a new object is first introduced. In almost all these cases the foreign designation is taken over with more or less fundamental phonetic modifications. Examples of this kind are the words tobacco, canoe, maize, chocolate—to take as illustration a few words borrowed from American languages. American natives, on the other hand, do not commonly adopt words in this manner, but much more frequently invent descriptive words by which the new object is designated. Thus the Tsimshian of British Columbia designate rice by a term meaning looking like maggots. The Kwakiutl call a steamboat fire on its back moving on the water. The Eskimo call cut tobacco being blown upon. Words of this type are in wide use; nevertheless, loan words taken from English are not by any means rare. The terms biscuit, dollar, coffee, tea, are found in a great many Indian languages. The probable reason why descriptive words are more common in American languages than in European languages lies in the frequent occurrence of descriptive nouns.

We find, therefore, that there are two sets of phenomena which must be considered in the classification of languages: (1) differences which can easily be proved to be derived from modifications of a single ancestral language; and (2) similarities which can not be thus explained, and some of which may be due to the effects of mixture.

Origin of Similarities; by Dissemination or by Parallel Development

Before we proceed with this consideration, we have to discuss the two logical possibilities for such similarities. Either they may be due to dissemination from a common source, so that they originated only a single time, and were diffused by the influence of one people upon another; or it may be that they are due to an independent origin in many parts of the world.

This alternative is present in the explanation of all ethnic phenomena, and is one of the fundamental questions in regard to which the ethnologist, as well as the investigator of languages, must be In the older considerations of the position of the American race among the races of man, for instance, it has always been assumed that occurrence of similar phenomena among the peoples of the Old World and of the New proved genetic relationship. obvious that this method of proving relationship assumes that, wherever similarities occur, they must have been carried by the same people over different parts of the world, and that therefore they may be considered as proof of common descent. The method thus applied does not take into consideration the possibility of a gradual diffusion of cultural elements from one people to another, and the other more fundamental one of a parallel but independent development of similar phenomena among different races in remote parts of the world. Since such development is a logical possibility, proofs of genetic relationship must not be based on the occurrence of sporadic resemblances alone.

A final decision of this vexed problem can be given only by historical evidence, which is hardly ever available, and for this reason the systematic treatment of the question must always proceed with the greatest caution.

The cases in which isolated similarities of ethnic phenomena in remote parts of the world have been recorded are numerous, and many of these are of such a character that transmission cannot be proved at all. If, for instance, the Indians of South America use sacred musical instruments, which must not be seen by women, and if apparently the same custom prevails among the Australian aborigines, it is inadmissible to assume the occurrence of what seems to be the same custom in these two remote districts as due to transmission. It is perfectly intelligible that the custom may have developed independently in each continent. On the other hand, there are many cases in which certain peculiar and complex customs are distributed over large continuous areas, and where transmission over large portions of this area is plausible. In this case, even if independent origin had taken place in different parts of the district in question, the present

distribution is fully explained by the assumption of extended dissemination.

It is true, for instance, in the case of similar traditions which are found distributed over large districts. An example of this is the story of two girls who noticed two stars, a bright one and a small one, and wished these stars for their husbands. The following morning they found themselves in the sky, married to the stars, and later on tried to return to the earth by letting themselves down through a hole in the sky. This rather complex tale is found distributed over the American continent in an area extending from Nova Scotia to the mouth of the Mississippi river and westward to the Rocky mountains, and in places even on the Pacific ocean, for instance, in Alaska and in the state of Washington. It would seem difficult to assume, in a case of this kind, the possibility of an independent invention of the tale at a number of distinct points; but it must be assumed that, after the tale had once attained its present form, it spread by dissemination over that part of the continent where it is now found.

In extreme cases the conclusions drawn from these two types of explanation seem quite unassailable; but there are naturally a very large number of others in which the phenomenon in question is neither sufficiently complex, nor distributed over a sufficiently large continuous area, to lead with certainty to the conclusion of an origin by dissemination; and there are others where the sporadic distributions seem curiously arranged, and where vague possibilities of contact occur. Thus it happens often that a satisfactory conclusion cannot be reached.

We must also bear in mind that in many cases a continuous distribution may once have existed, but may have become discontinuous, owing to the disappearance of the phenomena in question in intermediate regions. If, however, we want to follow a safe method, we must not admit such causes for sporadic distribution, unless they can be definitely proved by other evidence; otherwise, the way is open to attempts to bring into contact practically every part of the world with all others.

The general occurrence of similar ethnic phenomena in remote parts of the world admits also of the explanation of the existence of a certain number of customs and habits that were common to large parts of mankind at a very early period, and which have maintained themselves here and there up to the present time. It can

not be denied that this point of view has certain elements in its favor; but in the present state of our knowledge we can hardly say that it would be possible to prove or to disprove it.

We meet the same fundamental problem in connection with similarities of languages which are too vague to be considered as proofs of genetic relationship. That these exist is obvious. Here we have not only the common characteristics of all human language, which have been discussed in the preceding chapter, but also certain other similarities which must here be considered.

Influence of Environment on Language

It has often been suggested that similarities of neighboring languages and customs may be explained by the influence of environment. The leading thought in this theory is, that the human mind, under the stress of similar conditions, will produce the same results; that consequently, if the members of the same race live in the same surroundings, they will produce, for instance, in their articulate speech, the same kind of phonetics, differing perhaps in detail according to the variations of environment, but the same in their essential traits. Thus it has been claimed that the moist and stormy climate of the North Pacific coast caused a chronic catarrhal condition among the inhabitants, and that to this condition is due the guttural pronunciation and harshness of their languages; while, on the other hand, the mildness of the California climate has been made responsible for the euphonious character of the languages of that district.

I do not believe that detailed investigations in any part of the world would sustain this theory. We might demand proof that the same language, when distributed over different climates, should produce the same kind of modifications as those here exemplified; and we might further demand that, wherever similar climates are found, at least a certain approach to similarity in the phonetics of the languages should occur. It would be difficult to prove that this is the case, even if we should admit the excuse that modifying influences have obscured the original similarity of phonetic character. Taking, for instance, the arctic people of the Old and New Worlds as a unit, we find fundamentally different traits in the phonetics of the Eskimo, of the Chukchee of eastern Siberia, and of other arctic Asiatic and European peoples. The phonetics of the deserts of Asia and South

Africa and of southwestern North America are not by any means the same. The prairie tribes of North America, although living in nearly the same climate, over a considerable area, show remarkable differences in the phonetics of their languages; and, on the other hand, the tribes belonging to the Salish family who live east of the Rocky mountains, in the interior of British Columbia, speak a language that is not less harsh than that of their congeners on the northern coast of the state of Washington. In any attempt at arranging phonetics in accordance with climate, the discrepancies would be so numerous, that an attempt to carry out the theory would lead to the necessity of explaining exceptions rather than examples corroborating its correctness.

What is true in regard to phonetics is no less true in regard to morphology and vocabulary. I do not think that it has ever been claimed that similar words must necessarily originate under the stress of the same conditions, although, if we admit the correctness of the principle, there is no reason for making an exception in regard to the vocabulary.

I think this theory can be sustained even less in the field of linguistics than in the field of ethnology. It is certainly true that each people accommodates itself to a certain extent to its surroundings, and that it even may make the best possible use of its surroundings in accordance with the fundamental traits of its culture, but I do not believe that in any single case it will be possible to explain the culture of a people as due to the influence of its surroundings. It is self-evident that the Eskimo of northern arctic America do not make extended use of wood, a substance which is very rare in those parts of the world, and that the Indians of the woodlands of Brazil are not familiar with the uses to which snow may be put. We may even go further, and acknowledge that, after the usefulness of certain substances, plants, and animals—like bamboo in the tropics, or the cedar on the North Pacific coast of America, or ivory in the arctic regions, or the buffalo on the plains of North America—has once been recognized. they will find the most extended use, and that numerous inventions will be made to expand their usefulness. We may also recognize that the distribution of the produce of a country, the difficulties and ease of travel, the necessity of reaching certain points, may deeply influence the habits of the people. But with all this, to geographical conditions cannot be ascribed more than a modifying influence upon

the fundamental traits of culture. If this were not true, the peculiar facts of distribution of inventions, of beliefs, of habits, and of other ethnological phenomena, would be unintelligible.

For instance, the use of the underground house is distributed, in America and Asia, over the northern parts of the plateaus to parts of the Great Plains, northward into the arctic region; and crossing Bering strait we find it in use along the Pacific coast of Asia and as far south as northern Japan, not to speak of the subterranean dwellings of Europe and North Africa. The climate of this district shows very considerable differences, and the climatic necessity for underground habitations does not exist by any means in many parts of the area where they occur.

In a similar area we find the custom of increasing the elasticity of the bow by overlaying it with sinew. While this procedure may be quite necessary in the arctic regions, where no elastic wood is available, it is certainly not necessary in the more southern parts of the Rocky mountains, or along the east coast of Asia, where a great many varieties of strong elastic wood are available. Nevertheless the usefulness of the invention seems to have led to its general application over an extended district.

We might also give numerous examples which would illustrate that the adaptation of a people to their surroundings is not by any means perfect. How, for instance, can we explain the fact that the Eskimo, notwithstanding their inventiveness, have never thought of domesticating the caribou, while the Chukchee have acquired large reindeer-herds? Why, on the other hand, should the Chukchee, who are compelled to travel about with their reindeer-herds, use a tent which is so cumbersome that a train of many sledges is required to move it, while the Eskimo have reduced the frame of their tents to such a degree that a single sledge can be used for conveying it from place to place?

Other examples of a similar kind are the difference in the habitations of the arctic Athapascan tribes and those of the Eskimo. Notwithstanding the rigor of the climate, the former live in light skin tents, while the Eskimo have succeeded in protecting themselves efficiently against the gales and the snows of winter.

What actually seems to take place in the movements of peoples is, that a people who settle in a new environment will first of all cling to their old habits and only modify them as much as is abso-

lutely necessary in order to live fairly comfortably, the comfort of life being generally of secondary importance to the inertia or conservatism which prevents a people from changing their settled habits, that have become customary to such an extent that they are more or less automatic, and that a change would be felt as something decidedly unusual.

Even when a people remain located in the same place, it would seem that historical influences are much stronger than geographical influences. I am inclined, for instance, to explain in this manner the differences between the cultures of the tribes of arctic Asia and of arctic America, and the difference in the habits of the tribes of the southern plateaus of North America when compared with those of the northern plateaus of North America. In the southern regions the influence of the Pueblos has made itself felt, while farther to the north the simpler culture of the Mackenzie basin gives the essential tone to the culture of the people.

While fully acknowledging the importance of geographical conditions upon life, I do not believe that they can be given a place at all comparable to that of culture as handed down, and to that of the historical influence exerted by the cultures of surrounding tribes; and it seems likely that the less direct the influence of the surroundings is, the less also can it be used for accounting for peculiar ethnological traits.

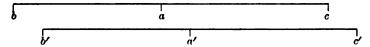
So far as language is concerned, the influence of geographical surroundings and of climate seems to be exceedingly remote; and as long as we are not even able to prove that the whole organism of man, and with it the articulating organs, are directly influenced by geographical environment, I do not think we are justified in considering this element as an essential trait in the formation or modification of human speech, much less as a cause which can be used to account for the similarities of human speech in neighboring areas.

Influence of Common Psychic Traits

Equally uncertain seems to be the resort to the assumption of peculiar psychic traits that are common to geographical divisions of the same race. It may be claimed, for instance, that the languages of the Athapascan, Tlingit, and Haida, which were referred to before as similar in certain fundamental morphological traits, are alike,

for the reason that these three peoples have certain psychical traits in common which are not shared in by other American tribes.

It seems certainly admissible to assume slight differences in the psychical make-up among groups of a race which are different in regard to their physical type. If we can prove by means of anatomical investigations that the bodily form, and with it the nervous system and the brain of one part of a race show differences from the analogous traits of another part of the race, it seems justifiable to conclude that the physical differentiation may be accompanied by psychic differences. It must, however, be borne in mind that the extent of physical difference is always exceedingly slight, and that, within the limits of each geographical type, variations are found which are great as compared to the total differences between the averages of the types. To use a diagram:



If a represents the middle point of one type and b and c its extremes, at the average of another type and b' and c' its extremes, and if these types are so placed, one over the other, that types in the second series correspond to those in the first series vertically over them, then it will be seen that the bulk of the population of the two types will very well coincide, while only the extremes will be more frequent in the one group than in the other. That is to say, the physical difference is not a difference in kind, but a difference more or less in degree, and a considerable overlapping of the types necessarily takes place.

If this is true in regard to the physical type, and if, furthermore, the difference in psychical types is inferred only from the observed differences of the physical types, then we must assume that the same kind of overlapping will take place in the psychical types. The differences with which we are dealing can, therefore, be only very slight, and it seems hardly likely that these slight differences could lead to radically diverse results.

As a matter of fact, the proof which has been given before, that the same languages may be spoken by entirely distinct types, shows clearly how slight the effect of difference in anatomical type upon

language is at the present time, and there is no reason to presume that it has ever been greater. Viewing the matter from this standpoint, the hereditary mental differences of various groups of mankind, particularly within the same race, seem to be so slight that it would be very difficult to believe that they account in any way for the fundamental differences in the traits of distinct languages.

Uncertainty of Definition of Linguistic Families

The problem thus remains unsolved how to interpret the similarities of distinct languages in cases where the similarities are no longer sufficient to prove genetic relationship. From what has been said we may conclude that, even in languages which can easily be proved to be genetically related, independent elements may be found in various divisions. Such independent elements may be due partly to new tendencies which develop in one or the other of the dialects, or to foreign influence. It is quite conceivable that such new tendencies and foreign influences may attain such importance that the new language may still be considered as historically related to the ancestral family, but that its deviations, due to elements that are not found in the ancestral language, have become so important that it can no longer be considered as a branch of the older family.

Thus it will be seen that the concept of a linguistic family can not be sharply defined; that even among the dialects of one linguistic family, more or less foreign material may be present, and that in this sense the languages, as has been pointed out by Paul, are not, in the strict sense of the term, descendants of a single ancestral family.

Thus the whole problem of the final classification of languages in linguistic families that are without doubt related, seems destined to remain open until our knowledge of the processes by which distinct languages are developed shall have become much more thorough than it is at the present time. Under these circumstances we must confine ourselves to classifying American languages in those linguistic families for which we can give a proof of relationship that can not possibly be challenged. Beyond this point we can do no more than give certain definite classifications in which the traits common to certain groups of languages are pointed out, while the decision as to the significance of these common traits must be left to later times.

¹ Paul, Principien der Sprachgeschichte.

IV. LINGUISTICS AND ETHNOLOGY

It seems desirable to say a few words on the function of linguistic researches in the study of the ethnography of the Indians.

Practical Need of Linguistic Studies for Ethnological Purposes

First of all, the purely practical aspect of this question may be considered. Ordinarily, the investigator who visits an Indian tribe is not able to converse with the natives themselves and to obtain his information first-hand, but he is obliged to rely more or less on data transmitted by interpreters, or at least by the help of interpreters. He may ask his question through an interpreter, and receive again through his mouth the answer given by the Indians. obvious that this is an unsatisfactory method, even when the interpreters are good; but, as a rule, the available men are either not sufficiently familiar with the English language, or they are so entirely out of sympathy with the Indian point of view, and understand the need of accuracy on the part of the investigator so little, that information furnished by them can be used only with a considerable degree of caution. At the present time it is possible to get along in many parts of America without interpreters, by means of the tradejargons that have developed everywhere in the intercourse between the whites and the Indians. These, however, are also a very unsatisfactory means of inquiring into the customs of the natives, because, in some cases, the vocabulary of the trade-languages is extremely limited, and it is almost impossible to convey information relating to the religious and philosophic ideas or to the higher aspects of native art, all of which play so important a part in Indian life. Another difficulty which often develops whenever the investigator works with a particularly intelligent interpreter is, that the interpreter imbibes too readily the views of the investigator, and that his information, for this reason, is strongly biased, because he is not so well able to withstand the influence of formative theories as the trained investigator ought to be. Anyone who has carried on work with intelligent Indians will recall instances of this kind, where the interpreter may have formulated a theory based on the questions that have been put through him, and has interpreted his answers

under the guidance of his preconceived notions. All this is so obvious that it hardly requires a full discussion. Our needs become particularly apparent when we compare the methods that we expect from any investigator of cultures of the Old World with those of the ethnologist who is studying primitive tribes. Nobody would expect authoritative accounts of the civilization of China or of Japan from a man who does not speak the languages readily, and who has not mastered their literatures. The student of antiquity is expected to have a thorough mastery of the ancient languages. A student of Mohammedan life in Arabia or Turkey would hardly be considered a serious investigator if all his knowledge had to be derived from second-hand accounts. The ethnologist, on the other hand, undertakes in the majority of cases to elucidate the innermost thoughts and feelings of a people without so much as a smattering of knowledge of their language.

It is true that the American ethnologist is confronted with a serious practical difficulty, for, in the present state of American society, by far the greater number of customs and practices have gone out of existence, and the investigator is compelled to rely upon accounts of customs of former times recorded from the mouths of the old generation who, when young, still took part in these performances. Added to this he is confronted with the difficulty that the number of trained investigators is very small, and the number of American languages that are mutually unintelligible exceedingly large, probably exceeding three hundred in number. Our investigating ethnologists are also denied opportunity to spend long continuous periods with any particular tribe, so that the practical difficulties in the way of acquiring languages are almost insuperable. Nevertheless, we must insist that a command of the language is an indispensable means of obtaining accurate and thorough knowledge, because much information can be gained by listening to conversations of the natives and by taking part in their daily life, which, to the observer who has no command of the language, will remain entirely inaccessible.

It must be admitted that this ideal aim is, under present conditions, entirely beyond our reach. It is, however, quite possible for the ethnographer to obtain a theoretical knowledge of native languages that will enable him to collect at least part of the information that could be best obtained by a practical knowledge of the language. Fortunately, the Indian is easily misled, by the ability of the observer

to read his language, into thinking that he is also able to understand what he reads. Thus, in taking down tales or other records in the native language, and reading them to the Indians, the Indian always believes that the reader also understands what he pronounces, because it is quite inconceivable to him that a person can freely utter the sentences in his language without clearly grasping their meaning. fact facilitates the initial stages of ethnographic information in the native languages, because, on the whole, the northern Indians are eager to be put on record in regard to questions that are of supreme interest to them. If the observer is capable of grasping by a rapid analysis the significance of what is dictated to him, even without being able to express himself freely in the native language, he is in a position to obtain much information that otherwise would be entirely unobtainable. Although this is wholly a makeshift, still it puts the observer in an infinitely better position than that in which he would be without any knowledge whatever of the language. all, he can get the information from the Indians first-hand, without employing an interpreter, who may mislead him. Furthermore, the range of subjects on which he can get information is considerably increased, because the limitations of the linguistic knowledge of the interpreter, or those of the trade-language, are eliminated. would seem, therefore, that under present conditions we are more or less compelled to rely upon an extended series of texts as the safest means of obtaining information from the Indians. A general review of our ethnographic literature shows clearly how much better is the information obtained by observers who have command of the language, and who are on terms of intimate friendship with the natives, than that obtained through the medium of interpreters.

The best material we possess is perhaps contained in the naïve outpourings of the Eskimo, which they write and print themselves, and distribute as a newspaper, intended to inform the people of all the events that are of interest. These used to contain much mythological matter and much that related to the mode of life of the people. Other material of similar character is furnished by the large text collections of the Ponca, published by the late James Owen Dorsey; although many of these are influenced by the changed conditions under which the people now live. Some older records on the Iroquois, written by prominent members of the tribe, also deserve attention; and among the most recent literature the descriptions of the

Sauk and Fox by Dr. William Jones are remarkable on account of the thorough understanding that the author has reached, owing to his mastery of the language. Similar in character, although rendered entirely in English, are the observations of Mr. James Teit on the Thompson Indians.

In some cases it has been possible to interest educated natives in the study of their own tribes and to induce them to write down in their own language their observations. These, also, are much superior to English records, in which the natives are generally hampered by the lack of mastery of the foreign language.

While in all these cases a collector thoroughly familiar with the Indian language and with English might give us the results of his studies without using the native language in his publications, this is quite indispensable when we try to investigate the deeper problems of ethnology. A few examples will show clearly what is meant. When the question arises, for instance, of investigating the poetry of the Indians, no translation can possibly be considered as an adequate substitute for the original. The form of rhythm, the treatment of the language, the adjustment of text to music, the imagery, the use of metaphors, and all the numerous problems involved in any thorough investigation of the style of poetry, can be interpreted only by the investigator who has equal command of the ethnographical traits of the tribe and of their language. The same is true in the investigation of rituals, with their set, more or less poetic phrases, or in the investigation of prayers and incantations. The oratory of the Indians, a subject that has received much attention by ethnologists, is not adequately known, because only a very few speeches have been handed down in the original. Here, also, an accurate investigation of the method of composition and of the devices used to reach oratorical effect, requires the preservation of speeches as rendered in the original language.

There are also numerous other features of the life of the Indians which can not be adequately presented without linguistic investigation. To these belong, for instance, the discussion of personal, tribal, and local names. The translations of Indian names which are popularly known—like Sitting-Bull, Afraid-Of-His-Horse, etc.—indicate that names possess a deeper significance. The translations, however, are so difficult that a thorough linguistic knowledge is required in order to explain the significance adequately.

In all the subjects mentioned heretofore, a knowledge of Indian languages serves as an important adjunct to a full understanding of the customs and beliefs of the people whom we are studying. But in all these cases the service which language lends us is first of all a practical one—a means to a clearer understanding of ethnological phenomena which in themselves have nothing to do with linguistic problems.

Theoretical Importance of Linguistic Studies

Language a Part of Ethnological Phenomena in General

It seems, however, that a theoretical study of Indian languages is not less important than a practical knowledge of them; that the purely linguistic inquiry is part and parcel of a thorough investigation of the psychology of the peoples of the world. If ethnology is understood as the science dealing with the mental phenomena of the life of the peoples of the world, human language, one of the most important manifestations of mental life, would seem to belong naturally to the field of work of ethnology, unless special reasons can be adduced why it should not be so considered. It is true that a practical reason of this kind exists, namely, the specialization which has taken place in the methods of philological research, which has progressed to such an extent that philology and comparative linguistics are sciences which require the utmost attention, and do not allow the student to devote much of his time to other fields that require different methods of study. This, however, is no reason for believing that the results of linguistic inquiry are unimportant to the ethnologist. There are other fields of ethnological investigation which have come to be more or less specialized, and which require for their successful treatment peculiar specialization. This is true, for instance, of the study of primitive music, of primitive art, and, to a certain extent, of primitive law. Nevertheless, these subjects continue to form an important part of ethnological science.

If the phenomena of human speech seem to form in a way a subject by itself, this is perhaps largely due to the fact that the laws of language remain entirely unknown to the speakers, that linguistic phenomena never rise into the consciousness of primitive man, while all other ethnological phenomena are more or less clearly subjects of conscious thought.

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The question of the relation of linguistic phenomena to ethnological phenomena, in the narrower sense of the term, deserves, therefore, special discussion.

Language and Thought

First of all, it may be well to discuss the relation between language and thought. It has been claimed that the conciseness and clearness of thought of a people depend to a great extent upon their language. The ease with which in our modern European languages we express wide abstract ideas by a single term, and the facility with which wide generalizations are cast into the frame of a simple sentence, have been claimed to be one of the fundamental conditions of the clearness of our concepts, the logical force of our thought, and the precision with which we eliminate in our thoughts irrelevant details. Apparently this view has much in its favor. When we compare modern English with some of those Indian languages which are most concrete in their formative expression, the contrast is striking. When we say The eye is the organ of sight, the Indian may not be able to form the expression the eye, but may have to define that the eye of a person or of an animal is meant. Neither may the Indian be able to generalize readily the abstract idea of an eye as the representative of the whole class of objects, but may have to specialize by an expression like this eye here. Neither may he be able to express by a single term the idea of organ, but may have to specify it by an expression like instrument of seeing, so that the whole sentence might assume a form like An indefinite person's eye is his means of seeing. Still, it will be recognized that in this more specific form the general idea may be well expressed. It seems very questionable in how far the restriction of the use of certain grammatical forms can really be conceived as a hindrance in the formulation of generalized ideas. seems much more likely that the lack of these forms is due to the lack of their need. Primitive man, when conversing with his fellowman, is not in the habit of discussing abstract ideas. His interests center around the occupations of his daily life; and where philosophic problems are touched upon, they appear either in relation to definite individuals or in the more or less anthropomorphic forms of religious beliefs. Discourses on qualities without connection with the object to which the qualities belong, or of activities or states disconnected from the idea of the actor or the subject being in a

certain state, will hardly occur in primitive speech. Thus the Indian will not speak of goodness as such, although he may very well speak of the goodness of a person. He will not speak of a state of bliss apart from the person who is in such a state. He will not refer to the power of seeing without designating an individual who has such power. Thus it happens that in languages in which the idea of possession is expressed by elements subordinated to nouns, all abstract terms appear always with possessive elements. It is, however, per-. fectly conceivable that an Indian trained in philosophic thought would proceed to free the underlying nominal forms from the possessive elements, and thus reach abstract forms strictly corresponding to the abstract forms of our modern languages. I have made this experiment, for instance, with the Kwakiutl language of Vancouver Island, in which no abstract term ever occurs without its possessive elements. After some discussion, I found it perfectly easy to develop the idea of the abstract term in the mind of the Indian, who will state that the word without a possessive pronoun gives a sense, although it is not used idiomatically. I succeeded, for instance, in this manner, in isolating the terms for love and pity, which ordinarily occur only in possessive forms, like his love for him or my pity for you. That this view is correct may also be observed in languages in which possessive elements appear as independent forms, as, for instance, in the Siouan languages. In these, pure abstract terms are quite common.

There is also evidence that other specializing elements, which are so characteristic of many Indian languages, may be dispensed with when, for one reason or another, it seems desirable to generalize a term. To use the example of the Kwakiutl language, the idea to be seated is almost always expressed with an inseparable suffix expressing the place in which a person is seated, as seated on the floor of the house, on the ground, on the beach, on a pile of things, or on a round thing, etc. When, however, for some reason, the dea of the state of sitting is to be emphasized, a form may be used which expresses simply being in a sitting posture. In this case, also, the device for generalized expression is present, but the opportunity for its application arises seldom, or perhaps never. I think what is true in these cases is true of the structure of every single language. The fact that generalized forms of expression are not

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used does not prove inability to form them, but it merely proves that the mode of life of the people is such that they are not required; that they would, however, develop just as soon as needed.

This point of view is also corroborated by a study of the numeral systems of primitive languages. As is well known, many languages exist in which the numerals do not exceed two or three. been inferred from this that the people speaking these languages are not capable of forming the concept of higher numbers. this interpretation of the existing conditions is quite erroneous. People like the South American Indians (among whom these defective numeral systems are found), or like the Eskimo (whose old system of numbers probably did not exceed ten), are presumably not in need of higher numerical expressions, because there are not many objects > that they have to count. On the other hand, just as soon as these same people find themselves in contact with civilization, and when they acquire standards of value that have to be counted, they adopt with perfect ease higher numerals from other languages and develop a more or less perfect system of counting. This does not mean that every individual who in the course of his life has never made use of higher numerals would acquire more complex systems readily, but the tribe as a whole seems always to be capable of adjusting itself to the needs of counting. It must be borne in mind that counting does not become necessary until objects are considered in such generalized form that their individualities are entirely lost sight of. For this reason it is possible that even a person who has a flock of domesticated animals may know them by name and by their characteristics without ever desiring to count them. Members of a war expedition may be known by name and may not be counted. In short, there is no proof that the lack of the use of numerals is in any way connected with the inability to form the concepts of higher numbers.

If we want to form a correct judgment of the influence that language exerts over thought, we ought to bear in mind that our European languages as found at the present time have been moulded to a great extent by the abstract thought of philosophers. Terms like essence and existence, many of which are now commonly used, are by origin artificial devices for expressing the results of abstract thought. In this they would resemble the artificial, unidiomatic abstract terms that may be formed in primitive languages. Thus it would seem that the obstacles to generalized thought inherent in the form of a language are of minor importance only, and that presumably the language alone would not prevent a people from advancing to more generalized forms of thinking if the general state of their culture should require expression of such thought; that under these conditions the language would be moulded rather by the cultural state. It does not seem likely, therefore, that there is any direct relation between the culture of a tribe and the language they speak, except in so far as the form of the language will be moulded by the state of culture, but not in so far as a certain state of culture is conditioned by morphological traits of the language.

Unconscious Character of Linguistic Phenomena

Of greater positive importance is the question of the relation of the unconscious character of linguistic phenomena to the more conscious ethnological phenomena. It seems to my mind that this contrast is only apparent, and that the very fact of the unconsciousness of linguistic processes helps us to gain a clearer understanding of the ethnological phenomena, a point the importance of which can not be under-It has been mentioned before that in all languages certain classifications of concepts occur. To mention only a few: we find objects classified according to sex, or as animate and inanimate, or according to form. We find actions determined according to time and place, etc. The behavior of primitive man makes it perfectly clear that all these concepts, although they are in constant use, have never risen into consciousness, and that consequently their origin must be sought, not in rational, but in entirely unconscious, we may perhaps say instinctive, processes of the mind. They must be due to a grouping of sense-impressions and of concepts which is not in any sense of the term voluntary, but which develops from quite different psychological causes. It would seem that the essential difference between linguistic phenomena and other ethnological phenomena is, that the linguistic classifications never rise into consciousness, while in other ethnological phenomena, although the same unconscious origin prevails, these often rise into consciousness, and thus give rise to secondary reasoning and to re-interpretations. It would, for instance, seem very plausible that the fundamental religious notions—like the idea of the voluntary power of inanimate objects, or of the anthropomorphic

character of animals, or of the existence of powers that are superior to the mental and physical powers of man-are in their origin just as little conscious as are the fundamental ideas of language. While, however, the use of language is so automatic that the opportunity never arises for the fundamental notions to emerge into consciousness, this happens very frequently in all phenomena relating to religion. It would seem that there is no tribe in the world in which the religious activities have not come to be a subject of thought. While the religious activities may have been performed before the reason for performing them had become a subject of thought, they attained at an early time such importance that man asked himself the reason why he performed these actions. With this moment speculation in regard to religous activities arose, and the whole series of secondary explanations which form so vast a field of ethnological phenomena came into existence.

It is difficult to give a definite proof of the unconscious origin of ethnic phenomena, because so many of them are, or have come to be, subjects of thought. The best evidence that can be given for their unconscious origin must be taken from our own experience, and I think it is not difficult to show that certain groups of our activities, whatever the history of their earlier development may have been, develop at present in each individual and in the whole people entirely sub-consciously, and nevertheless are most potent in the formation of our opinions and actions. Simple examples of this kind are actions which we consider as proper and improper, and which may be found in great numbers in what we call good manners. Thus table manners, which on the whole are impressed vigorously upon the child while it is still young, have a very fixed form. Smacking of the lips and bringing the plate up to the mouth would not be tolerated, although no esthetic or other reason could be given for their rigid exclusion; and it is instructive to know that among a tribe like the Omaha it is considered as bad taste, when invited to eat, not to smack one's lips, because this is a sign of appreciation of the meal. I think it will readily be recognized that the simple fact that these habits are customary, while others are not, is sufficient reason for eliminating those acts that are not customary, and that the idea of propriety simply arises from the continuity and automatic repetition of these acts, which brings about the notion that manners contrary to custom are unusual, and

therefore not the proper manners. It may be observed in this connection that bad manners are always accompanied by rather intense feelings of displeasure, the psychological reason for which can be found only in the fact that the actions in question are contrary to those which have become habitual. It is fairly evident that in our table manners this strong feeling of propriety is associated with the familiar modes of eating. When a new kind of food is presented, the proper manner of eating which is not known, practically any habit that is not in absolute conflict with the common habits may readily establish itself.

The example of table manners gives also a fairly good instance of secondary explanation. It is not customary to bring the knife to the mouth, and very readily the feeling arises, that the knife is not used in this manner because in eating thus one would easily cut the lips. The lateness of the invention of the fork, and the fact that in many countries dull knives are used and that a similar danger exists of pricking the tongue or the lips with the sharp-pointed steel fork which is commonly used in Europe, show readily that this explanation is only a secondary rationalistic attempt to explain a custom that otherwise would remain unexplained.

If we are to draw a parallel to linguistic phenomena in this case, it would appear that the grouping of a number of unrelated actions in one group, for the reason that they cause a feeling of disgust, is brought about without any reasoning, and still sets off these actions clearly and definitely in a group by themselves.

On account of the importance of this question, it seems desirable to give another example, and one that seems to be more deeply seated than the one given before. A case of this kind is presented in the group of acts which we characterize as modest. It requires very little thought to see that, while the feelings of modesty are fundamental, the particular acts which are considered modest or immodest show immense variation, and are determined entirely by habits that develop unconsciously so far as their relation to modesty is concerned, and which may have their ultimate origin in causes of an entirely different character. A study of the history of costume proves at once that at different times and in different parts of the world it has been considered immodest to bare certain parts of the body. What parts of the body these are, is to a great

extent a matter of accident. Even at the present time, and within a rather narrow range, great variations in this respect may be found. Examples are the use of the veil in Turkey, the more or less rigid use of the glove in our own society, and the difference between street costume and evening dress. A lady in full evening dress in a street-car, during the daytime, would hardly appear in place.

We all are at once conscious of the intensity of these feelings of modesty, and of the extreme repugnance of the individual to any act that goes counter to the customary concepts of modesty. In a number of cases the origin of a costume can readily be traced, and in its development no considerations of modesty exert any influence. It is therefore evident that in this respect the grouping-together of certain customs again develops entirely unconsciously, but that, nevertheless, they stand out as a group set apart from others with great clearness as soon as our attention is directed toward the feelings of modesty.

To draw a parallel again between this ethnological phenomenon and linguistic phenomena, it would seem that the common feature of both is the grouping-together of a considerable number of activities under the form of a single idea, without the necessity of this idea itself entering into consciousness. The difference, again, would lie in the fact that the idea of modesty is easily isolated from other concepts, and that then secondary explanations are given of what is considered modest and what not. I believe that the unconscious formation of these categories is one of the fundamental traits of ethnic life, and that it even manifests itself in many of its more complex aspects; that many of our religious views and activities, of our ethical concepts, and even our scientific views, which are apparently based entirely on conscious reasoning, are affected by this tendency of distinct activities to associate themselves under the influence of strong emotions. It has been recognized before that this is one of the fundamental causes of error and of the diversity of opinion.

It seems necessary to dwell upon the analogy of ethnology and language in this respect, because, if we adopt this point of view, language seems to be one of the most instructive fields of inquiry in an investigation of the formation of the fundamental ethnic ideas. The great advantage that linguistics offer in this respect is the fact that, on the whole, the categories which are formed always remain

unconscious, and that for this reason the processes which lead to their formation can be followed without the misleading and disturbing factors of secondary explanations, which are so common in ethnology, so much so that they generally obscure the real history of the development of ideas entirely.

Cases are rare in which a people have begun to speculate about linguistic categories, and these speculations are almost always so clearly affected by the faulty reasoning that has led to secondary explanations, that they are readily recognized as such, and can not disturb the clear view of the history of linguistic processes. America we find this tendency, for instance, among the Pawnee, who seem to have been led to several of their religious opinions by linguistic similarities. Incidentally such cases occur also in other languages, as, for instance, in Chinook mythology, where the Culture Hero discovers a man in a canoe who obtains fish by dancing, and tells him that he must not do so, but must catch fish with the net, a tale which is entirely based on the identity of the two words for dancing, and catching with a net. These are cases which show that Max Müller's theory of the influence of etymology upon religious concepts explains some of the religious phenomena, although, of course, it can be held to account for only a very small portion.

Judging the importance of linguistic studies from this point of view, it seems well worth while to subject the whole range of linguistic concepts to a searching analysis, and to seek in the peculiarities of the grouping of ideas in different languages an important characteristic in the history of the mental development of the various branches of mankind. From this point of view, the occurrence of the most fundamental grammatical concepts in all languages must be considered as proof of the unity of fundamental psychological processes. The characteristic groupings of concepts in American languages will be treated more fully in the discussion of the single linguistic stocks. The ethnological significance of these studies lies in the clear definition of the groupings of ideas which are brought out by the objective study of language.

There is still another theoretical aspect that deserves special attention. When we try to think at all clearly, we think, on the whole, in words; and it is well known that, even in the advancement of science, inaccuracy of vocabulary has often been a stumbling-

block which has made it difficult to reach accurate conclusions. The same words may be used with different significance, and by assuming the word to have the same significance always, erroneous conclusions may be reached. It may also be that the word expresses only part of an idea, so that owing to its use the full range of the subject-matter discussed may not be recognized. In the same manner the words may be too wide in their significance, including a number of distinct ideas the differences of which in the course of the development of the language were not recognized. Furthermore, we find that, among more primitive tribes, similarities of sound are misunderstood, and that ideas expressed by similar words are considered as similar or identical, and that descriptive terms are misunderstood as expressing an identity, or at least close relationship, between the object described and the group of ideas contained in the description.

All these traits of human thought, which are known to influence the history of science and which play a more or less important rôle in the general history of civilization, occur with equal frequency in the thoughts of primitive man. It will be sufficient to give a few examples of these cases.

One of the most common cases of a group of views due to failure to notice that the same word may signify divers objects, is that based on the belief of the identity of persons bearing the same name. Generally the interpretation is given that a child receives the name of an ancestor because he is believed to be a re-incarnation of the individuality of the ancestor. It seems, however, much more likely that this is not the real reason for the views connected with this custom, which seems due to the fact that no distinction is made between the name and the personality known under the name. The association established between name and individual is so close that the two seem almost inseparable; and when a name is mentioned, not only the name itself, but also the personality of its bearer, appears before the mind of the speaker.

Inferences based on peculiar forms of classification of ideas, and due to the fact that a whole group of distinct ideas are expressed by a single term, occur commonly in the terms of relationship of various languages; as, for instance, in our term *uncle*, which means the two distinct classes of father's brother and mother's

brother. Here, also, it is commonly assumed that the linguistic expression is a secondary reflex of the customs of the people; but the question is quite open in how far the one phenomenon is the primary one and the other the secondary one, and whether the customs of the people have not rather developed from the unconsciously developed terminology.

Cases in which the similarity of sound of words is reflected in the views of the people are not rare, and examples of these have been given before in referring to Max Müller's theory of the origin of religions.

Finally, a few examples may be given of cases in which the use of descriptive terms for certain concepts, or the metaphorical use of terms, has led to peculiar views or customs. It seems plausible to my mind, for instance, that the terms of relationship by which some of the eastern Indian tribes designate one another were originally nothing but a metaphorical use of these terms, and that the further elaboration of the social relations of the tribes may have been largely determined by transferring the ideas accompanying these terms into practice.

More convincing are examples taken from the use of metaphorical terms in poetry, which, in rituals, are taken literally, and are made the basis of certain rites. I am inclined to believe, for instance, that the frequently occurring image of the devouring of wealth has a close relation to the detailed form of the winter ritual among the Indians of the North Pacific coast, and that the poetical simile in which the chief is called the support of the sky has to a certain extent been taken literally in the elaboration of mythological ideas.

Thus it appears that from practical, as well as from theoretical, points of view, the study of language must be considered as one of the most important branches of ethnological study, because, on the one hand, a thorough insight into ethnology can not be gained without practical knowledge of language, and, on the other hand, the fundamental concepts illustrated by human languages are not distinct in kind from ethnological phenomena; and because, furthermore, the peculiar characteristics of languages are clearly reflected in the views and customs of the peoples of the world.

V. CHARACTERISTICS OF AMERICAN LANGUAGES

In older treatises of the languages of the world, languages have often been classified as isolating, agglutinating, polysynthetic, and inflecting languages. Chinese is generally given as an example of an isolating language. The agglutinating languages are represented by the Ural-Altaic languages of northern Asia; polysynthetic languages, by the languages of America; and inflecting languages, by the Indo-European and Semitic languages. The essential traits of these four groups are: That in the first, sentences are expressed solely by the juxtaposition of unchangeable elements; in the agglutinating languages, a single stem is modified by the attachment of numerous formative elements which modify the fundamental idea of the stem; in polysynthetic languages, a large number of distinct ideas are amalgamated by grammatical processes and form a single word, without any morphological distinction between the formal elements in the sentence and the contents of the sentence; and in the inflecting languages, on the other hand, a sharp distinction is made between formal elements and the material contents of the sentence, and stems are modified solely according to the logical forms in which they appear in the sentence.

An example of what is meant by polysynthesis is given, for instance, in the following Eskimo word: takusariartorumagaluarnerpâ? do you think he really intends to go to look after it? (takusar[pâ] he looks after it; -iartor[poq] he goes to; -uma[voq] he intends to; -[g]aluar[poq] he does so—but; -ner[poq] do you think he—; -â, interrogation, third person.) It will be recognized here, that there is no correspondence between the suffixed elements of the fundamental stem and the formal elements that appear in the Indo-European languages, but that a great variety of ideas are expressed by the long series of suffixes. Another example of similar kind is the Tsimshian word t-yuk-ligi-lo-d'ep-dālet he began to put it down somewhere inside (t, he; yuk to begin; ligi somewhere; lo in; d'ep down; dāl to put down; -t it).

American languages have also been designated as incorporating languages, by which is meant a tendency to incorporate the object of the sentence, either nominal or pronominal, in the verbal expression. Examples of this tendency are the Mexican ni-petla-tšiwa I MAKE MATS (petla-tl mat); or the Pawnee ta-t-t'tka'wit I DIG DIRT (ta- indic-

ative; t-I; i'tkāra dirt; -pīt to dig [rp in contact, form 'w]); or the Oneida g-nagla'-sl-i-zak-s i search for a village (g-I; -nagla' to live; -sl- abstract noun; -i- verbal character; -zak to search; -s continuative).

A more thorough knowledge of the structure of many American languages shows that the general designation of all these languages as polysynthetic and incorporating is not tenable. We have in America a sufficiently large number of cases of languages in which the pronouns are not incorporated, but joined loosely to the verb, and we also have numerous languages in which the incorporation of many elements into a single word hardly occurs at all. Among the languages treated here, the Chinook may be given as an example of lack of polysynthesis. There are very few, if any, cases in which a single Chinook word expresses an extended complex of ideas, and we notice particularly that there are no large classes of ideas which are expressed in such form that they may be considered as subordinate. An examination of the structure of the Chinook grammar will show that each verbal stem appears modified only by pronominal and a few adverbial elements, and that nouns show hardly any tendency to incorporate new ideas such as are expressed by our adjectives. On the other hand, the Athapascan and the Haida and Tlingit may be taken as examples of languages which, though polysynthetic in the sense here described, do not readily incorporate the object, but treat both pronominal subject and pronominal object as independent elements. Among the languages of northern North America, the Iroquois alone has so strong a tendency to incorporate the nominal object into the verb, and at the same time to modify so much its independent form, that it can be considered as one of the characteristic languages that incorporate the object. To a lesser extent this trait belongs also to the Tsimshian, Kutenai, and Shoshone. It is strongly developed in the Caddoan languages. All the other incorporating languages treated here, like the Eskimo, Algonquian, and Kwakiutl, confine themselves to a more or less close incorporation of the pronominal object. In Shoshone, the incorporation of the pronominal object and of the nominal object is so weak that it is almost arbitrary whether we consider these forms as incorporated or not. If we extend our view over other parts of America, the same facts appear clearly, and it is not possible to consider these two traits as characteristics of all American languages.

On the other hand, there are certain traits that, although not common to all American languages, are at least frequent, and which are not less characteristic than the tendency to objective incorporation and to polysynthesis. The most important of these is the tendency to divide the verb sharply into an active and a neutral class, one of which is closely related to the possessive forms of the noun, while the other is treated as a true verb. We might perhaps say that American languages have a strong tendency to draw the dividing line between denominating terms and predicative terms, not in the same way that we are accustomed to do. In American languages many of our predicative terms are closely related to nominal terms, most frequently the neutral verbs expressing a state, like to sit, to stand. These, also, often include a considerable number of adjectives. On the other hand, terms expressing activities-like to sing, to eat, to kill-are treated as true predicative terms. The differentiation of these two classes is generally expressed by the occurrence of an entirely or partially separated set of pronouns for the predicative terms.

Beyond these extremely vague points, there are hardly any characteristics that are common to many American languages. A number of traits, however, may be enumerated which occur with considerable frequency in many parts of America.

The phonetic systems of American languages differ very considerably, but we find with remarkable frequency a peculiar differentiation of voiced and unvoiced stops,—corresponding to our b, p; d, t; g, k,— which differ in principle from the classification of the corresponding sounds in most of the European languages. An examination of American vocabularies and texts shows very clearly that all observers have had more or less difficulty in differentiating these sounds. Although there is not the slightest doubt that they differ in character, it would seem that there is almost everywhere a tendency to pronounce the voiced and unvoiced sounds with very nearly equal stress of articulation, not as in European languages, where the unvoiced sound is generally pronounced with greater stress. This equality of stress of the two sounds brings it about that their differences appear rather slight. On the other hand, there are frequently sounds, particularly in the languages of the Pacific coast, in which a stress of articulation is used which is considerably greater than any stresses occurring in the languages with which we are familiar. These sounds are generally unvoiced; but a high air-pressure in the oral cavity is secured by

closing the glottis and nares, or by closing the posterior part of the mouth with the base of the tongue. The release at the point of articulation lets out the small amount of strongly compressed air, and the subsequent opening of glottis and nares or base of tongue produces a break in the continuity of sound.

We find also with particular frequency the occurrence of a number of lingual stops corresponding more or less strictly to our k sounds which, however, are more finely differentiated than our k sounds. Thus the velar k, which is so characteristic of Semitic languages, occurs with great frequency in America. On the other hand, the labio-dental f seems to be rather rare, and where a similar sound occurs it is often the bilabial sound.

The same may be said of the r, which on the whole is a rare sound in American languages, and the trill of which is almost always so weak that it merges into the d, n, l, or y, as the case may be.

On the whole, the system of consonants of American languages is well developed, particularly owing to the occurrence of the three stresses to which I referred before, instead of the two with which we are more familiar. In some groups of languages we have also a quite distinct set of stops accompanied by full breathing, which correspond to the English surds. Furthermore, a peculiar break, produced by closing the vocal chords, occurs quite commonly, not only in connection with sonants, but also following or preceding vowels or This intonation is sometimes quite audible, affricative consonants. and sometimes merely a break or hiatus in the continuity of pronunciation. Sometimes it seems related to the pronunciation of a voiced consonant in which the voicing is preceded by a closure of the vocal chords. In other cases it seems related to the production of the great stress of articulation to which I referred before. For instance, in a strong t the tongue may be pressed so firmly against the palate that all the articulating organs, including the vocal chords, take part in the tension, and that the sudden expulsion of the air is accompanied also by a sudden relaxation of the vocal chords, so that for this reason the strong, exploded sound appears to be accompanied by an intonation of the vocal chords.

As stated before, these traits are not by any means common to all American languages, but they are sufficiently frequent to deserve mention in a generalized discussion of the subject.

On the other hand, there are languages which are exceedingly deficient in their phonetic system. Among these may be mentioned, for instance, the Iroquois, which possesses not a single true labial consonant; or the Haida, in which the labials are confined to a few sounds, which are rather rare.

The vocalic systems of the northern languages seem peculiarly uncertain. The cases are very numerous in which obscure vowels occur, which are evidently related to fuller vowels, but whose affiliations often can not be determined. It would seem that in the southern languages these weak vowels are not so prominent. We also find very frequently a lack of clear distinction between o and u on the one hand, and e and i on the other. Although the variability of vowels in some of the languages seems beyond doubt, there are others in which the vocalic system is very definite and in which distinctions are expressed, not only by the timbre of the vowel, but also by its rising or falling tone. Among these may be mentioned the Pawnee and the Takelma. The Pawnee seems to have at least two tones, a sinking tone and a rising tone, while in Takelma there seem to be three tones. Nasalized vowels are very common in some languages, and entirely absent in others. This nasalization occurs both with open lips and with closed lips. An example of the latter is the Iroquois u^m .

It is not possible to give any general characterization of American languages with regard to the grouping of sounds. While in some languages consonantic clusters of incredible complexity are formed, others avoid such clusters altogether. There is, however, a habit of pronunciation which deserves attention, and which is found very widely distributed. This is the slurring of the ends of words, which is sometimes so pronounced, that, in an attempt to write the words. the terminations, grammatical or other, may become entirely inaudible. The simplest form in which this tendency expresses itself is in the suppression of terminal consonants, which are only articulated, but not pronounced. In the Nass river dialect of the Tsimshian, for instance, the terminal n of the word gan tree is indicated by the position of the tongue, but is entirely inaudible, unless the word is followed by other words belonging to the same sentence. In that language the same is true of the sounds l and m. Vowels are suppressed in a similar manner by being only indicated by the position of the mouth, without being articulated. This happens frequently to the u following a k, or with an i in the same position.

Thus, the Kwakiutl pronounce $w\bar{a}'dek^u$. If, however, another vowel follows, the u which is not articulated appears as a w, as in the form $w\bar{a}'dekwa$.

The slurring, however, extends over whole syllables, which in these cases may appear highly modified. Thus, in the Oneida dialect of the Iroquois, a peculiar l sound is heard, which presumably occurs only in such slurred syllables. It is very remarkable that the Indians of all tribes are perfectly conscious of the phonetic elements which have thus been suppressed, and can, when pressed to do so, pronounce the words with their full endings.

Another trait that is characteristic of many American languages, and that deserves mention, is the tendency of various parts of the population to modify the pronunciation of sounds. Thus we find that among some Eskimo tribes the men pronounce the terminal p, t, k, and q distinctly, while the women always transform these sounds into m, n, \tilde{n} , and \tilde{q} . In some dialects the men have also adopted this manner of pronouncing, so that the pronunciation has become uniform again. Such mannerisms, that are peculiar to certain social groups, are of course not entirely foreign to us, but they are seldom developed in so striking a manner as in a few of the Indian languages.

In many American languages we find highly developed laws of euphony,—laws by which, automatically, one sound in a sentence requires certain other sounds either to precede or to follow it. In the majority of cases these laws of euphony seem to act forward in a manner that may be compared to the laws of vowel harmony in the Ural-Altaic languages. Particularly remarkable among these laws is the influence of the o upon following vowels, which occurs in a few languages of the Pacific coast. In these, the vowels following an o in the same word must, under certain conditions, be transformed into o vowels, or at least be modified by the addition of a w. Quite different in character are the numerous influences of contact of sounds, which are very pronounced in the Siouan languages, and occur again in a quite different form in the Pawnee. It may be well to give an example of these also. Thus, in Dakota, words ending with an a and followed by a word beginning with a k transform the former into e, the latter into ¿. In Pawnee, on the other hand, the combination tr is always transformed into an h; b following an i is generally

changed into a w; rp becomes hw, etc. While in some languages these phonetic changes do not occupy a prominent place, they are exceedingly important in others. They correspond in a way to the laws of euphony of Sanskrit.

Just as much variety as is shown in phonetic systems is found in the use of grammatical devices. In discussing the definition of the word, it has been pointed out that in some American languages the word-unit seems to be perfectly clear and consistent, while in others the structure of the sentence would seem to justify us in considering it as composed of a number of independent elements combined by juxtaposition. Thus, languages which have a polysynthetic character have the tendency to form firmly knit word-units, which may be predicative sentences, but may also be used for denominative purposes. For example, the Chinook may say, He runs into the water, and may designate by this term the mink; or the Hupa may say They have been laid together, meaning by this term a fire. On the other hand, there are innumerable languages in America in which expressions of this kind are entirely impossible.

In forming words and sentences, affixes are used extensively, and we find prefixes, as well as suffixes and infixes. It is not absolutely certain that cases occur in America where true infixing into a stem takes place, and where it might not be better explained as an insertion of the apparently infixed element into a compound stem, or as due to secondary phonetic phenomena, like those of metathesis; but in the Siouan languages at least, infixion in bisyllabic stems that are apparently simple in their origin occurs. Otherwise, suffixing is, on the whole, more extensively used than prefixing; and in some languages only one of these two methods is used, in others both. There are probably no languages in which prefixing alone occurs.

Change of stem is also a device that is used with great frequency. We find particularly that methods of reduplication are used extensively. Modifications of single sounds of the stem occur also, and sometimes in peculiar form. Thus we have cases, as in Tsimshian, where the lengthening of a vowel indicates plurality; or, as in Algonquian, where modality is expressed by vocalic modification; and, as in Chinook, where diminutive and augmentative are expressed by increasing the stress of consonants. Sometimes an exuberance of reduplicated forms is found, the reduplicated stem being reduplicated a second and even a third time. On the other

hand, we find numerous languages in which the stem is entirely unchangeable, excepting so far as it may be subject to phonetic contact phenomena.

The following grammatical sketches have been contributed by investigators, each of whom has made a special study of the linguistic stock of which he treats. The attempt has been made to adopt, so far as feasible, a uniform method of treatment, without, however, sacrificing the individual conception of each investigator.

In accordance with the general views expressed in the introductory chapters, the method of treatment has been throughout an analytical one. No attempt has been made to compare the forms of the Indian grammars with the grammars of English, Latin, or even among themselves; but in each case the psychological groupings which are given depend entirely upon the inner form of each language. In other words, the grammar has been treated as though an intelligent Indian was going to develop the forms of his own thoughts by an analysis of his own form of speech.

It will be understood that the results of this analysis can not be claimed to represent the fundamental categories from which the present form of each language has developed. There is not the slightest doubt that, in all Indian languages, processes have occurred analogous to those processes which are historically known and to which the modern forms of Indo-European languages owe their present forms. Grammatical categories have been lost, and new ones have developed. Even a hasty comparison of the dialects of various American linguistic families gives ample proof that similar processes have taken place here. To give an example, we find that, in the Ponca dialect of the Siouan languages, nouns are classified according to form, and that there is a clear formal distinction between the subject and the object of the sentence. These important features have disappeared entirely in the Dakota dialect of the same group of languages. give another example, we find a pronominal sex gender in all the dialects of the Salishan stock that are spoken west of the Coast range in the states of Washington and in British Columbia, while in the dialects of the interior there is no trace of gender. On the other hand, we find in one of the Salish dialects of the interior the occurrence of an exclusive and inclusive form of the pronoun, which is absent in all the other dialects of the same stock. We have no information on the history of American languages, and the study of dialects has not advanced far enough to permit us to draw far-reaching inferences in regard to this subject. It is therefore impossible, in the few cases here mentioned, to state whether the occurrence and non-occurrence of these categories are due to a loss of old forms in the one dialect or to a later differentiation in the other.

Although, therefore, an analytical grammar can not lay any claim to present a history of the development of grammatical categories, it is valuable as a presentation of the present state of grammatical development in each linguistic group. The results of our investigation must be supplemented at a later time by a thorough analysis and comparison of all the dialects of each linguistic stock.

Owing to the fundamental differences between different linguistic families, it has seemed advisable to develop the terminology of each independently of the others, and to seek for uniformity only in cases where it can be obtained without artificially stretching the definition of terms. It is planned to give a comparative discussion of the languages at the close of these volumes, when reference can be made to the published sketches.

So far as our present knowledge goes, the following linguistic families may be distinguished in North America north of Mexico:

- 1. Eskimo (arctic coast).
- Athapascan (northwestern interior, Oregon, California, Southwest).
- 3. Tlingit (coast of southern Alaska).
- 4. Haida (Queen Charlotte islands, British Columbia).
- 5. Salishan (southern British Columbia and northern Washington).
- 6. Chemakum (west coast of Washington).
- 7. Wakashan (Vancouver island).
- 8. Algonquian (region south of Hudson Bay and eastern Woodlands).
- 9. Beothuk (Newfoundland).
- 10. Tsimshian (northern coast of British Columbia).
- Siouan (northern plains west of Mississippi and North Carolina).
- 12. Iroquoian (lower Great Lakes and North Carolina).
- 13. Caddoan (southern part of plains west of Mississippi).
- 14. Muskhogean (southeastern United States).
- 15. Kiowa (middle Western plains).
- 16. Shoshonean (western plateaus of United States).

- 17. Kutenai (southeastern interior of British Columbia).
- 18. Pima (Arizona and Sonora).
- 19. Yuma (Arizona and lower California).
- 20. Chinook (lower Columbia river).
- 21. Yakona (Yaquina bay).
- 22. Kus (coast of central Oregon).
- 23. Takelma (Rogue river, Oregon).
- 24. Kalapuya (Willamette valley, Oregon).
- 25. Waiilaptuan (Cascade range east of Willamette, Ore.).
- 26. Klamath (southeastern interior of Oregon).
- 27. Sahaptin (interior of Oregon).
- 28. Quoratean (Klamath river).
- 29. Weitspekan (lower Klamath river).
- 30. Shasta (northeast interior of California).
- 31. Wishok (north coast of California).
- 32. Yana (eastern tributaries of upper Sacramento river, California).
- 33. Chimarico (head waters of Sacramento river, California).
- 34. Wintun (valley of Sacramento river).
- 35. Maidu (east of Sacramento river).
- 36. Yuki (north of Bay of San Francisco).
- 37. Pomo (coast north of Bay of San Francisco).
- 38. Washo (Lake Washoe, Nevada, and California).
- 39. Moquelumnan (east of lower Tulare river, California).
- 40. Yokuts (southern Tulare river, California).
- 41. Costanoan (south of Bay of San Francisco, California).
- 42. Esselenian (coast of southern California).
- 43. Salinan (coast of southern California).
- 44. Chumashan (coast of southern California).
- 45. Tanoan
- 46. Zuñi
- (Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona).
- 47. Keres
- 48. Pakawan (from Cibolo creek, Texas, into the state of Coahuila, Mexico),
- 49. Karankawa (coast of Gulf of Mexico west of Atakapa).
- 50. Tonkawa (inland from preceding).
- 51. Atakapa (coast of Gulf of Mexico west of Chitimacha).
- 52. Chitimacha (coast of Gulf of Mexico west of Mississippi).
- 53. Tunica (coast of Gulf of Mexico west of Mississippi).
- 54. Yuchi (east Georgia).
- 55. Timuqua (Florida).

Of these, the present volume contains sketches of a number of languages of the northern group, the Athapascan, Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Kwakiutl, Chinook, Maidu, Algonquian, Siouan, Eskimo.

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ATHAPASCAN (HUPA)

BY

PLINY EARLE GODDARD



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ATHAPASCAN

(HUPA)

By PLINY EARLE GODDARD

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION OF THE ATHAPASCAN FAMILY

The Athapascan stock is one of the largest and most widely distributed families of speech in North America. Geographically it consists of three divisions, the northern, the Pacific coast, and the southern.

The northern division occupies much of the northwestern portion of the continent. East of the Rocky mountains the southern boundary is the Churchill river at the southeast, and the watershed between Athabasca and Peace rivers at the southwest. South of them are peoples of the Algonquian stock. The Eskimo hold a narrow strip of continuous coast-line along the Arctic ocean and Hudson bay to the north and east. West of the Rocky mountains the Athapascan territory begins at the fifty-first parallel of north latitude, and includes all of the country except the coast and islands. Only near the boundary of Alaska and British Columbia did they reach the coast. In the extreme north the coast is in the possession of the Eskimo. To the south the shore-lands are in the possession of the Haida, Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Wakashan. Their southern neighbors are members of the Salishan stock.

¹The principal works which treat particularly of the Athapascans of the north are the following: SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE. Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Laurence, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans: in the Years 1789 and 1793. London, 1801.

SIR JOHN RICHARDSON. Arctic Searching Expedition: a Journal of a Boat Voyage through Ruperts
Land to the Arctic Sea, in Search of the Discovery Ships under Command of Sir John
Franklin. London, 1851.

J. C. E. BUSCHMANN. Der Athapaskische Sprachstamm. K\u00fcnigliche Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin, Abhandhungen aus dem Jahre 1855, 144-819.

Le R. P. E. Petitot. Dictionaire de la langue Déné-Dindjié. Paris, 1876.

REV. FATHER A. G. MOBICE. The Western Déné, their Manners and Customs. Proceedings of the Canadian Institute, 3d ser., vii, 109-174. Toronto, 1890.

⁻ The Déné Languages. Transactions of the Canadian Institute, 1, 170-212. Toronto, 1891.

⁻ The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia. Toronto, 1904.

The Pacific coast division formerly consisted of one band in the interior of British Columbia, two small bands in the state of Washington, and many villages in a strip of nearly continuous territory about four hundred miles in length, beginning at the Umpqua river, Oregon, and extending south between the coast and coast range mountains to the head waters of Eel river in California. At the Klamath river their territory was cut through at one point by the Yurok who occupied the lower portion of that river and the coast southward nearly to the mouth of Mad river. From that point the non-Athapascan Wiyot extended along the coast a little south of the mouth of Eel river. These villages were separated in many cases from each other by low but rugged mountains. They were surrounded by the small stocks characteristic of the region.

The southern division occupies a very large area in the Southwest, including much of Arizona, New Mexico, and western Texas, and extending to some distance into Mexico proper. The people form three groups, the Lipan in the East, the Navaho south of the San Juan river in eastern Arizona and western New Mexico, and the various tribes of Apache east and south of the Navaho. This division greatly exceeds in numbers all the other Athapascan people. Their principal neighbors were the Piman, Shoshonean, and Pueblo peoples.

Wide differences in physical type and culture, and considerable changes in language, make it certain that these divisions have not been separated from each other recently.

In the Pacific coast division, to which the Hupa belong, are at least four languages mutually unintelligible. The Umpqua at the north seems to differ widely from the dialects south of it, both in its phonetic character and its vocabulary. From the Umpqua southward to the Yurok country on the Klamath river the dialects seem to shade into one another, those formerly spoken on the Coquille river and

¹ Publications treating this division of the Athapascan are:

J. OWEN DORSEY. Indians of the Siletz Reservation, Oregon. American Anthropologist, II, 55-61. Washington, 1889.—The Gentile System of the Siletz Tribes. Journal of American Folls-Lore, III, 227-237. Boston, 1890.

STEPHEN POWERS. The Northern California Indians. Overland Monthly, VIII, IX. San Francisco, 1872-74.

PLINY EARLE GODDARD. Kato Texts. University of California Publications, American Archeology and Ethnology, v, no. 3.

²The published material concerning this division is mostly restricted to the Navaho, and has been collected by one author, Dr. Washington Matthews. The more important of his works are: The Mountain Chant: a Navajo Ceremony. Fith Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1887. Navaho Legends. Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, v. Boston, 1897.

The Night Chant. Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, vi. New York, 1902.

Galice creek being the most distinct. In the southern portion of the area, on Eel river and the coast, are several dialects differing much more in vocabulary than in phonetics. That Indians from the extremes of this territory can converse in their respective languages is not probable. On lower Mattole and Bear rivers and the adjacent coast a very distinct dialect was spoken. In the middle of this Pacific coast division are two dialects very closely connected. One of them was formerly spoken on upper Redwood creek and middle Mad river in Humboldt county, California; and the other, the Hupa of which this paper treats, on the lower (northern) portion of the Trinity river.

The villages speaking the Hupa dialect have for neighbors, to the north the Yurok, to the northeast the Karok, to the east the Shasta, but with high mountains intervening, to the south the Chimariko and Wintun, and to the west the Athapascans of Redwood creek.

Texts of myths, tales, and medicine formulas collected by the author were published by the University of California, upon which, as a basis, an analytical study of the morphology of the language has been made. A preliminary paper describing in detail the individual sounds of the language and illustrating them by means of palatograms and tracings has been published. The examples given in the following grammatical sketch are taken from the collection of Hupa texts published by the University of California. The figures refer to pages and lines.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. Sounds

Among the sounds composing the Hupa language, consonantal continuants predominate. This takes from the speech the definiteness produced by a predominance of stops, and the musical character imparted by full clear vowels standing alone or scantily attended by consonants in the syllable.

The stops are entirely lacking in one of the most important series, the labial. Hupa has neither p nor b. The latter is often found in many of the other Athapascan dialects of the Pacific coast division. In Hupa the corresponding words have m in place of b. The back

¹For a general account of the Hupa villages and their surroundings, see P. E. Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa. University of California Publications, American Archeology and Ethnology, 1, no. 1.—Hupa Texts, idem, 1, no. 2.

The Morphology of the Hupa Language, idem, III.

The Phonology of the Hupa Language.—Part I, idem, v, no. 1.

series are represented by stops, but mostly by surds only. In the dental series alone is the sonant frequent. There are two surds of this series, one quite strongly aspirated, about as much so as is English t in a stressed syllable; the other, followed by suction, probably produced by glottal action, has the vowel following the explosion of the consonant in about half the time it does in the aspirated t. In this regard it lies between the aspirated t and d. unaccustomed ear usually hears it as d, but it may easily be distinguished from that sound when the attention is directed toward its sonancy which begins in d at the moment of release. On first acquaintance with the language the sonant has been written as t by all who have attempted its notation. After more practice it may be distinguished with precision, and its pronunciation only as a sonant meets with the approval of the native speaker. Of the palatal series, only the anterior palatals are employed before e and i sounds. these occur before a, o, and u, a well-defined glide is heard, which has been written as y. The posterior palatal series is articulated just back of the line of the joining of the soft and hard palates. were originally three or more representatives of this series is probable. The full sonant seems to have become w. The aspirated surd has become a continuant spirant x.¹ There remain two sounds, one (k)that has the sonancy closely following the release, and one (k) accompanied or followed by suction giving it a sharp, harsh sound usually designated as fortis. The velar series is articulated very far back, giving the effect of a closure against a yielding surface, and resulting in a soft sound, rather difficult to distinguish as surd or sonant, but probably always the former. The glottal stop (2) is most easily recognized when final, for then its release is often heard. vowels it must be detected by the silence enforced and by the change wrought in the close of the first vowel.

The stops may be represented as follows:

			Glottal	Velar	Palatal	Anterior palatal	Dental	Labial
Sonant				_	-	g, gy	d	_
Surd			. (ε)	\boldsymbol{q} .	\boldsymbol{k}	k, ky	t	_
Fortis				_	<u>k</u>	<u>k</u>	<u>t</u>	_

The continuant consonants of Hupa comprise spirants, affricatives, nasals, and liquids. A glottal spirant occurs after as well as before vowels. Initially it is a surd breath escaping as the glottis passes from

Compare Hupa teitleswen HE CARRIED, and menited You Finished, with Kato telesgia and beneited.

the open position maintained in breathing to the position required for the vowel, and is written h. It is rather stronger than English h. When final, the spirant is caused by the sudden opening of the glottis without diminution of the force of the breath, and is written ('). It has been noted only where it is most prominent, or where it differentiates one word or word-element from another. One of the spirants (x) imparts a noticeable harshness to the Hupa language. It is formed rather far back in the mouth, apparently in the velar position. mouth-passage is made quite narrow, and the uvula is thrown into vibration. The period of these vibrations is about forty per second. The resulting sound is harsh, both from the lowness of the period and from its irregularity. The degree of harshness varies considerably in individuals, and, indeed, in the same individual. While the sound is not far removed from the velar r in its place and manner of formation, its effect on the ear is rather that of German chafter back vowels. In Hupa, however, this sound is usually initial. There is no corresponding sonant in Hupa. It does occur in Navaho; as, for example, in the proper pronunciation of hogan House, where the first consonant is nearly like the Hupa sound, and the second is its sonant. There is a spirant pronounced in the palatal position, but accompanied by marked labial rounding. It closely resembles w; but it is a surd, not a sonant. When this sound is initial $(h\underline{w})$, it appears to begin without rounding of the lips, sounding much like English wh in who. When final (\underline{w}) , the sound makes much less impression on the ear. It is to be distinguished from x by its lack of roughness, and from both x and h by the rounding of the lips. It differs from a bilabial f in that it is accompanied by a narrowing of the mouth-passage in the palatal position.1 Another spirant (L) common on the Pacific coast, and found in Hupa, causes great difficulty when first heard. It is formed at one or both sides of the tongue, as is l, but differs from that sound in that the breath which passes through the opening is surd instead of sonant, and that the passage is narrower, causing a distinct spirant character. When the passage is entirely closed and the breath must break its way through to continue as a spirant, an affricative L is formed. Both of these sounds, but especially the latter, impress the ear of one unaccustomed to them as combinations of t or k and l. The spirant s in the alveolar position is frequent in Hupa, and does not differ espe-

¹This sound has for its equivalent in other dialects c (sh). Cf. Hupa $h\underline{w}a$ sun and $h\underline{w}e$ 1, ME, with Kato ca and ct.

cially, either in its method of formation or in its sound, from English s. The sonant z does not occur except when preceded by d. There are no interdental, labio-dental, or bilabial spirants except the rounded palatal spirant, $h\underline{w}$, \underline{w} , discussed above.

The affricatives are tc, dj, ts, dz, and L. The first two are formed by a t-like closure and explosion, followed by a spirant through a passage formed by a horizontally wide and vertically narrow constriction along the middle of the hard palate near the first and second molars. The second pair, ts and dz, are formed nearly as in English, in the dental position, through a rather round passageway. It is probable that there are three members of each series, the sonant, the aspirated surd, and the fortis surd. The aspirated anterior palatal surd usually has a u tinge and has been written tcw. The fortis is indicated by tc.

The nasals are three in number—the palatal, dental, and labial. The palatal nasal is very frequent in its occurrence, especially in the final position in the word. It is accompanied by more or less nasality in the preceding vowel.

The only liquid is the lateral one l, which does not differ in any considerable degree from English l either in the manner of its making or its sound.

The continuants may be represented as follows:

		Glottal	Velar	Palatal	Anterior palatal	Dental	Labial
Spirant .		h (')	\boldsymbol{x}	$h\underline{w}$ (\underline{w})	L (lateral)	8	$h\underline{w}$ (\underline{w})
Affricative		-	-	-	tc, tcw, dj, L	ts, dz	_
Nasal		_	_	$ ilde{n}$	_	n	m
Liquid		-		-	l (lateral)	-	

The complete system of consonants may be tabulated thus:

			Sto	p#	Continuants			
			Sonant	Surd	Spirant	Affricative	Nasal	Liquid
Glottal.				ε	h (')	_	_	_
Velar .			-	g	$oldsymbol{x}$	-	_	_
Palatal.			_	$k(\underline{k})$	$h\underline{w}$ (\underline{w})	-	\tilde{n}	_
Anterior Palatal	-	•	g, gy	k, ky	L (lateral)	$egin{array}{l} tc, tcw, dj \ L ext{(lateral)} \end{array}$		l (lateral)
Dental.			\boldsymbol{d}	$t(\underline{t})$	8	ts, dz	\boldsymbol{n}	· _
Labial.			-	_	$hw\left(\underline{w}\right)$	_	m	_

There are in Hupa nine vowel-sounds and two semi-vowels. They may be represented as follows:

$$y$$
, \bar{i} , i , \bar{e} , e , a , a , o , \bar{o} , \bar{u} , w

The vowels in Hupa are formed with much less movement of the lower jaw and lips than is employed in the corresponding sounds in English speech. The Hupa seem to talk with their mouths nearly closed. As a result, the sounds are not open and clear, but muffled. These vowels may terminate in a sudden opening of the glottis, resulting in an aspiration of the vowel; or in a closure of the glottis, bringing the vowel to an abrupt close. When aspirated, the whole vowel has a breathy quality; and when closed by a glottal stop, it sounds hard and compact.

§ 3. Grouping of Sounds

It is rarely the case that words or syllables begin with a vowel, and most of such cases occur in verb forms. Semi-vowels and single consonants are frequent initially. The only clusters which stand initially are the affricatives dz, ts, dj, tc, and tcw, and the combinations hw, rw, and ky. Of the affricatives, tcw seems to be a phonetic derivation from a simple sound, probably a palatal with a u tinge. The combination hw corresponds to the simple sound c(sh) in the other Athapascan dialects; rw is due to the change of rare to the semi-vowel rw; and rw has for the second element a glide due to a back vowel following an anterior palatal consonant. Probably none of these initial sounds were therefore originally two distinct consonants in juxtaposition.

Many syllables end in vowels. When final in the word, and bearing the accent, some vowels, under certain conditions, seem to develop semi-vowels after themselves, becoming diphthongs. This is especially true of the vowel a in the roots of verbs. In the past tense, which is more strongly accented on the ultima (the root syllable), a becomes ai, or sometimes au. The au is due to a disappearing final g. That ai is due to a suffix is not unlikely. Syllables may end in simple consonants or in affricatives. The only prominent sonant stop which occurs in Hupa (d) is not frequent in the final position. When a dental stop occurs in the interior of a word, it is usually surd if at the end of a syllable, and sonant if at the beginning. In fact, it often happens that the same sound begins as a surd and is completed as a sonant, the occlusion belonging to the preceding syllable, and the explosion

^{&#}x27;The opening of the glottis is of course brought about by a separation of the vocal processes. The pitch at the end of the vowel is lowered. The closure of the glottis is more probably brought about by the movement of the epiglottis so as to cover the glottis as in swallowing. A similar glottal action no doubt produces the fortis series.

to the succeeding syllable. Two consonants may stand together in the middle of a word, provided they belong to different syllables.

§ 4. Assimilation of Sounds

Assimilation of consonants, mostly retrogressive, takes place in some cases when two consonants are brought together morphologically or syntactically. The most important are these:

(1) Retrogressive.

t before n becomes n.

tcūhwilkinneen he nearly caught me (for tcūhwilkitneen)

t before m becomes m.

yaïıkimmiñ they intended to catch (for yaïıkitmiñ)

 \tilde{n} before l becomes l.

yawinean he picked up a stone (but yawillai he picked up several stones)

t before l becomes l.

noiwilkillilte it will be foggy (for noiwilkitlilte)

 \tilde{n} before t or d becomes n.

neilin I am looking at it (but neilinte I am going to look at it)

 \tilde{n} before m becomes m.

yawiñean he picked it up (but yawimmas he rolled over)

(2) Progressive.

h after l becomes l.

tcûkqallit as he walked along (for tcûkqalhit)

 \boldsymbol{w} after $\boldsymbol{\tilde{n}}$ becomes $\boldsymbol{\tilde{n}}$.

tcūwiññas he scraped bark off (but wewas I scraped bark off)

When morphological causes bring two consonants at the end of a syllable, one of them is dropped. This is evidently the case in the formation of the conjugation where the modal prefix (L) would be expected after the sign of the first person singular (w). In this case the modal prefix is not found. In the second person singular of the verb the modal prefix remains, but the sign of the second person (\bar{n}) has been dropped. Also, in the third person singular s would be expected before the same modal prefix, but it does not occur in Hupa. In Tolowa all of these combinations do occur, and in the very places where one would expect them in Hupa but fails to find them.

There are in Hupa several morphological elements which seem to have only the initial consonant fixed. The remainder of the syllable depends upon the sounds which follow it. For example, the sign of the third person singular (tc) has the following forms:

tcelwal he is always lying down tcuweswaL he remained lying down tcissilwaL he is lying down tcilloie he tied it tcimmitche is breaking it off tcinnesten he lay down tcittesyai he went tcukqal he walked

GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES (§§ 5-8)

§ 5. Enumeration of Grammatical Processes

Grammatical processes and syntactical relations are expressed by means of the following methods:

- (1) Composition.
- (2) Changes in the phonetic character of the root.
- (3) Position in the sentence.

§ 6. Composition

The verbs of Hupa, and some of the nouns, consist of two or more syllables, each of which has some rather definite meaning or points out some particular relation. These elements do not express ideas of equal rank and of like kind. Each may be replaced in turn by another giving to the thought expressed a different character. The element which by its displacement most completely alters the meaning may be called the root. The word-parts which precede this root may be considered prefixes, and those which follow it suffixes. These prefixes and suffixes fall into classes rather well marked as regards their office in the expression of thought, and have a definite order in the word-structure.

These sound-complexes expressing complete thoughts might be looked upon as sentences, which they often are, and their constituent parts as monosyllabic words, but for the following reasons: First, the individual parts, expressing definite ideas or relations, are not always phonetic wholes capable of independent production. These may be thought once to have had a more complete form, and to have

united with other elements of the word with which they came in contact through the disappearance of one of the vowels or by their contraction. It is, however, possible that from the beginning of the language they have had this meager form. Second, some of these elements, while existing as independent syllables, express relations or subordinate ideas which do not seem to arise in the mind of the Hupa when these syllables by themselves are uttered, but which readily arise when the syllables are uttered in their accustomed connection. Both of these statements are true of some of the monosyllabic elements of spoken English. The difference is not one of kind, but of degree.

Besides these older and largely conjectural phonetic changes which join together the parts of the word, there are other more simple and apparent modifications of the root by the suffix, or of the suffix by the root, bringing the whole into greater phonetic harmony. These changes are quite infrequent, and never great enough to obscure the root or suffix.

§ 7. Changes in the Phonetic Character of the Root

There are definite and regular changes in the phonetic character of the roots which cannot be explained as being due to the influence of morphological additions. These are of two kinds:

- (1) Changes in the terminal consonant.
- (2) Changes in the character and length of the vowel.

CHANGES IN THE TERMINAL CONSONANT.—One of the most common changes of the terminal consonant of the root is that of n to \tilde{n} . This is a change of series, the nature of the sound remaining the same. The roots in which this change occurs have n in the forms expressing past definite, customary, and negative future action, and \tilde{n} elsewhere. A modification of the character of the sound, not in the place of its formation, is found in the case of l and L. The first sound is found in the forms expressing past definite, customary, and negative future action. The change in this case is from surd to sonant. Of a similar nature is the series of three sounds, l, L, and L. The first (l) is found in forms expressing customary and negative future action; the second (L) is employed with the forms of the present and imperative; and the third (L) with forms expressing definite action, whether past, present, or future. A few verbs have roots ending in s or the corre-

sponding affricative, ts. The latter occurs in the forms expressing definite action. It is evident that c and tc formerly had a similar relation, but the former has since become \underline{w} . Finally there are a number of roots which lose a final t. The past definite, customary, and negative future have the form with t; and the present of both definite and indefinite action and the imperative do not have it.

Changes in the Character and Length of the Vowel.—Certain vowel-changes occur in connection with the change of terminal consonants, and are perhaps tied up with them. These are a change of a to \hat{u} , and of e to i. The stronger vowels, a and e, occur with n; and \hat{u} and i, the weaker ones, with \tilde{n} . The threefold consonant-change, l, L, and L, has e before L, and i before l and L. Other changes take place in cases where there are now no final consonants. These are \bar{u} to e, au to a, and ai to a. In all the pairs given above, the first-named is considerably longer in its duration than is the second. Probably these changes, the direction of which is not known, came about by a change in the position or force of the accent, whether of stress or pitch.

§ 8. Position

Upon the order of the words in the sentence often depends their relation to each other. This is especially true of the subject and object when expressed as nouns. The first in order is the subject, and the second the object. Both of them may precede the verb. Possession and other relations are expressed by syntactical particles, which are joined to the limited word, and fix its place in the sentence after the word which limits it.

IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES (§§ 9-19)

§ 9. Enumeration of Categories

The following ideas have grammatical devices for their expression in Hupa:

- (1) Denominating concepts.
- (2) Predicating concepts.
- (3) Syntactic relations.
- (4) Classification.
- (5) Number.

- (6) Distribution.
- (7) Time.
- (8) Mode.
- (9) Place and direction.
- (10) Person.

¹The pairs \bar{a} , e, and au, a, are represented in Kato and other Eel river dialects by eg, e', and ag, a'.

§ 10. Denominating Concepts

Most nouns are clearly separated from verbs, both in form and meaning. Many nouns are monosyllabic, entirely lacking in descriptive power, and having meaning because they have become associated in the mind with the object for which they stand. Of essentially the same character are the names of the parts of the body and terms of relationship, which are always found with a prefixed possessive pronoun, the purely nominal part being a single syllable. There are a few compound nouns, either co-ordinate and in juxtaposition, or one modifying the other. Certain nouns are formed by suffixes which are strictly limited to a nominal use. Of such character are the augmentative and diminutive suffixes $-ky\bar{o}$ and -itc. Other suffixes have the meaning of dwelling in, frequenting, or being found in the place named by the stem to which they are attached; for example, xonteltau PLACE BROAD HE FREQUENTS (coyote). While nouns of this class do describe and predicate certain things, that is not their chief purpose. The description is for the purpose of pointing out definitely an object by discriminating between it and other related objects.

A number of nouns have a verbal form, and describe the object referred to by giving some characteristic position, form, or action. For this purpose the verb may appear alone in the active or passive voice, or a noun may be placed before it to serve as its object or limit of motion. It is probable that some such verbal forms, having lost their verbal force, have furnished a number of polysyllabic nouns which have now no descriptive meaning in the mind of the Hupa, and do not yield to attempts at analysis. These complexes which serve the office of nouns, indicating an object or animal by means of a characterization of it, are really substantive clauses.

There are a few suffixes which are employed with both nouns and verbs. They are temporal, indicating that the thing or act belongs to the past or future rather than the present.

§ 11. Predicating Concepts

The verbs differ from the nouns in that they are almost invariably polysyllabic, and have the meaning of a complete sentence. The more essential part or root of the verb is usually not associated in the mind with a certain object or animal, but with some particular act or motion: as $-t\bar{o}$, which means to insert or exsert an object into a tubular

OPENING. There are a number of roots which are connected with objects; not, however, naming them specifically, but indicating the class to which they belong as regards size, shape, or physical character. The few roots which do agree in form with monosyllabic nouns seem to name the object by means of which the act is done.

The form of the complete verb differs from the ordinary noun in that it has prefixes as well as suffixes, and in the character of these formative elements, which, with the exceptions noted above, differ from those employed in nouns. They differ in function in that they invariably have predicative force, while nouns either lack predicative force or have it incidentally.

§ 12. Syntactic Relations

The syntactic relation of subject and object to the predicate, when both are expressed by nouns, is shown by their order in the sentence. When only one is expressed by a noun, it may be determined, in most cases, whether it is intended as subject or object by the form of the incorporated pronoun, which is employed in the verb regardless of the employment or non-employment of nouns. However, in the case of a subject and object which are both of the third person and both other than adult Hupa, only one of them being expressed as a noun, it is impossible to tell, except from the context, whether such a noun is the subject or object.

The relation of possession is distinctly and regularly expressed by the prefixing of the possessive pronoun to the limited word and the placing of this compound after the word which limits it. Parts of the body and terms of relationship do not occur without prefixed possessive pronouns. Other syntactic relations are expressed by means of post-positions, having the appropriate force, placed after the weaker form of the pronoun. These post-positions, with their accompanying pronouns, stand after the nouns which they limit.

§ 13. Classification

In the third person of the pronoun, personal and possessive, adult Hupa are distinguished from young and old members of the tribe, from animals and inanimate objects, by a special form.

There are no grammatical forms by which objects are classified. Classification is sometimes indicated, however, in the verb, the stem expressing the character of the object to which the predicate refers,

the objects being characterized as long, round, flat plural in number, etc. In the intransitive verb this classification relates to the subject; in the transitive verb, to the object.

§ 14. Number

Only a few nouns have forms for the plural. These are those denoting age and station in life, and relationship.

The independent as well as the incorporated and prefixed pronouns are capable of expressing the plural in the first and second persons by means of additional forms. The plural of the first person includes, or may include, the third person as well as the second.

In the third person, -ya- is placed before the root for a plural subject and also for a plural object. One must judge from the context which is intended to be plural. ya- is also prefixed to the possessive form. In the singular, HIS FATHER is expressed by $hai \ x\bar{o}ta^{\varepsilon}$. Sometimes for their father $hai \ yax\bar{o}ta^{\varepsilon}$ is found, hai being the article.

In certain intransitive verbs a dual is indicated by using the root, indicating a plural subject, without -ya-, while for the plural -ya- is inserted.

In many cases Hupa employs the singular, as is shown by the verb, where the plural would be required in English. When a number of individuals do anything as a unit, as in a dance, the singular is used.

§ 15. Distribution

The distributives in Hupa are carefully distinguished from the plurals. For the expression of distribution the prefix te- is employed: for example,

tceninyai he went out
tcenindeL two went out
tceyanindeL they went out
tcetedeL one by one they went out

The same element expresses distribution as to the object. For example,

 $yawin^{\epsilon}an$ he picked up a stone yawillai he picked up stones $yate^{\epsilon}an$ he picked up a stone here and there

Distinct from this is the intermittence of the act itself. That a thing is done now and again, or habitually, is indicated by a syllable, probably e, inserted before the pronominal subjective elements. The

presence of this syllable, together with a certain form of the root, constitutes a customary tense or mode.

By the use of na-an iterative force is given to the verb, expressing the fact that the act is done a second time or that it is undone.

§ 16. Time

Time is expressed by means of suffixes, a change of root, independent adverbs, and temporal clauses. For past time -neen may be suffixed to a noun or verb. A house in ruins is called xontaneen House used to be. Habitual acts which have ceased are expressed by the same suffix, as auntinneen I used to do it. A single definite act completed in time already past is differentiated from such acts in present time by a change in the form and length of the root, and a change of the accent: for example,

tcinni'ñya he has just arrived tcinniñyai' he arrived some time ago

The future is expressed by the suffixes -te and -tel. The former seems to be employed of the more remote future. These are generally employed only with verbs, but are sometimes found with nouns and adverbs: for example, haiyate HERE WILL BE THE PLACE.

§ 17. Mode

Closely connected with the time of the act is the degree of certainty with which it is asserted. For past acts, suffixes which indicate the source of the authority for the statement are often employed. That which is perceived by the sense of hearing has $-ts\bar{u}$ or $-ts\bar{e}$ suffixed; the former for the past, and the latter for the present. When the transaction is in sight, -e is suffixed. Things which are conjectured from circumstantial evidence, as the building of a fire from the remains of one, have $-x\bar{o}lan$ added to the verb:

Leyanillai they built a fire Leyanillaxolan they must have built a fire [here are the ashes]

Future acts which are contingent on human will or outward circumstance are rendered by the suffix -de². When the future is expressed with an absolute negative force, the impossibility of its being brought to pass being implied, a special form of the verb with an auxiliary verb prefixed is used.

Acts attempted, but not succeeded in, have $x\bar{o}_{i}$, an adverb, inserted before the verb; while the successful attempt after several vain or insufficient ones has -ei suffixed to the verb.

§ 18. Place and Direction

Direction and place, both relative and absolute, are expressed in Hupa with much exactness. A number of prefixes, occupying the first place in the verb, indicate the direction of the movement expressed or implied by the verb. The place, initial and ultimate, is also indicated by prefixes as being on the surface of the earth, on some surface higher than the earth, in the fire, on or in the water, or in the air. By means of demonstratives, and adverbs formed from demonstrative elements, added exactness as to location is expressed. For that which is in sight and can be pointed to, the demonstratives ded and haided, and the adverb of place, dikkyûñ, are employed; for the first-mentioned or more remote of two, haiya or hai is used; while that which is still more remote is referred to by yō and haiyō, and the most remote of all by yeū.

§ 19. Person

The distinction between the person speaking, the person spoken to, and the person or thing spoken of, is made by means of the personal pronouns. The signs of the subject incorporated in the verb are not all to be connected with certainty with the independent pronouns. The pronouns for the first two persons seem to be different in some particulars from those of the third person, which also classify the objects or persons to which they refer. Taking with this fact the frequent absence of any sign for the subject or the object in the third person of the verb, it seems probable that originally there were personal pronouns only for the first and second persons, and that demonstratives were used for the third person.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 20-88)

Nouns (§§ 20-27)

§ 20. Structure

The nouns of the Hupa language, when classified according to their formation, fall into five classes:

(1) There are many monosyllabic nouns, for the most part the names of common material objects and elements. These words are §§ 18-20

mostly common to all the cognate languages, and clearly point to the monosyllable as the probable form of the Athapascan noun.

- (2) Closely connected with these are the names of the parts of the body, terms of relationship and intimate possession, which have a single syllable for their substantive part, but always occur with a possessive prefix.
- (3) There are a considerable number of nouns, consisting of two or more syllables, which are not easily analyzed and do not seem to have a descriptive meaning at present. They seem originally to have been derived from verbs, or formed by composition.
- (4) A large and increasing number of nouns, formed by means of suffixes and by compounding, have a descriptive force which is ever present in the Hupa mind.
- (5) Verbs in the third person singular of the active or passive voice, with or without an object or limit of motion, are employed as nouns.

§ 21. Formative Elements

As far as is known, the only prefixes employed in noun-formation are the possessive prefixes, which are proclitic forms related to independent pronouns. They may be employed with any noun to denote possession, but must be employed with the names of the parts of the body and terms of relationship. That words of this class require such prefixes is not necessarily due to a lack of mental abstraction, as has been sometimes assumed, but to a habit of speech. The necessity for their use without a possessive seldom occurs.

The suffixes employed in noun-building are not numerous. For the most part, they are used to distinguish one thing from another which it resembles by mentioning its size, color, or other physical character, or by indicating the place where the plant grows or which the animal frequents. The principal suffixes are the following:

- -xoi inhabiting; added to the name of a place.
 Lōmitta'xoi glades among people (the New River people)
- 2. -tau FREQUENTS. Used of plants or animals.

 **xaslintau riffles he frequents (the crane)
- -kyō Large, an augmentative.
 koskyō bulb large (Chlorogalum pomeridanum, the soap-root)

- 4. -itc, -tc small, the diminutive suffix.

 medilitc canoe small (from medil canoe) 102.9

 djelotc small storage-basket 158.13
- 5. -yauw small, young. Used of trees.

 niltûkyaum young black oaks (from niltûk black oak)
- 6. -newan RESEMBLING. This has furnished many new names.

 qōnewan worms like (rice, from its resemblance to white grubs)

 xonnewan fire like 329.10
- -diñ Place.
 tsēdiñ brush-place (a grave)
- 8. -ta' PLACES.

 milla kinta' its hands bases places (its wrists)
- 9. -kût on.

 $mis\underline{h}\hat{u}t$ a landslide on (the name of a village) $den\bar{o}\underline{k}\hat{u}t$ the sky (this us on) 286.12

§ 22. Compounds

There are five classes of compound nouns:

- (1) A few nouns stand in juxtaposition without a subordinating possessive prefix. In a few cases the second noun seems to qualify the first: for example, $L\bar{u}\underline{w}xan$ snake river (an eel). If these compounds are introduced by a possessive prefix, the first noun qualifies the second: for example, kixxakkin its net pole.
- (2) When the second of two nouns forming a compound has a possessive prefix, the first qualifies the second and is subordinate to it: for example, dindai* mitetewō flint its grandmother (a bird).
- (3) A few compounds which are true substantives have the first element a noun, and the second an adjective qualifying it. An example of such is yaûlkai LOUSE WHITE (a grayback).
- (4) Compounds of nouns and qualifying adjectives are sometimes introduced by possessive prefixes. While they serve as substantives, they really qualify a subject understood: as in *missa^enittcwiñ* ITS MOUTH STINKS, the bird having a stinking mouth (a buzzard).
- (5) Compounds similar to the last have for their last element words indicating abundance or lack of the quality named by the first part of the compound. Examples are: mûxxaixxōlen its children having (doe), mitcdjeēdin its mind lacking (an infant).

§ 23. Verbs as Nouns

Many verbs in the third person present of the active or passive voice are used as nouns. Examples of the active voice so used are:

nañya it comes down (rain)
nilliñ it flows (a creek)
nûndil they come down (snow)

For the passive voice the following may be cited:

willoie it has been tied (a bundle)
naxōwilloie it is tied around him (a belt)
Lenawilla they have been laid together (a fire)
talkait over the water it has been pushed (a fishing-board)

Sometimes a substantive is formed by a verb with a noun preceding it as its object or limit of motion: for example:

 $nax-ke\underline{k}\bar{o}s-nad\bar{u}w\hat{u}l$ two its necks waving about (nax two: ke its; $\underline{k}\bar{o}s$ neck; waL to strike [a monster]) $sa^{\epsilon}xauw$ in the mouth a liquid is put (acorn-soup)

Adverbial prefixes of place, instrument, accompaniment, and manner make substantives of verbs. Of this sort are the following:

miltcolwil with he chops (an axe) kilnadil with them they travel (wolves)

Suffixes of location added to verbs, furnish names of places:

nanatûldiñ stepping-down place (the name of the place in the sweat-house at the foot of the ladder)

§ 24. Plural of Nouns

Only a few Hupa nouns change their form to indicate the plural. They are those which classify human beings according to their sex and state of life, and a few terms of relationship. The following are all that have been found:

Singular	Plural	
keLt s an	keLtsûn	virgin, maiden
tsûmmesLōn	$ts\^ummes$ Lon	a fully grown woman
xûxai	$x \hat{u} x a i x$	a child
h <u>m</u> ittsoi	hwittsoixai	my grandchild
nikkil	$oldsymbol{nikkilxai}$	your younger brother
$oldsymbol{xar{o}}{ extit{L}} oldsymbol{t} oldsymbol{istce}$	$oldsymbol{xar{o}}$ L $tistcexai$	his sister

§ 25. Possession

Possession is indicated by prefixes which are shortened forms of pronouns. These vary according to the person and number of the

limiting noun or pronoun. Many nouns, upon taking the prefixes, add a syllable to the end, which seems to have no other office than the preservation of the symmetry of the word in some way. This added syllable has e for its vowel, but is preceded by various consonants, apparently suggested by the final sound of the original word.

millitde its smoke (from Lit smoke)
nōliñke our pets (from Liñ a pet, a dog)
xōhwinne her song (from hwin, a song)

It will be noticed that in some of the examples given, L, the surd lateral consonant, becomes the sonant l.

§ 26. Locative Suffixes

There are several suffixes employed in Hupa which might be looked upon as case-endings, since they are not permanent parts of the nouns to which they are attached, but indicate varying relations of position or direction. Some of these suffixes are also post-positions; but when so used they follow a pronominal prefix. Examples of suffixes showing place-relations are the following:

1. -meε IN.

Lōhwûnmee glade only in (a prominent hill) tseyemee in (under) a rock

2. -din at.

mikkindin its base at (the name of the place by the back of the house)

3. -tcin toward.

Lōhwûñkûttciñ glade only on toward

4. -kai along.

xottselkai his forearm along

5. -kût on.

Lōhwûñkût glade only on

§ 27. Tense

By the use of suffixes the time of the noun's existence may be indicated. This process practically gives tenses to nouns. For the past, -neen is employed: for example, $x\bar{o}utneen$ his wife used to be (she is now dead). The same form might mean only that the possession of her had ceased. The future, as in verbs, is indicated by -te: for example, $mitL\bar{o}wete$ their medicine it will be (Indians who are to possess it have not yet come into existence).

Verbs (§§ 28-75)

§ 28. Structure

The verb in Hupa, as in other Athapascan languages, presents many It contains in itself all the elements of the sentence. For example, xanaïsdīyade if she comes back up has, first an adverbial prefix 2a-, denoting that the motion is up the side of a hill; next is found the particle -na-, having an iterative force, showing that the act is done a second time (in this case it is only intended to show that the path from the river is passed over a second time); the syllable -is-, by the consonant it contains, shows that the act is thought of as progressive over the surface of the ground. The fact that s following iforms a syllable by itself, indicates that the act is thought of as performed by an adult Hupa, otherwise s would have been joined to the preceding na. The lack of a sign of person or number at this point in the verb allows no other conclusion than that the third person singular is intended. The syllable $-d\bar{\imath}$, of which d seems to be the essential part, usually follows the iterative prefix -na-, the two being equivalent, perhaps, to English BACK AGAIN. The next syllable, -ya-, may be called the root, since it defines the kind of act. It is used of the locomotion of a single human being on his feet at a walk, and also of the coming of non-material things. Had this verb been in the plural, the root would have been -deL. Had the pace been more rapid, -La would have been employed. Had some animal been the subject, the root would probably have characterized the gait of the animal. The final suffix -dee indicates a future contingency.

Formative Elements (§§ 29-50)

§ 29. GENERAL REMARKS

The more extended forms of the verb have one or more prefixes preceding the root, and one or more suffixes following it. By means of the prefixes, the direction of the motion in space, its manner and purpose, whether repeated or not in time, and whether conceived as continuous, beginning, or completed, are expressed. By changes in a single syllable, that which usually directly precedes the root, the person and number of the subject are indicated. These changes almost amount to inflection. By variations in the form of the root, the number of the subject in intransitive verbs, and of the object in

transitive verbs, is shown; and also whether the act or state is one and definite in time, or repeated and continuous. By the suffixes which follow the root, the action is further limited as to its time, continuance, or likelihood.

PREFIXES (§§ 80-37)

§ 80. Classification of Prefixes according to their Position and Significance

The prefixes employed in the verb have a fixed order, in accordance with the class of ideas they express. They may be classified as—

- (1) Adverbial prefixes, first position.
- (2) Adverbial prefix, second position.
- (3) Deictic prefixes, third position.
- (4) First modal prefixes, fourth position.
- (5) Second modal prefixes, fifth position.
- (6) Pronominal prefixes, sixth position.
- (7) Third modal prefixes, seventh position.

§ 31. Adverbial Prefixes, First Position

These are adverbial prefixes showing the position of persons or things at rest, and the place, limit, or origin of motion. The most important of these follow:

- 1. ya-(1) is used of the position of one sitting, of picking things up from the ground, and of motion wholly or partly through the air, as the carrying of objects and the flight of birds. The primary meaning seems to be in the Air, above the surface of the ground.
 - $yawi\tilde{n}^ea$ he was sitting 162.11 (definite, class I, conjugation 1 b; § 54; ea to be in a position)
 - yawinean he picked up a stone 342.1 (definite, class I, conjugation 1 b, § 54; ean to transport several round things)
 - yawizkas he threw up 96.3 (definite, class II, conjugation 1 b; § 64; kas to throw)
 - yawiñen he carried it (wen to carry)
- ya- (2) seems to have the meaning of the object being reduced to many pieces.
 - yanakisdimmillei she smashed it 152.16 (na- again, § 32; k-, § 34; s-, § 35; -d, 3d modal, after na- § 32, p. 116; mil- to throw several things; -ei suffix, § 40)
 - yanaiskil he split 142.3 (na- again, § 32; s-, § 35; kil- to split)

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3. ye- is used of motion into houses, beds of streams, and spaces however slightly enclosed, and also into smaller objects, as canoes and baskets.

yenawityai he went into (a house) 98.15
yenawitmen he made it swim into (a river from the ocean) 266.2
yeintülnee you must step into (a canoe) 209.2 (tal to step)
yetceilkas he threw into (a basket) 288.7

4. wa- (1) seems to mean THROUGH with verbs of cutting and burning.

wakinnillitxolan they were burned through 119.3 (lit to burn) wakinninkats he cut through

5. wa- (2) is employed with verbs of handing or giving something to a man or an animal.

zōroa \bar{i} ida he handed it to him 181.13 ($z\bar{o}$ him) **roa** \bar{i} mil he always distributes them 195.8.

6. Le- has the general meaning of the converging or nearness of objects. It has the special meaning of building a fire from the placing-together of sticks. It is also employed of completing a circle, or a circuit in travelling.

Lenaislois he tied together 210.5

Lenanillai he built a fire

Lenanilten he took it all the way around (the world)

7. me- (1) seems to have the meaning of position at, or motion to, against, or along the surface of, something.

menaïsdīyai he climbed (a tree) 103.12

menemen he landed him (against the shore) 162.9

meittan he stuck to it 202.3

meioilwaL he beat on

8. me-(2) is similar to ye-, except that it usually refers to position in something, while ye- is employed of motion into.

metsisyen she stands in (the body of her husband) 195.11

9. na²- (1)¹ is used of indefinite motion over the surface of the ground or water, and of position on the earth's surface. The primary meaning may be HORIZONTAL.

naīlits it is running about 294.4 (its to run)
natwimmet he swam
natiūwiū I paint (my body) 247.12

¹The glottal stop probably belongs with the prefix. It appears in some forms and is absent in others.

10. na-(2) or nana expresses motion downward or toward the earth. The second na may be the iterative particle, since whatever or whoever comes down must previously have gone up.

naïñwût it dropped down 115.14 nanawityai he came down 138.15

11. na-(3) is used of horizontal motion or position, as a line stretched, or in crossing a stream.

nananindeL they went over (the river) 267.6 nanūwilxût it was hung for a door 171.1

12. no- is employed of the cessation of motion, as in placing something in a position of rest, of reaching the end or limit of something, or of completing a task.

nōyanindeL they sat down 280.5

nonauwnee you must put it down 210.7 (auw to handle round objects

noininganne that far they ate 347.17

13. xa- has the general meaning of UP. It is found employed of movement up a hillside when the speaker's standpoint is at the top of the hill, the digging of objects out of the ground, and of motion out of the top of receptacles or of houses.

xaïslai she brought up 98.16 xawillai she dug it out 242.5 xawitqōt he jumped out (of the smoke-hole) 329.13

14. xee- in the sense of AWAY FROM, as in blowing and pushing.

xeeīlyōl he blows away 296.15 xeenaïlkis she pushed it away 185.3.

15. xotda-, with the general meaning of Down, expresses motion down a hill or stream.

xotdaïLkas he threw down (from a tree) 138.8 xotdañxen they floated down 216.5

16. **xōtde-** is used of one person's meeting another where the movement of only one person is of interest. When one wishes to say they came toward each other, *te-* is employed.

 $x\bar{o}tde\bar{i}syai$ he met him 105.14 $x\bar{o}tdeya\bar{i}sdeL$ they met them 110.8.

17. saz- is employed of motion into the mouth, as in eating, drinking, or biting.

sa wiñxan he put it into her mouth 278.10 sa willai he put in his mouth 119.6.

18. da- refers to a bank, bench, shelf, or something higher than the ground, on which the person or object is at rest or comes to rest.

danintsa be seated (on a chair) 107.12

daûñxûs fly upon a tree 114.2

19. de-d- is employed of motion toward or of position in fire. The second syllable, which is completed according to the sound which follows it, may be separated from the first syllable.

denadeīū<u>u</u>mil I put in the fire 247.9 dedūwimmeL he threw into the fire 165.10

- 20. dje-expresses the separation of a mass, as in splitting wood. djewittseL he pounded it open 108.11
- 21. dū- signifies off, AWAY FROM.

 dūwiñxûts it came off (the umbilical stump) 157.7
- 22. ta-(1) is employed of motion toward or away from a body of water with special regard to its surface.

tanaïstan he took it out of the water 325.4
tanæsea a mountain will project into the water 255.2
taidinnûñ let us drink water 179.3

23. ta- (2) is used with verbs meaning to desert, to leave a place permanently.

tasyahwûñ one ought to go away 215.8 (ya to go)

- 24. te- refers to motion into water and under its surface (see no. 22).

 tewiltsit a canoe sank 153.17
 - tetcūwintan he put it into the water 101.14
- 25. tsiñ- means away from in expressions of fleeing. tsintetesdildeL we ran away 198.10
- 26. tee- has the meaning of our or, and is employed of motion out of a house or small receptacle, but also of less definitely enclosed spaces, as brushy places or the bed of a stream (see no. 3).

tcenamil throw them out (of the house) 301.13 tceniñean he took out (from his quiver) 119.15 tceīllat he jumped out (of ambush) 106.2 tcewillindiñ where it flows out 175.10

27. ke- seems to refer to motion or position against or along a vertical surface.

keīsyai he climbed up 137.17 kenaniñea it was leaning up 99.5 There are three prefixes which indicate the pursuit or search for a person or thing, or, in a secondary sense, the attempt to do a thing.

28. $w\hat{u}n - (wa + n i)$ is used of looking for a thing the position of which is unknown, as in hunting game. It also means to attempt something by persistent effort.

wûnnaïsya he started to make 319.3 wûnnadizte they will hunt 311.14

29. na- is employed when there is a track to be followed. It is likely connected with the iterative particle na- AGAIN, since the meaning may be that of going over the trail again.

nayaxōtelxe² they tracked him 170.3

30. xa- implies the going-after with the intention of getting the thing sought and bringing it back.

xanetete I am going to look for it 336.10

31. a- is used to introduce verbs of saying, thinking, doing, and appearing. It seems to have no definite meaning; but, since it is omitted when a direct object precedes a verb of thinking or saying, it may be an indefinite object for the verb.

adenne he said 97.15 a'lenee you must do it 100.18

§ 32. Adverbial Prefixes, Second Position

na-, the prefix of iteration, expresses the undoing of anything or
the retracing of one's steps, as well as the repeating of an act.
It is often employed where in English the repetition is taken for
granted, as in the customary acts of daily life, eating, drinking,
sleeping, etc. Sometimes the prefix requires d or t preceding
the root, and in other cases it is used without either.

menanittcwit he pushed it back 163.1 nanaïtwīw he used to carry it back 237.8 nanōdīya let it come back 233.5 anatcillau he did it again 106.8

2. xa-, the prefix of identity, refers to any act previously described that is repeated by the same or a different person.

xaatcillau he did the same thing 211.1 xadīyate it will do that 254.10 xaulle do that 165.19 xaatcityau he did that 280.12

§ 33. Deictic Prefixes, Third Position

For the third person, in Hupa, two forms occur. The first form is that used when speaking of adult Hupa. The second form is used when speaking of Hupa children and sometimes of very aged people, of members of others tribes and races, and of animals. The first form begins with to-, and is completed according to the sound which fol-The second form has y- for its beginning, and is also completed according to the following sounds. After many of the prefixes, these signs do not appear; but a hiatus marks the absence of the first form; and contraction or lengthening, often involving diphthongization, the second. There are no pronouns with which these may be connected, and demonstrative sources are to be expected. The third person has a dual whenever the root by its displacement has the power of showing plurality. In that case the same signs—or their absence—indicate the dual as the singular, the forms differing only in the root. The plural is invariably indicated by the syllable -ya, which has the hiatus after it, for the first class of persons, and lengthening or contraction for the second.

yetcilda he is carrying a large object yeyilda he (not an adult Hupa) is carrying a large object

§ 34. First Modal Prefixes, Fourth Position

Several elements appear as prefixes in many verbs for which no definite and satisfactory meaning has been found.

1. k-, ky-, is phonetically weak, the remainder of the syllable being supplied from the sound which follows. Only occasionally has a meaning been found for it, and the meanings which do appear are not reconcilable. It is probable that it supplies an indefinite object for verbs of eating, and perhaps some others. In a few cases it has the meaning of LEAVING AS A GIFT rather than LEAVING FOR A TIME. In many cases a sense of indefiniteness is present in the verb as regards the time occupied and the number of acts required for the complete operation.

nakiñyûñ eat again (without mentioning what is to be eaten) 153.9 yakiñwūw carry it 105.18 yekyūwestee the wind blew in 270.4

In other dialects a sound (tc) which almost certainly corresponds to this is regularly used when

the object has not been mentioned or is unknown.

^{&#}x27;The hiatus in this case does not seem to be due to a full glottal stop, but to a lessening of the force of the breath. It is very likely brought about by the disappearance of tc-. The lengthening and diphthongization which take place in the case of the second form are probably due to the coalescing of y with the preceding vowel.

2. te-, the prefix of distribution, means either that the act took place here and there in space, or continuously over space; or that one person after another did the act.

natelos she dragged it back 190.1

textowen it grew 96.3

tcittetcwai she buried in several places 192.12

tcetedeL they went out one by one 138.5

3. d- occurs, for instance, with the adverbial prefix de- (§ 31.19), signifying into fire.

dexōdilwaL he threw him into the fire

- 4. \bar{o} a verbal prefix, the meaning of which has not been ascertained. $d\bar{o}tc\bar{o}wilan$ she will leave $(d\bar{o}$ not; tc- deictic; \bar{o} first modal; -w-second modal; lan stem)
- 5. -e- CUSTOMARY. This prefix is not used throughout all the tenses or modes, as are the preceding, but has the office in itself of making a tense, as the suffixes generally have. Before vowels it generally appears as e, and that is probably its true form. In many cases it is connected with a consonant suggested by the following sound or another word-element, when it appears as i. Its use marks the act or condition as customary or habitual, or

tceexauw he is accustomed to catch with a net (tc-deictic; -e customary; xauw stem)

tcōexait he is accustomed to buy (tc- deictic; ō- first modal; -e customary; -xait to buy, customary tense)

6. In the same group stand all pronominal objects.

at least as occurring more than once.

 $tc(\bar{u})h\underline{w}\bar{v}w(i)Lx\hat{u}l(i)Lte$ she will ask me for it (tc- deictic; $h\underline{w}$ - me; \bar{o} - first modal; -w- second modal; -L- third modal; $x\hat{u}l$ to ask, definite tense; -L continuously; -te future; the letters in parentheses represent glides)

 $tanaix\bar{o}sd\bar{o}wei$ it cut him all to pieces (ta- adverbial prefix of unknown significance; na- iterative; -i deictic; $-x\bar{o}$ him; -s- second modal; $d\bar{o}$ to cut; -ei emphatic)

7. n-. The use of this prefix is mostly confined to adjectives (see § 76).

§ 35. Second Modal Prefixes, Fifth Position

There are three simple sounds which by their presence indicate whether the act is viewed as beginning, ending, or progressing. These sounds are not found in all forms of the same verb, but only in those tenses which refer to the act or state as one and definite. While it

seems certain that these sounds do have the force mentioned above, it is found, by making comparisons, that they follow certain prefixes. In many cases the nature of the prefix requires the act to be thought of as beginning, ending, or progressing. The sound which is of most frequent occurrence is w. It stands at the beginning of a syllable, usually the one immediately preceding the root. The remainder of this syllable contains the subjective personal elements. Its initiatory force can be seen in the verbs winyal come on and winza water lies there. This last verb can not be applied to a natural body of water, like the ocean, which has had no beginning. The following prefixes require w in the definite tenses: ya-, ye-, xa-, saz-, da-, de-d-, dū-.

In a precisely parallel manner, n occurs as the initial of the inflected syllable under circumstances which point to the completion of the act. With $wi\bar{n}yaL$ (above) compare $ni\bar{n}yai$ IT ARRIVED. Most of the prefixes which require n to follow in the definite tenses require the act to be viewed as ending. They are the following: wa-, le-, me-, na- (3), $n\bar{o}$ -, -tce-.

Without the same exact parallelism of forms which obtains with the two mentioned above, a large number of verbs have s as the characteristic of the inflected syllable of the definite tenses. Most of these verbs clearly contain the idea of progression, or are used of acts which require considerable time for their accomplishment. The distributive prefix te- is always followed by s, never by either of the other signs, and some of the prefixes listed above are used with s with a distinction in meaning: for example,

xawiñan he took a stone out of a hole (but $xa\bar{i}syai$ he came up a hill)¹

Excluding all the verbs which require one of these three sounds in the definite tenses, there remain a considerable number which have no definite tenses, and therefore no such sounds characterizing them.

For the sake of convenience, the Hupa verbs have been divided into conjugations, according as they have one or the other of these sounds in the definite tenses or lack definite tenses entirely. There are, according to this arrangement, four conjugations: the first characterized by w; the second, by n; the third, by s; and the fourth lacking definite tenses.

In one of the Eel river dialects the bringing home of a deer is narrated as follows: $yigi\bar{n}gin$ he started carrying; yiesgin he carried along; yiningin he arrived carrying. Here we have g (corresponding to Hupa w), s, and n used with the same stem, expressing the exact shades one would expect in Hupa.

§ 36. Pronominal Prefixes, Sixth Position

Next in order are the sounds which indicate the person and number of the subject. These are sometimes changed and sometimes disappear, because of phonetic influences.

First Person

For tenses other than the definite, the sign of the first person singular is \underline{w} or $-\bar{u}\underline{w}$, which is in all cases appended to the preceding syllable. This sound is related to the initial sound of the independent pronoun of the first person singular, $h\underline{w}e$, and is no doubt derived from it. In the definite tenses this form does not occur, but -e is found instead. The first person plural has d- for its sign. The remainder of the syllable of which this is the initial is completed from the sound which follows it.

Second Person

In the singular the form is $-\bar{n}$ or $-i\bar{n}$. The former is found when there is a sound preceding with which it can join, and the latter when no sound precedes, or when, for some reason, it can not unite with it. The sign seems to be dropped before L and l following in the same syllable, of which there are many cases. It is reasonable to suppose that this sign is connected with the independent pronoun of the second person singular, $ni\bar{n}$. In nearly all cases, in the second person plural \bar{o} is found as the vowel of the inflected syllable. This \bar{o} is strongly aspirated. The cases in which \bar{o} is not found seem to be due to contraction, which always results in an aspirated vowel. An \bar{o} of similar quality and with an aspiration occurs in the pronoun for the second person plural, $n\bar{o}hin$.

§ 37. Third Modal Prefixes, Seventh Position

Certain prefixes are found in many verbs immediately preceding the root, and suggest transitiveness or intransitiveness in the verb, or in some way point out the relation between the subject, predicate, and object. As the second modal prefixes are required in most cases by the adverbial prefix which precedes them, so these are necessitated by certain roots which follow them. When, however, a root is found with different prefixes preceding it, their force becomes apparent. Compare tcittetaL HE STEPPED ALONG with tcitteltaL HE KICKED SOMETHING ALONG. The absence of a modal prefix in the first is connected

with the intransitive meaning; and L is connected with a transitive force. Compare also <u>kewintan</u> it stuck fast (said of a bird alighting on pitch) and <u>kewintan</u> HE PUT PITCH ON SOMETHING. The n which in the first of these examples precedes the root, seems to be a vestige of a prefix of this order occurring in certain forms of the third person in a class of verbs where usually none is present.

In nearly every case in which L is present, required by the root or not, a transitive force can be conceived for the verb, which is always active. No prefix, or n shown above, is found with intransitive verbs; but this is also true of a large number of transitive verbs. It is noticeable, however, that the transitive verbs which do not require a preceding L belong to those which, by the nature of the root, indicate the character of the object. Certain roots are always preceded by t or d (the third class), and certain others by l (the fourth class). But it is found that those without a sign, or with the sign n of doubtful character, when changed to the passive, also take t or d. In the same manner, verbs with L the surd, on becoming passive, change L to l the sonant.

On the basis of these prefixes the verbs have been arranged in four classes:

Class I has all intransitive and a certain class of transitive verbs, and has no characteristic prefix, unless it be n.

Class II is composed entirely of transitive verbs, and has z as its characteristic.

Class III contains the passives of Class I, and certain verbs not passive, but possibly with passive leanings.

Class IV is composed of the passives of Class II and certain other verbs which show the influence of some power outside of the apparent agent.

SUFFIXES (§§ 38-44)

§ 38. Classification of Suffixes

The suffixes employed with verbs differ from the prefixes in that their use is only occasional, while the prefixes are for the most part essential to the meaning of the verb, and are employed with all its forms. The suffixes are appended mostly to the present definite and present indefinite tense-forms. Most of them have a temporal, modal, or conjunctional force.

§ 39. Temporal Suffixes

-x. This suffix is used with the forms of the present indefinite, and
indicates that the act or condition was persistent through a limited and definitely stated length of time.

wilweL tsisdaux until night he stayed naiLitsax he ran around (until morning)

2. -winte. The suffixing of -winte to the forms of the present indefinite gives a meaning to the verb but little different from the customary tense, which has a prefix e-. It indicates that the act or condition is continuous, or at least takes place whenever cause arises. The customary may mean that the act has been done several times without regard to the regularity of the intervals.

tcitwaLwinte they always dance

3. -neen. This suffix is applied to nouns and verbs alike. It states that the thing, act, or condition has ceased, or is about to cease, its existence. When used with verbs, it is usually appended to the forms of the present indefinite, and means that the act or condition was habitual or continual in the past, but has now ceased.

auwtinneen I used to do that wessilyoneen you used to like (him)

4. -te. This is the suffix most commonly employed. It predicts a future act or condition, either as the result of the impulse of the agent, or the compelling force of some person or event. It takes the place, therefore, of English will and SHALL. It is appended, for the most part, to the forms of the definite present.

melūwte I am going to watch it dedūwillate he will put it into the fire

This suffix is sometimes preceded by a syllable containing the vowel e standing between the root and -te. The prediction is said to be made with less assurance when it has this form.

tcisdīyannete she may live to be old

5. -teL. This suffix seems to denote events in a nearer future than those expressed by -te.

dūwilletel a party is coming to kill mīnesgittel it will be afraid 295.7

§ 40. Temporal and Modal Suffixes

Certain suffixes are temporal, but also have a modal force.

6. -et. In myths and tales the definite past occurs very frequently with an ending -ei, which regularly takes over the semi-vowels and often the consonants of the preceding syllable. The younger Hupa, at least, do not seem to be conscious of any change in meaning that may be made by its addition. A comparison of the instances of its occurrence would indicate a mild emphasis, that the act, which has several times been ineffectually ttempted, has been successfully accomplished, or that something which has been several times done is now done for the last time.

yawittennei she picked him up (after several attempts)

7. -il, -iL. The application of the verb may be made continuous over space by adding -z or -iz for the present, and -l or -il for the past. The shorter forms are used after vowels without increasing the number of syllables; the longer forms add a syllable, often taking over the consonant which precedes.

yaxōwilxail going along they track him tcōhweīlte they will call (continually) tcūwiltel he was bringing kyūwinyūñil you ate along

§ 41. Modal Suffixes

- 8. -miñ. This suffix, which is not of frequent occurrence, indicates that the verb which it follows expresses the purpose of some act yaīzkimmiñ that they might catch it
- 9. -nee. The more positive and more frequent form of the imperative seems to have -nee suffixed to the regular form, implying the duty or mild necessity one is under to do the act.

ōltsaine dry them yeīntûlne you must step in

10. -hwiñ. To express a moral responsibility or necessity, -hwîñ is suffixed to the forms of the definite or indefinite present.

dōnēyahwûñ I can not stay tasyahwûñ one ought to go away

11. -sillen. This suffix seems by its use to imply that the occurrence was imminent, but did not result.

yawûnxûtssillen he nearly flew

12. -nevan. The suffix -nevan indicates that the act is done, but with difficulty.

dōtcūxōnneLintenewan one can hardly look at

- 13. -de². For the expression of a future condition, -de² is employed.

 adende² if he sings

 axōlade³ if it happens 308.1
- 14. -detc. This suffix, which occurs but rarely, seems to indicate a less probable and more general future condition.

tcissermindetc if he kills

15. -minime. For the expression of the result of supposed conditions contrary to fact, -minime is employed.

dodaxoatinminine (people) would never have died

§ 42. Suffixes Indicating Source of Information

Certain suffixes are used to show by which of the senses the fact stated was observed, or whether it was inferred from evidence.

16. -e. The vowel -e, standing by itself or preceded by the consonant or semi-vowel of the preceding syllable, indicates that the object or act is within the view of the speaker.

merointanne he stuck to it (he saw)

17. -tsū, -tse. When the act is perceived by the sense of hearing or feeling, -tse is appended to the present definite, and -tsū to the past definite.

neīuwgittse I feel afraid adentsu he heard it say

18. $-x\bar{o}lan$. A fact inferred from evidence is expressed by the suffix $x\bar{o}lan$. Since the act is viewed as already completed, the verbs often have the force of the pluperfect.

Lenanillaxolan he had built a fire (he saw)

19. -xōlûñ. This suffix is said to differ from the preceding only in the fact that the evidence is more certain.

xalaxōlûñ grass has grown up (the fact is certain, for the grass is there, although the growing of it was not seen)

§ 43. Conjunctional Suffixes

A few suffixes are conjunctional. Their union with the verb seems to be rather loose.

20. -hit. The suffixing of -hit to the verb has the effect of making it part of a subordinate temporal clause.

yezōnûñhit when they ran in tceīnsithit when he woke up

- 21. -mil. This suffix has nearly or quite the same force as -hit.

 yītsiñ ee*amil west (the sun) used to be then
- 22. -tsit. This suffix, which occurs seldom, means that the act expressed by the verb to which it is added is to be done before some other contemplated act.

kiñyûntsit eat first

§ 44. Adverbial Suffixes

There are two suffixes which appear to be adverbial.

23. -he. This suffix emphasizes a negative command or a conditional statement. It is comparable to English in the least, or French Pas, in negative clauses.

doaduwinnehe don't say that touwiyunilhe even if he eat it

24. -ka, -ûk. These suffixes signify like, in the manner of. atenka the way they do nesedaiûk the way I sat

VERBAL ROOTS (§§ 45-50)

§ 45. Variation of Verbal Roots

The greater number of verbal roots undergo a change of form or length, for the most part connected with the changes of mode or tense. In a few cases there is also a change within the mode or tense for the persons. For number, the change, when present, is not an alteration of the root, due to phonetic or morphological causes, but a substitution, in the dual and plural, of a root altogether different from that in the singular.

Sometimes the changes in the root mark off the definite tenses from the indefinite; in other cases the customary and impotential are different also in the form of the root from the present indefinite and imperative; and in a few cases, the impotential alone has a form longer than or different from that found elsewhere in the verb. The indefinite present and imperative are the weakest of all in the form of their roots. Of the definite tenses, the past is usually longer than the present, and is characterized by stronger vowels: for example, a is found in the past instead of a, and e instead of i; and the diphthong ai and au appear for a. Some roots which end in t in the past do not have that ending in the present.

A number of roots, many of them containing the vowel i, do not change in form or length.

It is extremely difficult to trace these variations of the root to their causes. It is altogether probable that -2a, which is the final sound in many roots of the indefinite tenses, is to be connected with -c (sh) or -s (which occurs in the same roots and the same tenses in Tolowa and other Athapascan dialects). It is therefore, in all likelihood, the remains of a former suffix. It is most likely that -n and $-\bar{n}$, which are so characteristic of the definite tenses, are not original parts of the root. In fact, what seems to be the same root often occurs without the nasals. The difference between the past and present definite is almost certainly due to the accent, which is on the root in the past and on the syllable preceding the root in the present. This in turn may be due to the fact that the latter is often used with suffixes.

The most important verbal roots are given below with their variations and what is deemed the most characteristic meaning of each.

§ 46. Roots with Four Forms

The following roots have the past definite in -en; the present definite, in $-i\tilde{n}$; the impotential, customary, and present indefinite and unexcepted forms of the imperative, in $-\bar{u}\underline{w}$; and the third person imperative, in -e.

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-wen, -wi\tilde{n}, -wou\underline{w}, -we (3d imp.) to carry on the back -wen, -wi\tilde{n}, -wou\underline{w}, -we (3d imp.) to move or to wave fire -ten, -ti\tilde{n}, -to (1st and 3d imp.) to lie down
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Two roots have $-\bar{u}$ for the impotential and customary, with -e for present indefinite and imperative.

-len, - $li\bar{n}$, - $l\bar{u}$, -le to become, to be, to be transformed -lau, -la, - $l\bar{u}$, -le to do something, to arrange according to a plan

§ 47. Roots with Three Forms

The following have the first form for the past definite, the second form for the present definite, and the third form for the indefinite tenses. Some exceptions are noted.

```
-ean, -ean, -eaun to transport round objects
-an, -an, -aun to run, to jump (with plural subject only)
§§ 46, 47
```

-yan, -yûñ, -yauw to eat

-xan, -xan, -xauv to move in a basket or other vessel any liquid or smally divided substance, to catch with a net

-tan, -tan, tuw to handle or move a long object

-tan, -tûñ, -tūw to split

-wen, -win, -we to kill

-ten, $ti\bar{n}$, $t\bar{u}\underline{w}$ to move or to carry in any way a person or animal

-tcwen, -tcwin, -tcwe to make, to arrange, to grow, to become -yai, -ya, -yauw to go, to come, to travel about (1st and 3d imp. in -ya)

-lai, -la, - $l\bar{u}\underline{w}$ to move or transfer a number of objects

-lai, -la, -lūw to travel by canoe, to manage a canoe

-hwai, -hwa, -hwaw to walk, to go, to come (imp. has -hwa)

The following have the definite tenses with -L, the customary impotential with -l, and the present indefinite and imperative with -L:

-waL, -wûl, -wûl to strike, to throw, to scatter

-weL, -wil, -wil relating to the passing of night

-meL, -mil, -mil to strike, to throw, to drop

-deL, -dil, -dil to go, to come, to travel (plural only)

-deL, -dil, -dil to strike

-taL, -tal, -tal to step, to kick, to do anything with the foot -tseL, -tsil, -tsil to pound, as with a hammer or maul

§ 48. Roots with Two Forms

These roots, with a few exceptions, have the past definite, impotential, and customary with the first form, and the remaining tenses with the other.

First Type, -an, -ûñ

-yan, -yûñ to live, to pass through life

-yan, -yûñ to spy upon, to watch, to observe with suspicion

-wan, -wûñ to sleep

-lan, -lûn to quit, to leave, to desist

-lan, -lûñ to be born

-nan, -nûñ to drink

-xan, -xûñ to be sweet or pleasant to the taste

-tan, -tûñ to eat (3d person singular only)

-tan, -tun relating to any wax or waxlike substance

-tsan, -tsun to find, to see

-towan, -towan relating to the eating of a meal in company

-kan, -kûñ to put on edge, to lean up

¹ That the form with L is due to a final aspiration and that with L to glottal action seems reasonable. The cause of this, if not due to vanished suffixes, must be looked for in accent.

Second Type, -en, -iñ

-en, -in to look

-en, -in to do, to act, to deport one's self

-yen, -yiñ to stand on one's feet

-len, -lin to flow, to run (said of any liquid)

-men, -min to fill up, to make full

-hwen, -hwin to melt

-sen, -siñ to think, to know (1st and 2d persons only)

-den, -diñ to travel in company

-den, -din to be light, to blaze

-ten, -tiñ to do, to perform an act

-towen, -towin to smell, to stink, to defecate

-towen, -towiñ to want food or sexual gratification, to desire

Third Type, -ai, -a

- εai (impoten. and past), - εa to be in position

-yai (impoten.), -ya to move about, to undertake

-wai (impoten.), -wa to go, to go about (3d person only)

-dai (impoten. and past def.), -da to sit, to stay, to remain, to fish

-tcwai (impoten. and past def.), -tcwa to handle or move many small pieces, to dig, to bury, to paw the ground

<u>kai</u> (impoten. and cust.), -<u>ka</u> to get up from a reclining or sitting position

Fourth Type, -au, -a1

-au, -a to sing

-yau, -ya to do, to follow a line of action, to be in a plight

-dau, -da to melt away, to disappear

-tau, -ta to hover, to settle, to fly around

Fifth Type, -ū, -e1

 $-l\bar{u}$, -le to make an attack, to form a war-party

 $-l\bar{u}$, -le to dive, to swim under water

 $-L\bar{u}$, -Le to handle or to do anything with a semi-liquid, dough-like substance

 $-n\bar{u}$, -ne to do, to happen, to behave in a certain way

 $-x\bar{u}$, -xe to finish, to track, to overtake

 $-dje\bar{u}$, -dje to fly in a flock

 $-t\bar{u}$, -te to sing in a ceremony

-teū, -tse to squirm, to writhe, to roll, to tumble

 $-tcw\bar{u}$, -tcwe to cry, to weep

¹ Originally -ag -a', and -eg -e'; therefore similar to the following -at -a.

Sixth Type, -at, -a

-wat, -wa to shake itself (said of a dog)

-lat, -la to float

-Lat, -La to run, to jump

-xait, -xai to buy

-tcat, -tca to be sick, to become ill

-<u>kait</u>, -<u>kai</u> to cause to project, to push, to pole a canoe, to shoot, to fall forward from weakness (i. e., to starve)

-kyōt, -kyō to flee, to run away

-tsut, -tsa to sit down

Seventh Type, -l, -L

-il, -il to swim, to dive (plural only)

-yōl, -yōL to blow with the breath

-wal, -wal to shake a stick, to dance

-lal, -laz to dream, to sleep

-nel, -nel to play

-nōl, -nōL to blaze

-hwal, -hwal to fish for with a hook, to catch with a hook

-hwil, -hwil to call by name, to name

-xal, -xal to dawn

-dil, -dil to ring, to give a metallic response to a blow

-tsel, -tseL to be or to become warm

-kil, -kil to split with the hands

-qōl, -qōL to crawl, to creep

Eighth Type, -ts, -s

-mats, -mas to roll, to coil

-wats, -was to pass through the air, to fly, to fall, to throw

-tats, -tas to cut a gash, to slit up, to cut open. to dress eels

Ninth type, -tc, -w

-atc, -auw to move in an undulating line

-qōtc, -qōw to throw, like a spear

-qōtc, qōw to run like a wolf

§ 49. Roots with One Form

A few of these vary in length, but those having the vowels i and \hat{u} and some others do not.

-eL to have position (plural only)

-iūw to drop

-its to shoot an arrow

-its to wander about

-ût to move flat flexible objects

-ya to stand on one's feet (plural only)

```
-ye to dance
-yeū<u>w</u> to rest
-yeūw to rub, to knead
-vits to entangle
-yō to like
-yōw to flow, to scatter
-yōt to chase, to bark after
-waw to talk, to make a noise (plural only)
-was to shave off
-wis to twist, to rotate
-witc to rock sidewise
-le to feel with the hands
-lel to carry more than one animal or child in the hands
-lel to bother
-lit to burn
-litc to urinate
-lik to relate, to tell something
-loie to tie, to wrap around
-los to drag, to pull along
-l\bar{u}v to watch, to stand guard over
-zit to cause to burn
-mee to swim
-men to cause to swim
-medj to cook by boiling
-mit to turn over, to place one's self belly up or down
-mût to break out (as a spring of water), to break open
-na to cook by placing before the fire
-na to move
-ne to gather nuts (from the ground)
-nūw to hear
-hwee to dig
-xa to have position (said of water or a liquid)
-xût to hang
-xût to tear down
-xûts to bite, to chew
-sit to wake
-dae to be poor in flesh
-dae to carry, to move (said of a person or animal)
-daie to bloom
-dik to peck
-dits to twist into a rope
-d\bar{o} to cut, to slash
-d\bar{o} to dodge, to draw back
-djin to mind, to be bothered by something
-tee to look for, to search after
-tee to carry around
```

```
-te to remain in a recumbent position
```

-tetc to lie down (plural only)

-tits to use a cane

-tōe referring to the movement or position of water

-tōt to drink

 $-t\bar{u}$ to beg

-tūw to split

-tûk to count

-tee to have some particular form, appearance, or nature

-tik to tie with a string

-tō relating to mutual motions of two objects by means of which one is inserted into or withdrawn from the other

-teai to be or to make dry

-tsas to swing a stick about, to whip

-tsee to open or shut a sliding door

-tee to stay, to live (plural only)

-tsis to be hanging

-tsis to find, to know

-tsit to know a person or some fact or legend

-tsit to fall, to sink

-tsit to soak acorn-meal

-tsit to pull out a knot

-tsit to wait

-tcee to blow (said of the wind)

-tcit to die

-tcût to strip off, to take bark from a tree

-tcwit to push, to pull off leaves, to shoot, to rub one's self

-tcwog to sweep

-tcwww to smell of

-git to be afraid of, to be frightened

-git to travel in company

kas to throw

-ket to creak

-kis to put one's hand on, to stab, to spear

-kit to catch with the hands, to take away

-kit to hang, to spread, to settle (said of fog)

-kit to feed, to give food to any one

-katc to make the stroke or throw in playing shinny

-kya* to wear a dress

-kya to perceive by any of the senses

-kyas to break, to cause to break

-kyōs to handle or to move anything that is flat and flexible

-qal to walk (3d person only)

-qot to push a pointed instrument into a yielding mass, to stick, to poke

-qōt to dodge, to tumble, to flounder about helplessly

§ 50. Meaning of Roots

In regard to meaning, roots fall into at least three classes.

- (1) A few monosyllabic nouns, occupying the position in the verb which belongs to the root, name the means employed; while the general nature of the act is suggested by that part of the verb which precedes the root. For example, -tits (a verbal root identical with the noun tits A CANE) occurs in the verb tcitteltits HE WALKED WITH A CANE.
- (2) A rather large number of roots, while not definitely naming the object, indicate the class to which it belongs as regards its size, shape, or physical character. The most important of these are the following:

```
-ean, -ean, -ean round objects
-ût flat and flexible
-wen, -wiñ,-wūw fire
-lai, -la, -lūw several of any kind
-lel several children or animals
-Lū, -le dough
-xan, -xûñ, -xauw liquid
-da a person or animal
-tan, -tûñ, -tūw person, animal, or animal product
-tan, tûñ wax or waxlike
-tcwai the soil
```

-kyōs, flat and flexible object

These verbal roots are rigidly restricted in their applicability to objects of definite form, including in this category number. This classification has reference to the appearance of objects as ROUND, FLAT AND FLEXIBLE, LONG AND SLIM, ANIMATE, PLURAL. In the intransitive verb this has reference to the form of the subject; in the transitive verb, to the form of the object.

(3) Most if not all the remaining roots indicate more or less exactly the nature of the act itself. It has been impossible, with no knowledge of the past history of the Hupa language and but little access to the related languages, to define exactly the meaning of many of the roots.

§ 51. Analysis of Verbal Forms

A few of the more complex forms are analyzed in the following table in accordance with the general discussion of the formative elements contained in the preceding sections.

ANALYSIS OF VERBAL FORMS.

1. Adverba, object.	2. Delctic.	8. First models.	4. Second models.	5. Pronouns, subject.	6. Third modale.	7. 8tem.	Suffix.		- 11
		k, 8, e; d, n.	10, 11, 8		n, L, l, de				Z 7.4 1
da	tc		40		=	400		he placed it 210.6.	υĐ
พิธี คล		k	*		E	etin	2	one should leave it 215.8.	U
đa, na, zō		q	20		4	an		they ran back 181.6.	,Δ
da na		*	#	76		eL		I lay them crosswise 247.5.	·
กล		ne	3	q	l for L	in	tt, te	we will look at 216.18.	, <u>T</u> ,
te, na		ą			7	ya		they stand in water 310.4.	А
tce, na			£		8	yai		he came out again 102.13.	III.
niL		te				ya	2	I will go with you 187.4.	сn
	te		r r		z	ya	ne cu	he used to come 306.7.	10
	tc	te	•			ya	ye, xolan	he was walking along, he saw 185.18.	A.
27		, k	£		7	yets	2	they will tie together 151.10.	
tce xō		2			L	wal		he pulled him out 106.17.	T 7.4
zō		¥	an.		2	Aan=wan		he went to sleep-it slept him 203.1.	נע
hw					2	weL	z z	I will spend the night; the night passed 348.2.	
đỏ, h <u>ư</u> , ướn		£	20		<i>t-1</i>	lai	he	don't bring them to me 230.13.	.7
zot, me, na					nd	lat	3	with him it floated back to shore 315.6.	ш
me, na				21		litu.	2	I will watch again 267.17.	7.74
nō na		•		77		xank		I leave it 247.3.	u
nō na	ya	k	z		n	ean		they left food 110.9.	JA
da	ya	q	2		n	ean		they took away 171.14.	GI
da, xō		q	9		8	e e		one could see 242.13.	סנ
กล		n	w	p	1	tn	Lte	we will look at 216.18.	
Le na			*		q	yai		he completed the circuit 220.8.	

§ 52. Tenses and Modes

While the time, reality, and definiteness of the act or condition may be expressed by means of suffixes and variations in the root, the same distinctions of meaning are drawn from the form of the complete verb. Without taking into account the suffixes, the following tense or mode forms exist: present indefinite, imperative, impotential, customary, present definite, and past definite. The first four of these are clearly marked off from the last two, in meaning, by the fact that they do not refer to a single definite act. They differ in form, in most cases, in the root and in the sign of the first person singular.

The name of present indefinite has been chosen to distinguish the present of wider use and of less discrimination as to the time of the action, from the present definite, which affirms a single act as just completed. The former is used of acts in progress but not completed, when such acts consume appreciable time, or of acts desired or intended.

The real imperative forms, the second person singular and plural, are identical with those of the indefinite present, while the forms of the third person, expressing the wish that some person be compelled to perform the act, are different from those of the indefinite present.

The impotential deals with future negative acts in a sweeping way, implying that it is impossible that they should take place. Part of this force is given the form by $d\bar{o}x\bar{o}li\bar{n}$, which precedes the verb, meaning it is not. The form of the verb itself in this mode-tense is not different from the present indefinite, except that it often has a longer or stronger form of the root.

The customary differs from the present indefinite in the presence of an element (consisting of a single vowel, probably -e-) which stands before the signs of person and number, and sometimes in form of the root. Its meaning, as the name implies, is that the act is habitual, or at least several times performed. It is used almost entirely of past acts.

The definite present and past differ from each other only in the form and length of the root. The past has the longer and stronger form of the root, if it be variable at all. The accent seems to rest on the root in the past, and on the syllable before the root in the present. They refer to individual, completed acts,—the present as just completed; and the past, of more remote time. On the forms of the present definite by means of suffixes, the future, future conditional, and other tenses and modes are built.

Conjugations (§§ 53-75)

§ 58. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1A

tcexaum HE IS CATCHING

Present Indefinite

	Singular	Plural
1.	iū <u>vo</u> xau <u>vo</u>	itdexau <u>w</u>
2.	iñxau <u>n</u>	ōʻ x au <u>r</u>
3.	tcexau <u>w</u>	yaxau <u>w</u>
3a.	vixxauw	yaixauro

Imperative

	Singular	Plural
3.	tcōxau <u>w</u>	yatcōxau <u>v</u>
3 a .	yōxau <u>w</u>	yaiyōxau <u>w</u>

		Customary	
	Singular	Plu	ıral
1.	eïū <u>w</u> xau <u>w</u>	eïtde	xau <u>w</u>
2.	eïñxau <u>w</u>	eōʻxa	и <u>w</u>
3.	tceexau <u>w</u>	yaex	и <u>ю</u>
3 a .	yeexau <u>w</u>	yaies	cauw

Definite

	Singular	Plural
1.	wexûñ	witdexûñ
2.	wiñxûñ	$war{o}`x\hat{u} ilde{n}$
3.	tcūwiñxûñ	yawinxûñ
3a.	yนิเงiกิxนิกิ	yairoinxun

§ 54. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1B

yamıas he is rolling over

Present Indefinite

	Singular	Plural
1.	yau <u>w</u> mas	yadimma s
2.	yûmmas	ya`mas
3.	yamas	yayamas
3a.	yāmas	ya y āmas

Customary

	Singular	Plural
1.	yaïū <u>w</u> mas	yaïtdimm as
2.	yaīmmas	yaōʻmas
3.	yaīmmas	` yayaïmmas
3 a.	yāīmmas	yayāïmma s

Definite

	DITTE GTHEL	rium
1.	yaimas	yawitdimmas
2.	yawimmas	yawōʻmas
3.	yaroimmas	yayawimmas
la.	yāwimmas	yayāwimmas.

§ 55. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1C

In this division of the conjugation there is a contraction in the 2d person singular of the definite tenses.

nalit HE IS CHARRING

	De	Anito 、
	Singular	Plural
1.	naiL it	nawitdiLLit
2.	nanLit	$nawar{o}$ `L it
3.	nawinLit	nayawinLit
3a.	naiwinLit	nayaiwinLi

§ 56. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1D

kittûs he cuts open

Present In	definite
Singular	Plural
1. kyū <u>vt</u> ûs	kitdit tûs
2. kin <u>t</u> ûs	kyōʻ <u>t</u> ûs
3. kit <u>t</u> ûs	yakit <u>t</u> ûs
3a. yikitţûs	$yaikitt\hat{u}s$
Imper	
Singular	Plural
3. <i>kyō<u>t</u>û</i> s	yakyō <u>t</u> û s
3a. yikyō <u>t</u> ûs	yaikyō <u>t</u> ûs
Custon	
Singular	Plural
1. keïū <u>wt</u> ûs, etc.	<i>keïtdi<u>t</u>ûs</i> , etc.
Defin	
Singular	Plural
1. ketats	kyūwitdit <u>t</u> ats
2. kyūwin <u>t</u> ats	kyūvōʻtats
3. kintat*	yakin <u>t</u> ats
3a. yikin <u>t</u> ats	yaikintats
1 57 CT AGG T CO	NITICATION 1E

§ 57. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1E

	tcōxai 1	HE IS BUYING
	Prese	nt Indefinite
	Singular	Plural
1.	ōū <u>ıc</u> .cai	ōdexai
2.	ōñxai	$ar{o}$ ʻ xai
3.	$tcar{o}xai$	$oldsymbol{t} car{o} y a oldsymbol{x} oldsymbol{a} oldsymbol{i}$
3a.	$oldsymbol{yar{o}xai}$	$yar{o}yaxai$
		ustomary
	Singular	Plural
1.	ōiū <u>w</u> xait	ōïtdexait, etc.

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Definite

	U	ennue
	Singular	Plural
1.	oixai	$ar{o}witdexai$
2.	$ar{o}ar{n}xai$	$ar{o} w ar{o}$ ʻ $m{x} a m{i}$
3.	tcōñxai	<i>tc</i> ōyañxai
3 a .	yōñxai	yōyañxai

§ 58. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 2

The several conjugations differ from one another in regard to the definite tenses only.

noniñût he put a blanket down

		Definite	
	Singular	•	Plural
1.	nōnaût		$nar{o}nda\hat{u}t$
2.	$nar{o}niar{n}ut$		nōnō`ût
3.	nōniħût		nōyaniñût
3 a .	noiniñût		nōyainiñût

§ 59. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 2, WITH A CHANGED ROOT

tceniñya HE IS COMING OUT

Definite

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.	tcenēya	$\it tcenedeL$	tcenedeL
2.	tceniñya	$\it tcenar o`deL$	$\it tcenar{o}`deL$
3.	tceniñya	$\it tceni \~n de L$	tceyan indeL
3a.	tciñya	tcindeL	$\it tcey \hat{u}nde L$

§ 60. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 8A

tcisloi[€] HE IS TYING

	D	efinite
	Singular	Plural
1.	seloi e	$m{sitdillois}$
2.	silloi*	sōʻloi€
3.	tcisloie	yaïsloi*
3a.	yisloi ^z	yaiisloi*

§ 61. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 8B

tcittetaL he is stepping along

Definite

	Singular	. Plural
1.	tesetaL	$\it tesdittaL$
2.	tesintaL	$\it tesar o$ ʻ $\it tam L$
3.	tcittetaL	yatetaL
3a.	yittetaL	yaitetaL

§ 62. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 4

naea he has it

		Present
	Singular	Plural
1.	nau <u>w</u> ≥a	$nada^{e}a$
2.	กน์กิะa	na`≥a
3.	naea	$naya^{oldsymbol{arepsilon}}a$
3a.	naiea	nayaie a
		Imperative
	Singular	Plural
3.	natcĕōĕa	nayatcĕō€a
3a.	$nay^{oldsymbol{arepsilon}}ar{o}^{oldsymbol{arepsilon}}a$	nayay ĕō ĕ a
		Customary
	Singular	Plural
1.	naïū <u>w</u> €a	naïtda e a
2.	$na\~i\~n^ea$	naō'€a
3.	naa^ea	nayaa&a
3 a .	naiae a	nayaia ^e a

§ 68. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 1A

yetcildae1 HE IS CARRYING IN A LARGE OBJECT

	Pre	sent Indefinite
	Singular	Plural
1.	yeïū <u>w</u> da	yeït di lda
2.	yeï Lda	yeō Lda
3.	yetci Lda	yeyaï Lda
3a.	yeyiLda	yeyaii Lda
		Imperative
	Singular	Plural
3.	yetcō1da	yeyatcō1da
3a.	y e y $ar{o}$ L da	yeyaiyō ıda
		Customary
	Singular	Plural
1.	yeeïū <u>w</u> da	yeeïtdilda
2.	yeeï Lda	yeeō1da
3.	yetceï Lda	yeyaï Lda
3a.	yeyeïLda	yeyaii1da
		Definite
	Singular	Plural
1.	yewe1da	yewitdil da
2.	yewi Lda	yewō1da
8.	yetcūrvi1da	yeyawi1da
3a.	yeyūwi1da	yeyairoi 1 da

¹It is probable but not quite certain that the glottal stop occurs finally in the root in all forms of the verb.

§ 64. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 1C

yailwil he threw into the air

Present Indefinite

	Singular	Plural
1.	yauwwîl	$yadilw \hat{u}_L$
2.	yûlwûl	yalvoûl .
3.	yaïıwûı	yayaïıwûı
3a.	yailwûl	yayailwûl

Imperative

Singular		Plural
3.	yatcōlwûl	yayatcō11vû1
3a.	yaiōLwûL	yayaiō wû L

Customary

	Singular	Plural
1.	yaïū <u>เง</u> เงนิโ	$yaar{\imath}tdilw\hat{u}l$
2.	yaī Lwûl	yaō Lw û l
3.	yaïıwûl	yayaïıwûl
3a.	yaiizwûl	yayaiiLwal

Definite

 Singular 	Plural
1. $yaivwaL$	y a w i t d i l w a L
2. yalwaL	$yawar{o}$ L waL
3. yawilwa L	yayawiL waL
3a. yaiwilwaL	yayaiwiL waL

§ 65. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 2

meilxe HE IS FINISHING

	Present Indefinite		e
	Singular		Plural
1.	mū <u>w</u> xe⁵		$medilxe^{\mathbf{z}}$
2.	$milxe^{z}$		$melxe^{\epsilon}$
3.	meïlxe ^z		mayaïLxe ^e
3a.	$miiLxe^{\epsilon}$		$meyailxe^{e}$
		Imperative	
	Singular		Plural

	Danie aver	
3.	metcōlxe ^e	m e yatcō1xe²
3 a .	meyōLxe*	m e yayōLxe ^ç

Plural

Customary Singular

1.	<i>me</i> เัน <u>เก</u> นนี	$\emph{me\"it} dilx ar{u}$
2.	meïLxū	meōlxū
3.	meïLx ū	$meya$ î ${\scriptscriptstyle L}xar{u}$
3a.	m Vil x \bar{u}	meyaiiLxū

Definite

	Singular	Plural
1.	menelxe ^e	$mindilxe^{e}$
2.	menilxe ⁸	menōlxe ^z
3.	meni Lxe e	meyaniLxe ^e
3a.	$m\bar{\imath}niLxe^{oldsymbol{arepsilon}}$	meyaini1xe*

§ 66. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 8A

The indefinite tenses do not differ from Conjugation 1.

naïsxût he is tearing down

Definite

	Singular	Plural
1.	naseLxût	$\it nasdilx \hat{u}t$
2.	nasiLx@t	nasōLx û t
3.	$na\"isx\^ut$	nayaïsxût
3a.	naisx û t	nayaisx û t

§ 67. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 8B

tcisselwiñ he is killing

Definite

	Singular	Plural
1.	seselwiñ	sesdilwiñ
2.	$sesilwi\~n$	8e8ÕLwiñ
3.	$tcisse Lwi ilde{n}$	yaselwiñ
3a.	yisseLwiñ	yaiseLwiñ

§ 68. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 4

naïltsûñ he is finding

Present

	Singular	Piurai
1.	nau <u>w</u> tsûñ	nadilts ûñ
2.	n $m{\hat{u}}$ L t s $m{\hat{u}}$ $m{\tilde{n}}$	naLts ûñ
3.	$na\"\imath _{m L}tsU ilde{n}$	nayaī Lts û ñ
3a.	nairtsûñ	nayai Ltsûñ

Imperative

		1 mperante	
	Singular		Plural
3.	natcōLtsûñ		nayatcō Ltsûñ
3a.	naōLtsûñ		nayaōıtsûñ
		Customary	
	Oinenles		Plural

Singular		Plural
1.	naïū <u>w</u> tsa n	naïtdil tsa n
2.	naïLtsan	naōLtsan
3.	naïLtsan	nayaïıtsan
3a.	naiittsan	nayaiiLtsan

§ 69. CLASS III, CONJUGATION 1

yadeqōt he is dodging

Present Indefinite

A Tesent Antiophicie		A resent Andephate
	Singular	Plural
1.	yau <u>w</u> deqōt	yadûkqōt
2.	yûndeqōt	ya`deqōt
3.	yadeqōt	yayadeqōt
3 a.	yadûkqōt	yayadûkqōt

Imperative

	Singular	Plural
3.	yatcōdeqōt	$yayatcar{o}deqar{o}t$
3a.	yaōdeqōt	yayaōdeqōt

Customar

Singular	Plural
1. yaïü <u>ıc</u> deqōt	yaïtdeqōt
2. yaïndeqōt	yaōʻdeqōt
3. yaïtqōt	yayaïtqōt
3a. yaītqōt	yaya îtq ō t

Definite

	20	
	Singular	Plural
1.	yau <u>w</u> deqōt	yawitdeq <i>ōt</i>
2.	$yandeqar{o}t$	yawōʻdeqōt
3.	yawitqōt	yayawitqōt
3a.	yatqōt	yayat qōt

§ 70. CLASS III, CONJUGATION 2

naniteauw HE IS BRINGING IT BACK

Present Indefinite

	Singular	Plural
1.	nau <u>w</u> de ^z au <u>w</u>	nanede ^e au <u>w</u>
2.	nande ^e au <u>w</u>	nanōʻde ^e au <u>w</u>
3.	naniteau <u>w</u>	nayaniteau <u>w</u>
3a.	nainit*au <u>w</u>	nayainiteau <u>w</u>

Imperative

	Singular	Plural
3.	nanōde ^e au <u>w</u>	nayanōʻde⁵au <u>w</u>
3a.	na inōde : au <u>w</u>	nayainōde‡au <u>w</u>

Customary

	Singular	Plural
1.	naneïū <u>w</u> de⊧au <u>w</u>	naneede•au <u>w</u>
2.	naneïnde ^e au <u>w</u>	n an ōōʻde⁵au <u>w</u>
3.	naneït≥au <u>ro</u>	nayaneïteau <u>w</u>
3a.	naineït*au <u>ro</u>	nayaineïteau <u>ro</u>

Definite

	Singular	Plural
1.	nau <u>w</u> de ^e ûñ	nanedeะนิที
2.	$nande^{arepsilon}$ $ ilde{u}$	nano`de&uñ
3.	naïnde⁵ûñ	nayaïnde⁵ûñ
3a.	naininde tuñ	nayaininde ะ นิสิ

§ 71. CLASS III, CONJUGATION 3

The forms for the definite tenses are like those given for Class III, Conjugation 1.

naïsdeqōt he is tumbling about

Definite Singular Plural 1. nasdůkyōt nasedegōt 2. nasindeqōt nasōʻdeqōt 3. naïsdeqōt nayaïsdeqōt

3a. $nasd \hat{u} \hat{k} q \bar{v} t$ $nayasd \hat{u} ar{k} qot$

	§ 72. CLASS I	V, CONJUGATION 1
	naïlye	$ar{u}_{oldsymbol{\mathcal{U}}}$ he rests
	Pre	sent Indefinite
	Singular	Plural
1.	nau <u>w</u> yeū <u>w</u>	nadilyeū <u>w</u>
2.	n û lyeū <u>w</u>	na Lyeū <u>w</u>
3.	naïlyeū <u>w</u>	nayaïlyeū <u>w</u>
3a.	nalyeū <u>w</u>	nayalyeū <u>w</u>
	1	mperative
_	Singular	Plural
3.	natcōlyeū <u>w</u>	nayatcōlyeū <u>v</u>
3a.	nayōlyeū <u>w</u>	nayayōlyeū <u>w</u>
		Customary
	Singular	Plural
	naïū <u>w</u> yeū <u>w</u>	naïtdilyeū <u>w</u>
2.	naïlyeū <u>w</u>	. na ōLyeū <u>w</u>
3.	naïlyeū <u>w</u>	nayaïlyeū <u>w</u>
3 a.	naïlyeū <u>w</u>	nay a ïlyeū <u>w</u>
		Definite
	Singular	Plural
	nau <u>w</u> yeū <u>w</u>	nawitdilyeū <u>w</u>
	$nalyear{u}\underline{w}$	nawölyeü <u>w</u>
3.	nawilyeū <u>w</u>	nayawilyeū <u>n</u>
3a.	nalyeū <u>v</u>	nayalyeū <u>w</u>

§ 78. CLASS IV, CONJUGATION 8

nadiliñ HE IS WATCHING FOR IT

	T	
<i>ITESEN</i> I	Indefinite	

ıl
liliñ
'n
$ili ilde{n}$
lilin

		Imperative	
	Singular	Plural	
3.	n a dōli ñ	nayadōliñ	
3 a.	naidōlin	nayaidōlii	ĩ

Customary

	Singular	Plural
1.	nadeïū <u>v</u> en	nadeïtdilen
2.	nadeïlen ·	nadōō∟en
3.	nadeïlen .	nayadeīlen
Sa.	กลางได้ใดก	กลาเลาสิติโดก

Definite

	Singular	Plural
1.	nadūroesiñ	$nadar{u}wesdili ilde{n}$
2.	nadūwesiliñ	nadūwesōliñ
3.	nadūwesiñ	nayadūwesiñ
3 a.	naidūwesiñ	nayaidūwesiñ

§ 74. OBJECTIVE CONJUGATION

yahwiltūw he is picking me up

Present Indefinite

	t person singular (object)	Second person singular (object)	Third person singular (object)
Subject:			(· · • · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	1. —— 2. yah <u>w</u> iItü <u>w</u> 8. yah <u>w</u> iItü <u>w</u> 3a. yaih <u>w</u> iItüw	yûnniû <u>w</u> tû <u>w</u>	yaxö <u>w</u> lü <u>w</u>
Singular.	2. yan <u>w</u> ızıu <u>w</u>	4	yazöztü <u>w</u>
	8. yah <u>w</u> iziaw	yûnnetci ztû <u>w</u>	yaxö1tü <u>n</u>
	(8a. yaın <u>w</u> ıztüy	yûnni <u>t</u> tû <u>w</u>	yaizöztü <u>w</u>
	(1. —	yûnnitdiltû <u>v</u>	yazöldiltü <u>v</u>
Plural	2. yah <u>w</u> ö <i>L</i> tū <u>w</u>		yaxõLtü <u>w</u>
1 14161	`) 8. yayah <u>w</u> iztü <u>w</u>	yayûnnetci£tü <u>w</u>	yayaxö ^L tü <u>w</u>
	1. —— 2. yah <u>w</u> öLtüw 8. yayah <u>w</u> iLtüw 3a. yayathwiLtüw	yaiyûnniLlü <u>w</u>	yayaixõ Ltü <u>v</u>
		Imperative	
at	(8. vahvõrtüv	vûnnelcő Ltūra	vaxõ Ltû w
singular	. \ 8. yah <u>w</u> öLlüy \8a. yath <u>w</u> öLlüy	yûnnö <i>t</i> tü <u>w</u>	yaizöiiLlüw
	()	y	,
Plural	Plural 8. yayah <u>w</u> õ <i>ttüw</i> 8a. yayaih <u>w</u> õ <i>ttüw</i>	yayûnnetcö <i>L</i> tü <u>w</u>	yayaxi ıtü <u>n</u>
	(8a. yayaih <u>w</u> ö <i>tt</i> ü <u>w</u>	yaiyünnö <i>L</i> tü <u>v</u>	yayaizō tü <u>v</u>
		Customary	
	(1. —	yûnneïü <u>w</u> lü <u>w</u>	yazoliü <u>w</u> tü <u>w</u>
· Cimenta	2. yah <u>w</u> ei£tû <u>w</u>		yazoiiLtū <u>w</u>
Singular.	. S. yah <u>w</u> eï∠lū <u>w</u>	yûnnetceï⊥tù <u>w</u>	yaxoll <i>L</i> lü <u>w</u>
	2. yah <u>w</u> eiztü <u>w</u> 8. yah <u>weiztüw</u> 8a. yaih <u>w</u> eiztü <u>w</u>	yûnneï Ltu <u>w</u>	yaixõii⊥tü <u>w</u>
		yûnneïtdiltûw	yaxoitdiltüy
	2. yahyooztüy		yaxōō Ltūn
Plural	3. yayah <u>w</u> eï <i>t</i> tūw	yayûnnei L tû w	yayaxoli:tü <u>u</u>
	1. ————————————————————————————————————	yayûnneï Ltû <u>w</u>	yayaixoii Liû <u>w</u>
		Definite	
			,
	[1.—	yûnneLti K	yaxweztiñ
Singular.	2. yah <u>w</u> üwiztik 8. yah <u>w</u> iztik 3a. yaih <u>w</u> iztik		yazôwi£ti k
	8. yahwiztifi	yûnnetciLtik	. yaxöztiK
	(3a. yaih <u>w</u> i <i>ztif</i> i	yûnni£tifi	yaizö Ltiñ
	[1. ——	yûnnûwitd iitiK	yazõwitdilti K
. .	1. ————————————————————————————————————		yaxōwō Ltiñ
Plural	8. yayahwiLtifi	yayûnnetciztifî	yayazözti ñ
	3a. yayaihwiLtifi	yaiyûnniLliA	yayaizö Liik
. ~.		-	•

OBJECTIVE CONJUGATION—Continued.

yahwiltūw he is picking me up

Present Indefinite

Subject	First person plural (object)	Second person plural (object)	Third person plural (object)
oubject	(1, ——	yûnnöh <u>w</u> üwlüw	yayaxö <u>w</u> lü <u>w</u>
	2. yûnnöhöllü <u>te</u>		yayazöllü <u>ır</u>
	3. yûnnôtrillü <u>w</u>	yûnnölcîllü <u>w</u>	yayaxöllü <u>re</u>
	1. ————————————————————————————————————	yûnnōhillü <u>w</u>	yayaixõllü <u>w</u>
	(1	yûnnöhildillû <u>v</u>	yayaxõtdillü <u>v</u>
	2. yánnöhö'lü <u>w</u>		yayaxö'lü <u>w</u>
	2. yúnnöhö'lü <u>w</u> 3. yayûnnölcillü <u>w</u> 3a. yayûnnöhillü <u>w</u>	yayûnnölcillü <u>ır</u>	y ayaxõllü <u>v</u> e
	3a. yaiyûnnôhillü <u>v</u>	yaiyûnnöhillü <u>v</u>	yayaixöllü <u>v</u>
		Imperative	
	(3. yûnnötcölüx	yûnnölcölü <u>w</u>	yayaxöllü <u>w</u>
	Singular 3a. yúnnöhölüg	yûnnôhôlü <u>w</u>	yayaixöllü <u>w</u>
	Singular $\begin{cases} 3. \ y\acute{u}nn\acute{o}tc\acute{o}t\acute{u}\underline{w} \\ 3a. \ y\acute{u}nn\acute{o}tc\acute{o}t\acute{u}\underline{w} \end{cases}$ Plural $\begin{cases} 3. \ yay\acute{u}nn\acute{o}tc\acute{o}t\acute{u}\underline{w} \\ 3a. \ yaty\acute{u}nn\acute{o}tc\acute{o}t\acute{u}\underline{w} \end{cases}$	yayûnnölcölü <u>v</u>	yayaxöllü <u>w</u>
	riumi (3a. yaiyünnöhölü <u>w</u>	yaiyûnnöhölü <u>w</u>	yayaizöllü <u>v</u>
		Customary	
	[1	yûnnõheïü <u>ır</u> lü <u>w</u>	yayaxoiiü <u>u</u> lü <u>w</u>
	Singular 2. yúnnöheillüw 3. yúnnöheillüw 3a yúnnöheillüw		y ayaxoiillü <u>w</u>
		yûnnôtceïllü <u>w</u>	yayaxoiillü <u>u</u>
	(ou. yannon mu <u>r</u>	yûnnôheïllû <u>v</u>	yayaixoiillü <u>r</u>
	Plural 1. ——————————————————————————————	yûnnöheïtdillü <u>w</u>	yayaxoiitdillü <u>w</u>
	2. yûnnôheô'lû <u>w</u>		yayaxöö'lü <u>n</u>
	3. yayûnnötce'illû <u>re</u>	yayûnnôlceïllû <u>w</u>	yayaxoiillü <u>v</u>
	(3a. yaiyünnöheillü <u>w</u>	yaiyûnnöhcîllû <u>w</u>	yayaixoiillü <u>v</u>
		Definite	
	[1. ——	yûnnõhela	yayaxwella
	Singular 2. yúnnötvilla 3. yúnnötvilla		yayaxi willa
•	3. yûnnölcilla	yūnnōtcilla	yayaxõlla.
	(3a. yúnnöhilla	yûnnõhilla	yayaixõlla
	[1	yünnöwildilla	yayaxõwitd illa
	Plural 2. yūnnōwō'la	******	yayaxōwō'la
	Plural 3. yayûnnötcilla	yayûnnôlcilla	ya yaxölla
	(3a. yaiyünnöhilla	yaiyünnöhilla	yayaizölla ·

The past definite has -lai for its root.

§ 7±

§ 75. PASSIVE VOICE

yaxowiltin HE IS CARRIED OFF

The present indefinite seems to have no forms for the passive voice.

	Imporen	trat	
Singular		Plural	
1.	dōxōlɨñ yah <u>w</u> eldittū <u>w</u>	dōxōliñ yûnnōhitlū <u>w</u>	
2.	$y \hat{u} n n e l d i t t ar{u} \underline{v}$	yûnnōhitlū <u>w</u>	
3.	$yaxar{o}ldittar{u}\underline{w}$	yayaxōtlū <u>v</u>	
3a.	$y \hat{u} l ditt ar{u} w$	$yayatlar{u}\underline{w}$	
	Custome	a ry	
	Singular	Plural	
1.	yah <u>w</u> eïldittū <u>w</u>	yûnnōheïtlū <u>w</u>	
2.	yûneïldittū <u>w</u>	yûnnōheïtlū <u>w</u>	
3.	yaxoiildittū <u>w</u>	yayaxōiitlū <u>w</u>	
3a.	yaeïldittū <u>w</u>	$yaya$ ï $tlar{u}\underline{w}$	
	Defini	ite	
	Singular	Plural	
1.	yah <u>w</u> ūwiltiñ	$y \hat{u} nn \bar{o} witla$	
2.	yûnnūwiltiñ	$y \hat{u} n n ar{o} w it la$	
3.	yaxōvoiltiñ	yayaxōwitl a	
3 a .	yaltiñ	yayatla	

Adjectives (§§ 76-78)

The qualifying adjectives in Hupa are very closely linked with the verbs. They are fully conjugated, indicating by internal changes the person and number of the subject qualified, and by changes of tense whether the quality is predicated of the present, past, or future.

§ 76. Prefixes of Adjectives

The prefixes of the adjectives consist of a single sound, and are found only in the present. They seem to classify the adjectives according to the degree of connection of the quality with the noun. The principal prefixes are the two following:

1. n- used mostly of inherent qualities, such as dimensions.

 $n\bar{u}\underline{w}nes$ I am tall $n\bar{u}\underline{w}teL$ I am broad $n\bar{u}\underline{w}h\underline{w}\bar{o}\bar{n}$ I am good $n\bar{u}\underline{w}towi\bar{n}$ I am dirty $n\bar{u}\underline{w}das$ I am heavy $n\bar{u}\underline{w}kya\bar{o}$ I am large

2. L- used for the more accidental qualities, such as color, and condition of flesh.

 $L\hat{u}\underline{w}kai$ I am white $L\hat{u}\underline{w}\underline{k}au$ I am fat

Littsō it is blue, yellow, or green Lūhwin it is black

§ 77. Comparison of Adjectives

The superlative, the only form employed, is expressed by prefixing dad-, the second syllable being completed in harmony with the following sound:

hai dadinnes the longest hai dadinnes the fattest

hai dadittsit the shortest hai dadikkyaō the largest, etc.

§ 78. Conjugation of Adjectives

nitdas IT IS HEAVY

Present .	Definite
Singular	Plural
1. nū <u>w</u> das	nit dit das
2. nindas	$nar{o}$ ʻ das
3. tcindas	yaïndas
3a. nitdas	y an it das
Imper	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>iū<u>w</u>das</i> ¹	it dit das
2. indas	$ar{o}$ ' das
3. tcōdas	$yatcar{o}das$
3a. yōdas	$yayar{o}das$
Custo	
Singular	Plural
1. eī ū <u>w</u> das ²	$e\ddot{\imath}tditdas$
2. eïndas	$ear{o}`das$
3. tceïtdas	yaïtdas
3a. eïtdas	yaeïtdas
Pa	at
Singular	Plural
1. <i>wū<u>w</u>das</i> (or <i>wedas</i>)	with dit das
2. windas	$war{o}`das$
3. tcūwindas	y a w indas
3a. windas	yandas

Syntactic Particles (§§ 79-86)

§ 79. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns in their independent form are used chiefly for emphasis and in replying to questions. The incorporation of the object into the verb, and its inflection to show the subject, reduce to the minimum the need of pronouns as independent words.

¹ Let me be heavy.

^{*}I become heavy (each season).

The pronoun for the first person singular is $h\underline{w}e$, which serves for both subject and object. All other Athapascan languages have a word phonetically related to this. In Tolowa the word is $c\overline{c}i$; in Carrier, $s\overline{c}i$; and in Navaho, $c\overline{c}i$. The plural of the first person is nehe. It may be used of the speakers when more than one, or of the speaker and the person spoken to. Instead of $h\underline{w}e$ and nehe, longer forms ($h\underline{w}ee\overline{n}$ and $nehee\overline{n}$) often occur. These seem to be formed by the addition of the particle $e\overline{n}$, which points to a person, contrasting him with another.

The second person singular is nin, and the plural nohin.

It is probable that originally there was no personal pronoun for the third person, its place being taken by the demonstratives and by incorporated and prefixed forms. In speaking of adult Hupa, when emphasis is required $x\bar{o}n$ occurs. This appears to be $x\bar{o}$, the incorporated and prefixed form, and $e\bar{n}$ mentioned above. For the plural, yaxwen is sometimes heard.

§ 80. Possessive Pronouns

Weak forms of the personal pronouns are prefixed to the qualified noun to express possession. For the first and second person, $h\underline{w}e$ and $ni\bar{n}$ are represented by $h\underline{w}$ - and n-, which are completed according to the sounds which follow them. The first and second persons plural are represented by one and the same syllable, $n\bar{o}$ -, which may be prefixed without changing its form to any noun. The third person singular has $x\bar{o}$ - prefixed when an adult Hupa is referred to, but m- (receiving the same treatment as $h\underline{w}$ - and n- above), when the reference is to a Hupa child or very aged person, or to a person of another tribe or race. For animals and inanimate things, m- is also sometimes used, but for the former k- seems to be more frequent. When the possessor of the object is not known, k- is also employed.

A reflexive possessive is used where a chance for ambiguity exists. The form is ad- of which d is the initial sound of a syllable completed according to the sound which follows it.

§ 81. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns for the nearer person or object, which must be in sight, are ded, haided, and haide, which do not differ in meaning. The more remote object or person, whether in sight or not, is referred to by $y\bar{o}$ or $haiy\bar{o}$. Still more remote is $yo\bar{u}$, which is employed of places rather than of persons.

The Hupa employ hai referring to persons or things, singular or plural, in a manner that falls between our use of that (the demonstrative) and the (the definite article). It is employed before the third person of the possessive where our idiom does not require an article.

§ 82. Adjective Pronouns

There are a number of words, equivalent in meaning to ALL, EVERY, SEVERAL, etc., which stand alone, the person or thing limited by them being understood from the context.

The most important of these are the following:

a'tiñ all
a'tinne all people
a'tinxōeûnte everything
a'tiñkaeûnte every kind
a'tindiñ every place
xōdaidehe anything

danhwee nobody
danhwō² somebody
dihwō² something
dihwee nothing
danranhwōn several people
danranhwō² several things

§ 83. Numerals

The numerals to four are common to the Athapascan languages, most of which have cognate words for five also. From five to nine the Hupa numerals are not easily analyzed. Ten $(minL\hat{u}\bar{n})$ means enough for it. The numerals above ten are made by expressing addition for the numbers lying between the decimal terms and by multiplication for those terms. The meaning of $La^{\epsilon}itdikkin$, one hundred, is not evident. No higher numbers exist, but the hundreds may be enumerated to a thousand or more.

A special termination is used when enumerating people. This seems to be an old suffix, $-n\bar{\imath}$ or -ne, meaning PEOPLE. Compare La^e and $L\bar{u}w\hat{u}n$, nax and nanin, $ta\underline{k}$ and $ta\underline{k}\hat{u}n$, $di\bar{n}k$ and $di\bar{n}kin$, and $tcw\bar{o}la^e$ and $tcw\bar{o}la^e$, the numerals from one to five, for things and people respectively.

§84. Adverbs

Notwithstanding that place and time relations are freely expressed by means of verbal prefixes, a large number of adverbs are employed. These are for the most part closely connected with demonstrative pronouns in their meaning and the elements from which they are formed. Of the formative elements which do not also occur in demonstratives are those employed in expressing directions. These have a common initial, $y\bar{\imath}$, which may after all be connected with the pronoun $y\bar{o}$. The final elements are:

 $-n\hat{u}\underline{k}$ south or up stream $-tsi\tilde{n}$ west or down a hill $-de^{\varepsilon}$ north or down stream $-ma\tilde{n}$ the opposite side of a stream or the ocean

Besides the demonstrative source already mentioned, many adverbs are formed from nouns, adjectives, and verbs by means of suffixes indicating place, time, and manner. Some of these suffixes are the following:

 $-di\tilde{n}$ and $-tci\tilde{n}$ (place) $-\underline{k}a$ and $-x\bar{o}$, $-\hat{u}x$ (manner) $-d\hat{u}\tilde{n}$ and $-di\tilde{n}$ (time)

§ 85. Post-positions

The post-positions not only follow the nouns which they limit, but they are joined to pronominal prefixes which stand for the limited noun whether it be expressed or not. The most important postpositions follow:

-a for, for the benefit of -nat around · -xa after -ēdin without, lacking -xûts beside -an out of -ta' among $-\bar{u}$ under, near -tis over -ye at the foot of -tak between -winna around, encircling $-\underline{k}a$, $-\underline{k}ai$ along -wiln toward or from -tciñ toward -lan with the help of . -tciña in front of -ka, -kai after, following $-lai^{\varepsilon}$ on top -L with -kya away from -na after $-k\hat{u}t$ on -nat in the presence of

§ 86. Conjunctions

The conjunctions in Hupa seem to be made from demonstratives, or adverbs derived from demonstratives. They usually end with the syllable $-\hat{a}\bar{n}$. For examples compare the following:

 $egin{array}{ccccc} hai \hat{u}a & hai ya hit djit \hat{u}a & hai ya detc \\ hai ya \muai \muai ya mi u kai y$

\$\$ 85,86

§ 87. Character of Sentence

The Hupa sentence expresses place and direction with very great minuteness and care. This is done both by the prefixes of the verb and by independent adverbs and adverbial phrases. In actual use these sentences are also accompanied by many gestures which might in themselves indicate all that is needful. That the act is repeated, is always stated, and frequently with redundancy, an adverb being employed in addition to the iterative prefix which the verb contains. Usually great care is taken, in making quotations, to state definitely who said or thought the matter quoted. Sequence of time is amply expressed, but other relations are often left to be inferred.

One hesitates to say whether the sentences are all very short or that there are none, but paragraphs instead. One short statement follows another, usually co-ordinate with it but still closely connected in the temporal sequence which carries with it purpose, cause, and result. The synthetic, holophrastic verb is often complete in itself, the other words in the sentence being employed to add distinctness or emphasis.

The greater burden in a Hupa discourse is on the speaker, who expresses with great exactness most of the concepts and their relations, leaving little to be inferred by the listener. Some of the younger generation, who are nearly or quite bilingual, employ Hupa in giving directions about work to be done, or in relating events in which they wish place-relations to be plain, but English for ordinary social discourse.

§ 88. Character of Vocabulary

The vocabulary of Hupa, although it contains words of considerable length, is not far from monosyllabism. It contains many monosyllabic nouns and particles, but a much larger number of polysyllabic verbs, and nouns and other parts of speech derived from verbs. These long words, however, are made up of elements possessed for the most part of great clearness of form and meaning. On the other hand, some of the monosyllables other than nouns and pronouns lack distinctness of meaning, and in some cases of form. In writing the language there is difficulty, therefore, to know just what should constitute a word, and whether certain elements are to be taken with the word before them or the one after them. In a language in which the accent is strong, words are set off from each other by it. In Hupa

the accent is not strong, and in most cases does not belong to the word, but to the sentence.

Nouns and pronouns are clear cut. They are capable of calling up definite and complete mental visions without the aid of associated words and word-elements. The large number of monosyllabic nouns in Hupa, and the still larger number in related languages, which do not occur in Hupa, points to the fact that the original form of Athapascan nouns was monosyllabic. Monosyllabic nouns have given place to polysyllabic ones in Hupa constantly for years, perhaps for centuries. This may have been due to the pleasure which the Hupa find in poetical descriptive names, but it was certainly due, in part, to the dropping of nouns out of the language at the death of persons who had had them for names. These dropped words were replaced by longer descriptive words coined for the purpose.

Only one word has been found in the language which appears to be reduplicated. The aboriginal flute is called *milimil* or *milmil* in Hupa, and in related dialects *bûlbûl*. It is possible that some etymology will appear to explain this apparent exception.

Very few words or word-parts seem to be onomatopoetic in their origin. There is a verb, kyūwindil IT RANG, the root of which, -dil, no doubt represents the sound of striking metals. Another verb closely resembling this is kyūwinket, which is used of the creaking of trees. The sounds of nature which occur may be represented, but they have no other meaning. They do not stand for the thing or animal which makes them: for example, dil dūwenne (dil IT SOUNDED) is said of an arrow striking the sky; dûl dūwenne (dûl IT SOUNDED), of a ball of wood striking a wall of obsidian; and ka ka dūwenne (ka ka IT SAID), of the cawing of a crow.

For the most part, both the monosyllabic words and the elements of the longer words are to all appearances the ultimate facts of the language. They express fundamental concepts and relations, which are no more resolvable into parts than are the syllables which express them. These elements, simple words, roots, prefixes, and suffixes, are not very numerous (probably less than a thousand), but the combinations of which they are capable are very great. Many combinations theoretically possible are not logically possible, and of these only those for which there was a frequent need in the life of the people really existed as words.

TEXT

THE MEEDILDIÑ POOR MAN

Me ^ε d Medi			eltcwen ^{g 3}	haiûñ ⁴	kit <u>t</u> ēkin ⁵	nikkyaō ⁶
tciL ^z an he had.	⁷ haiûñ And	takeïmmi	And	Laaiūx at once	hai 10 x	okittēkin 11 his spoon
miL 12	yaaqõt 13		takeïmmil *	miL 15	yaaxau <u>w</u>	16 haiûñ 4
with	he used to poke up,	that one.	She used to make soup	then	he used to dip it up.	And
aiwe 17	XŌWÛÑ ¹⁸ from him	wakinnin <u>t</u> he cut a hol through.		. "Le	WX&UW ²¹ t me dip t up,"	tcōndesne ** he thought.
Lasiūx And	XO ^{'23} in vain	waniñqōts 24 it ran through.	tcinneLei	n ²⁵ hai at the	xōkittēki his spoon	

1 mordil CANOE; -difi locative suffix, PLACE OF OF PLACE AT (§§ 21, 84).

² dedin POOR, not having possessions.

² tri- sign of 3d per. sing. (§ 33); -te- prefix, distributive as regards time or place (§ 34); -t., 3d modal in verbs, mostly transitives (§ 37); -tewen verbal root, to make, to do, to grow; class II, con. 3, 3d per. sing.

Ani- probably the article; -4% termination common to temporal adverbs and conjunctions,

* kit- possessive prefix used of animals (§ 80); -{2 HORN, the spoon was of horn.

*nik- one of the prefixes of adjectives (§ 76); -kyaō root of adjective LARGE; compare tōwifikyaû (note 125).

tci-,-L, see note 3; -an verbal root meaning to HAVE POSITION, hence the notion of possession.

** ta.*. prefix employed of soup-making, drinking, probably connected with to water (§ 31); -ke-prefix, weak in form and of little force in meaning, it is connected with verbs requiring repeated motions for a single act (§ 34); -i-sign of customary tense (§ 34); -mil verbal root meaning to let fall or to throw several small objects of the same or different kinds, probably the cooking-mones in this case; class II, con. 1, cust., 3d per. sing.

La-, the numeral ONE. There is an element of surprise at the quickness of the act.

10 hai, the article is always employed with the possessive third person.

11 x5- possessive prefix of 3d per. sing. or pl., employed only of adult Hupa; see also note 5.

12 ms. pronominal prefix of 3d per. sing. when adult Hupa are not meant; -L post-position with.

²⁸ ya- prefix used of motion up into, or horizontally through, the air (§ 31); -a- sign of customary tense, a is due to the preceding a of ya; -qūt a verbal root used of pushing something into a yielding mass; class I, con. 1, cust., 8d per. sing.

14 hai- the article; -yō a demonstrative used of the more remote.

15 mil probably the same as in note 12, above; it is often used of time.

16 ya-, -a see note 13; -2au<u>n</u> verbal root referring to water or a liquid; class I, con. 1, cust., 3d per. sing.

"Take AWAY, AT A DISTANCE, NOT IN THE PRESENCE OF; no connection with other words has been found.

12 zō- pronominal prefix of 3d per.; -wāā post-position used of motion toward or away from, according to the context.

19 wa- prefix meaning THROUGH (§ 31); -kin- 1st modal prefix of uncertain meaning (§ 34); -nin- 2d modal of completed action (§ 35); -lats verbal root to cut; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

**Mai-probably the article; -ya- with hai- it forms an adverb there; -L perhaps the post-position (see note 12).

²⁸ ya- see note 13; -û<u>w</u> sign of 1st per. sing.; class II, con. 1, pres. indef., 1st per. sing.

** tc-deictic 3d per. sing.; -e-2d modal indicating progressive action; -ne verbal root, to think; irregular verb, past def., 3d per. sing.

= no indicates that whatever was attempted failed; it is to be construed with yauwrauw (see note 16).

™ wa-, -nifi see note 19; -qöis verbal root.

"" to deictic 3d per. sing.; net contraction of $-n\bar{u}wiL$ of which $-n\bar{u}$ - is a 1st modal prefix of uncertain meaning and -wiL- has w, 2d modal of inceptive action, and L, 3d modal of transitive force; -cn verbal root meaning to LOOK; class II, con. 1, past def., 3d per. sing.

yōneyīdûka. ** mil x back of the from fire up	ceekiLtseL 27 he threw it away.		naïsdûk <u>k</u> ai ²⁸ he got up.	Laaiūx At once
mitdais so tceniñyai so he went out.	Then the	his father tl	naiyō xōLdūv natone saido	venne ³² f him,
veū 33 na tceniñyai 36 "Way across he has gone out	műñ <u>k</u> űtnikk Mañkatnikky	yaō ³⁴ haiûî ao." And		ikyûñ * Is mind
nañya ³⁷ hai axōLteite studied that he had said		use after it	tcittesyai 61	haiûñ _{And}
xöltelit 48 xölnönillit with him With him it finish it burned. burning	⁴³ miL yisxí ed then the ne		edûñ adenne norning he said,	X8. ^{£ 45} "Well
hwa 46 miñ wiñyaL 47 me for it come along."	hai daidite The (explanat was)		d tcelLau <u>w</u> 49 it always came out.	haiûñ ^{Tben}

 $^{^{26}}$ yōn- the seat of honor back of the fire, CORNER; yi- a prefix common to names of direction; -dek together with yi-, has the meaning of UP HILL and the derived meaning of EAST. The word as a whole applies to the bank back of the fire, where the belongings of the men are kept.

[&]quot; zee prefix meaning AWAY FROM, used with verbs of throwing; A first modal; II third modal; leeL verbal root, TO THROW, TO POUND; class II, con. 1, past def., 3d per. sing.

²⁸ in- prefix of uncertain meaning, but employed of the act of rising from a reclining position: -naprefix of iteration; -is-2d modal of durative force; -dak-, d 3d modal; -kai verbal root of acts performed with the legs (or other long instrument); class III, con. 3, past def., 3d per. sing.

²⁹ mitdate the space in front of the house; mit- is probably the possessive prefix; compare mittaitia (see note 131).

so tee- prefix meaning out of; -yes verbal root to go, used only in singular; class I, con. 2, past def...

^{81 -}las FATHER, not used without a possessive prefix.

^{**} $z\delta L$ - indirect object 3d per. sing.; -ne verbal root to say, to sing, to make a noise; irreg. past def., 3a per. sing.

³² yeū adverb, probably from a demonstrative stem, employed of the most remote.

²⁴ mānkút Lake; -nikkyað compare note 6. This is the name given to Trinity Summit, a mountain of 6,500 feet elevation east of Hupa valley.

 $^{^{25}}$ win post-position which does not have a pronominal prefix for 3d per. sing., except when an adult Hupa is referred to.

^{≈ -}kyûñ HEART or VITALS, the organ of cogitation.

³⁷ nat- perhaps meaning DOWN, FROM ABOVE, is employed of things coming into existence: -ps verbal root to GO, to COME; class I, con. 1, past def., 3a per. sing.

a- prefix found with verbs of thinking, saying, and doing.

^{*} tais- probably connected with tai- of taikyūw; -tse BRUSH, SMALL SHRUBS.

^{**} mûz- pronominal prefix of which only m- is constant, the remainder of the syllable depending on the sound which follows; -za post-position, AFTER.

⁴¹ tcit- deictic, 3d per. sing.; -te- distributive prefix; -s- 2d modal of durative action; -yas to 60; class I, con. 3, past def., 3d per. sing.

^{42 -}lit verbal root to BURN, in an intransitive sense only; class I, con. 3, past def., 3a per. sing.

^{43 -}nō- prefix indicating the coming to a stop or end; -nū- for -nin-; class I, con. 2, past def., 3a per. sing.

[&]quot;# yisrün-apparently a verb, of which yi-deictic 3d per. sing. (not an adult Hupa), --- 2d modal, and -xün the root; compare yiszan DAY; -hit conjunctional suffix WHEN.

⁴⁵ zer seems to terminate a discussion and attract attention to some proposition. It is also used to give assent to a proposition.

⁴⁶ hu-pronominal prefix of 1st per. sing.; -a post-position meaning in the intrrest of, for the Benefit of.

 $^{^{47}}$ w- prefix found in a few presents where the inception of the act is in the mind of the speaker (compare § 28); $-i\bar{n}$ - sign of 2d per. sing.; -ya- verbal root to 60; -L suffix indicating the continuation

of the act over space; class I, con. 1, imp. 2d per. sing.

**daididifi, the meaning of this word as a whole is more apparent than that of its parts. It is
employed to introduce the explanation of a mystery. The first syllable, dai- or daid-, is apparently
the element which gives the indefiniteness to interrogative and indefinite pronouns.

^{**} lcc- the prefix mentioned in teeninyai (see note 80), but here it is used of coming out of the surrounding forest into a glade; -auw verbal root connected with -atc undulating movement, as of a herd.

xōsōlwe 52

hai

xōLiñ altcitdenne o xac hwa miñ wiñyal xatehe

	he told, "W	ell me for it come	along." "Well then,	let it kill him
hai dīhwō ^{£53}	niñ eñ ⁵⁴ You it is		tak iLtciñ 55 three together	kisxan ⁵⁶ stand
mittûk 57 ye îl La between you mi them run in	ust Then	tcittesdeL 59 m they started.	ûñ <u>kûtnikkyaō</u> Mañ <u>k</u> atnikkyaō	xaïsdeL ⁶⁰ they went up.
Lömatekûtteiñ 6	tcenindeL	⁶² haiya mil There	kkyaqōttse ⁶³	naLau <u>w</u> ⁶⁴ were about
hai Lōkût 65 the glade on.		Ltcitdenne niñ e said to him, "You		minna ⁶⁷ around
sindañ ⁶⁸ hwe you stay. I	yeü <u>k</u> ai distant along	wûnnaiwedate 69 I will sit for them."	haiûñ yaiz Then the	KÖLtcwen ⁷⁰ ey smelled him.
xōkyatciñ ⁷¹ tel From him they	atc ⁷² xō <u>k</u> ût ran, on him	danakindīyan ⁷⁸	haiûñ tak to	ceseLwen 74 he killed

so alteitenne the form used in speaking to children or non-Hupa adults. Compare axoltcitdenne (see note 38), which is the form ordinarily employed in speaking to adults.

41 zq- probably the same as zq discussed in note 45; -te- is unknown; -he is used of concessions and negations which are sweeping.

²² xō- the object; -e- a prefix found in this verb only; -ō- regularly indicates 3d per. of imp.; -L- 3d modal: -we verbal root to KILL (this form of it occurs in pres. indef. and imp.), compare -wen in trencturen (see note 74).

adi- probably connected with the demonstrative stem de; -hwōs suffix often employed to give indefiniteness. This word is often used to avoid a word of ill omen.

54 ch is employed to point a contrast.

- il has a reciprocal force: -tciff post-position, TOWARD.
- -ran verbal root employed of the standing position of trees.
- wit-pronominal prefix; -túk post-position between.
- * ye- prefix into, the correlative of tce-; -l 3d modal (-fi- sign of 2d per. sing. is dropped before it); -La verbal root TO RUN (the past has -Lat); -net suffix, often found in the imperative, having the force of duty or necessity; class IV, con. 1, 2d per. sing. imp.
- *-de L verbal root to go, used only of the dual or plural. Compare tcittesyai (see note 41); class I, con. 3, past def., 3d per. dual.
- ∞ xa- prefix up, here up A HILLSIDE; the delctic (tcit-, is not used after xa-); class I, con. 3, past def., 3d per. dual.
- 61 Li monosyllabic noun GRASS, LEAF; -ma- probably BORDER; -tc- diminutive suffix; -kût- UPON; -trifi locative suffix TOWARD.
 - Compare teeninyai (see note 30), the singular. This is the dual.
 - mik- possessive prefix; -kya- antlers; -qöttse sharp, pointed (?).
 - ** na- prefix used of indefinite motion over the ground. Compare tceitauw (see note 49).
 - ♣ Lō- graß; -kút on.
 - The position of the speaker. Compare haiya, the more remote position.
 - min-pronominal prefix; -na post-position around, about.
- s- prefix found in the present of a few verbs (compare -s- 2d modal prefix); -da verbal root to SIT. TO REMAIN; -fi suffix, perhaps from -nc* (see note 58).
- wun- prefix used of pursuit or attempted action; -w- 2d modal of inceptive force; -e- sign of 1st per. sing., found only in the definite tenses; -da-verbal root to sit; -le suffix used to express the future.
- 10 yai- sign of plural, employed of animals, etc. (for adult Hupa -ya- is used); -xō- object; -tcwen verbal root TO SMELL, it has L preceding it when the verb is transitive, but does not have it when it is intransitive; class II, con. 1, past def., 3a per. pl.
- T zō- pronominal prefix; -kya- post-position AWAY FROM; -tciñ locative suffix.
- 72 -atc verbal root to move in an undulating line. It is employed of the motion of a pack-train. The verb is singular, since the band as a whole is the subject. Class II, con. 3, past def., 3a per. sing.
- 13 da- prefix which literally means on something higher than the ground, perhaps figurative here: -Hin- of uncertain force; -di- 3d modal; -yan verbal root used of the movements of deer and elk; class III, con. 1d, past def., 3a per. sing.

"tre- sign of 3d per., a variant for tsis- and teis- found in tsissetwen, teissetwen (below); -set-, se- is the prefix mentioned in note 68; -s-2d modal, is dropped before L 3d modal; -wen verbal root to KILL; class II, con. 3, past def., 8d per. sing.

mikkyaqöttse haiûñ Lenaiyanillai 15 haiya xökût yalweL 16 haiûñ they built a fire. There on them it became night.

naidir.79 axontcitdenne dikkyûñ tein 17 dōxōlwil 78 xa^e dōñ xōLiñ he said to him, his "Here they say it is no one spends Come let us go brother the night. home

menesgit * hai dikkyûñ nehelweLte * haiûñ dûnLûñhwōdiñ * I am afraid." "The here we will spend the night."

axōLtcitdenne yūdiñhit sa xōtciñ tcūwintcwū sa axōLtcinne sa mil he said it to him. Finally on his he cried. He kept telling him with

naidiL haiûñ <u>k</u>ût wilweL xōtesdūhwen so haiûñ kittewestce so haiûñ kittewestce the wind blew. Then go home."

Lekilla 88 kût ' ainūwinsen 89 yūdiñhit axōLtcitdenne xae tewite "Well, firewood he said to him, Finally gather. Already you have decided, Leyakillau 91 hwelweLte 90 haiûñ kût Lenavanillai xōh<u>wōw</u> ⁵⁴ 'l will spend the night.'" Then already they gathered it. They built a fire. Some way

akitdūwenne 3 xōwinLit 4 haiyahitdjit haiyō adenne xas naidiL dau 36 it sounded. It thundered. And then that one said, "Well, let us go "No,"

¹⁶ Le- prefix employed of motion mutually toward or position near each other; -nai- (na) iterative prefix often employed of habitual acts; -ya- sign of plural; -nii- for -nin- because of the following it at verbal root employed of moving or handling more than one object; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. pl. The fire may have been ceremonial for the dressing of the elk.

⁷⁸ ya- sign of plural; 4-3d modal, often of passive force; -weL form of a verbal root indicating the passing of the night. The verb may be considered as an active form with the object prefixed, the subject being some natural element or supernatural being, or as a passive form of which the subject is the young men in question.

⁷⁷ Of uncertain derivation, but probably connected with the root -ne -n TO SPEAK.

⁷⁸ do-negative prefix; -wil form of the verbal root discussed above.

⁷⁹ na-iterative prefix used here with the meaning of returning whence they had set out; -diL verbal root 70 go, other forms of it are -dil and -deL (see note 59); class I, con. 3, pres. indef., 1st per. dual.

^{**} me- object; -ncs-, of which n- is a prefix of uncertain meaning, and -s-, 2d modal (some sign for the first person singular would be expected, but a number of verbs have the first and third persons alike in form); -git verbal root to FEAR; class IV, con. 3, pres. def., 1st per. sing.

⁸¹ nehe- object Us, or subject of passive WE.

^{**} dûn- stem or prefix found in expressions meaning several or none; -Luff many, much; -huff expresses uncertainty or indefiniteness; -difi locative suffix, but in numbers means times,

si yū- probably connected with the demonstrative stem yō; -diā locative suffix common with adverbs of time and place; -hit conjunctional suffix then.

^{84 -}tcwū verbal root to CRY, TO WEEP.

^{*} lein, lein, would be expected, but the verb is quite irregular; ne verbal root to say; irreg., cust., 3d per. sing.

^{**} xō- prefix giving absolute and impersonal force to the verb, used especially of weather conditions; -te- distribution; -s- 2d modal; -d- 3d modal; -hwen verbal root, no doubt connected with -hwin in Lühwin BLACK.

⁸⁷ kit- prefix always found with the blowing of the wind, it may give the idea of continuousness to the act; -we- formative element which gives a durative force to verbs, especially in the passive; -lee verbal root indicating the action of the wind.

⁻lce' verbal root indicating the action of the wind.

**B Le- see note 75; -ki- perhaps giving the force of local distribution; -l- for fi on account of the following l; -la shorter form of the verbal root -lau (see note 91); class I, con. l, 2d per. sing. imp.

^{**} ai- appparently the same prefix which occurs in azöLicitäenne (below); -nū- prefix of unknown force; -scn verbal root to think, other forms of it are -siñ, -ne; irreg. class I, con. 1, 2d per. sing. imp.

⁹⁰ hue-object or subject me or 1.

^{91 -}kil- contraction for -kūwil-; -lau, verbal root; class I, con. 1, past def., 3d per. sing.

⁹² zō- WAY OR MANNER; -h<u>wōw</u>, compare dih<u>w</u>ō^e (see note 53).

^{93 -}kit- employed in the place of -tcit- when the subject is some unknown agent.

 $^{^{94}}$ $x\bar{v}$ - see note 92; -Lit verbal root employed of noises such as a footfall. This verb in its impersonal form is used for the noise of the earthquake as well as of thunder.

[%] Evidently connected with do- the negative prefix.

tcitdenne ** kût dañ xō ûnniLdenne ** naidiL dōmûkkainasiñ *a ** he said, "already some in vain I said to you, time ago to home."

anakitdenne ** baiûñ kīye xōdiōx 100 xûndiñ haivahitdjit xōwûñ still Then again it sounded closer. And then for him xōdie 101 tconda^{6 103} hai neskin mittûk yelllane axōLtcitdenne nax "Two bis mind WAS SOFTY. He said to him. the firs between you must

noniñxûts 103 nöltö⁸n 104 hai dikkyûñ mil haiûñ kût mil hai when." the it lights And already it dropped. Then the Laaiūx yīkyūwiñyan 106 Immediately it began to eat yexōñan 106 nõltõ^en neskin mittûk haiyō they ran in. fire between That one lit.

hai mikkyaqōttse Lasiūx yinneLyan 107 haiyahitdjit Lasiūx xō the elks. Really it ate them up. And then at once vain

xaiteñen 166 yīxōLtsan 169 xō \underline{k} ûttciñ yaltō 4 n Laaiūx hai neskiñ it looked for It found them. On them It jumped. Really the firsthem.

minnaikitdelai 110 χōʻ danadūwiL*al 111 yūdinhit a'tin haiûñ mûkkût in vain Finally it embraced. Then at it he shot. all tcekinniñits 112 artcitdenne nittsitdûkana^swe 118 haivaL hai xōLiñ he shot out. And the his brother he told. "Your quiver

[&]quot;Note the omission of the prefix a when the object stands directly before a verb of saying or thinking.

^{** 4}n- the form a- takes when followed by n; -niL- indirect object of 2d per. sing. Compare -zōLin azōLicitdense (below). These indirect objects are really adverbial phrases containing a postposition rendered in full by WITH YOU.

[■] do- negative prefix; -math- pronominal prefix; -hat- post-position after; -na- prefix over the subject of the ground; -s- 2d modal; -fs- sign of 2d per. sing.; -fa verbal root to have in one's resustance. The literal meaning of this phrase is said to be, you did not carry after it in your hand.

⁻na-iterative prefix. Compare akitdenne (see note 98), employed of the first occurrence.

¹⁰⁰ zödj- probably for zötc RIGHT, EXACT, to having become dj because of their change from final to initial position.

¹⁰¹ zo- pomessive prefix; -dje MIND.

⁻dae verbal root to WASTE AWAY.

ነው ክራ- prefix denoting a position of rest on the surface of the ground; -nifi- 2d modal required by -nő-; -záts verbal root το PASS THROUGH THE AIR.

^{1804-66&#}x27;s verbal root to June, to alight. As is usual with Hupa verbs, the root defines the kind of act without reference to the fact of its beginning or ending, which is expressed by prefixes. Class IV com. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

^{106 - 205 -} prefix of unknown meaning; -an verbal root to RUN, used of dual and plural only; compare peilLane* (p. 155); class I, con. 1, past def., 3d per. dual.

ys deictic of the third person when not a Hupa adult; -kyū- 1st modal prefix used when the object is not known or not definitely named; -yūn verbal root to EAT; class I, con. 1, past def., 8a per. sing.

w-neL-contraction for -nawiL-, of which the prefix evidently has reference to the completion of the act; class II, con. 1, past def., 3a per. sing.

^{100 201-} prefix indicating PURSUIT or SEARCH (the form 201- is due to the subject not being an adult Hupa); test- probably a contraction for -tūwist-; -en verbal root to LOOK; class I, con. 1, past def., 3a per sing.

^{📨 -}zō- object; -L- 3d modal; -tsan verbal root to see, to find; class II, con. 4, past, 3a per. sing.

¹¹⁰ min- pronominal prefix; -nai- post-position ABOUND; -lai verbal root apparently connected with la mand. It was explained that the wings had teeth on them; these the bird drove into the tree with great force.

¹¹¹ da- prefix Position Higher than the Earth; -nadû- indicating a position perpendicular as regards some plane; -la- verbal root to have Position; -l suffix denoting repeated acts.

¹²² tec- prefix out of; -kin- prefix used of acts completed, the means being exhausted; -its verbal root to shoot; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

¹³³ mil- possessive prefix; -laiddkano*we the Quiver of fisher-skin; -na- prefix over the surface of the Ground; -noe verbal root to carry.

mouth.

it out.

hwūwûlwûl¹¹⁴ haiyal xōwaïlwaL¹¹⁵ yūdiñhit xōlûkai ¹¹⁶ tesyayei 117 throw to me." Aŭd he threw it to Finally dawn came him.

naxaits 118 xōa tindiñ yūdiñhit naetses nondivan 119 haivahitdiit arrows everywhere. At last two only were left. And then missa¢kiñits 120 haiyahitdjit naltsit 181 tsisselwen haiyaL tcena inde L he shot in its And then it fell. He killed it. And they came out.

natesdeL kût teisselwen haiva medildiñ naīndeL a'tiñkasûnte 122 They started Already he killed it. There Medildifi they arrived. All kinds home.

ada 123 tcittesean 184 tōwiñkyaū 125 haiûñ yaxöLtcitdenne La medil the river was for he came to own. Then once They said to him, "Canoe himself high. taïntü<u>w</u> 126 wûnnayaïsdeL 128 dohexotcoyawenne 187 hai xōʻ

take out of he did not do it. In vain they tried. the water.' döhetayaistan 189 Lūwûnniñ ¹³⁰ haiya xanaïsdeL haiûñ tceniñyai They did not take There they came up alone Then he went out.

mittsitda^{e 131} hai medil xaïstan taikyūw datcūwintan haiyûka The canoe he brought up. Sweat-house its roof he put it on. This way

again.

anūweste 132 kitteseōx his nature was. anıart

The

¹¹⁴ hw-u-indirect object; -wuL- from the prefix -wa- (used of handing an object to any one) and L 3d modal, a becomes a in 2d per. sing., probably because of the accent; -wal, verbal root to THROW A LONG OBJECT; class II, con. 2, 2d per. sing. imp.

¹¹⁵ xō- indirect object; -iL, -niL would be expected; -waL another form of the root in hywwaLwaL; class II, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

¹¹⁶ xô- see note 86 above; -L-, prefix found with many adjectives; -kai root of adjective white. The "Dawn maiden" is meant by xōLûkai.

¹¹⁷⁻yei suffix giving emphasis to verb indicating the accomplishment of acts which are gradual, or which require several attempts.

¹¹⁸ nax- Two; -aits limiting suffix ONLY.

¹¹⁹⁻di-3d modal; -yan verbal root used of the position of certain objects, such as baskets, etc.

¹²⁰ mis- possessive prefix; -saf- MOUTH.

¹²¹ na- prefix DOWN; -l- 3d modal; -tsit verbal root to FALL.

¹ºº a'tiñ- ALL; -ka- suffix with adjectives and adverbs, KIND, WAY; -le verbal root to APPEAR, to HAVE A CERTAIN NATURE.

¹²² act- reflexive pronoun; -a post-position FOR. Compare hwa (see note 46).

¹⁹⁴ Compare tciL'an, note 7, p. 158.

¹²⁵ to- the more common word for water in Athapascan dialects (in Hupa it is found in compounds and is applied to the ocean); -kyaŭ adjectival root to become LARGE.

¹²⁶ ta- prefix OUT OF THE WATER; -in- sign of 2d per. sing.; -tūw- verbal root employed of long objects only; this form is confined to the indefinite tenses; class I, con. 1, 2d per. sing. imp.

¹³⁷ dō- negative prefix; -he- adds emphasis to the negation (see note 51, p. 155); -xō- not know deictic; -ne verbal root to do a specified act; irreg. past def., 8d per. sing.

¹²⁸ min- see note 35.

^{129 -}tan verbal root, another form of -tūw (see note 126).

¹⁸⁰ Lū- probably from Las ONE.

¹⁸¹ mit- possessive prefix; -tsitdat ROOF (?).

^{132 -}wes- see note 87; -te (see note 122).

TLINGIT

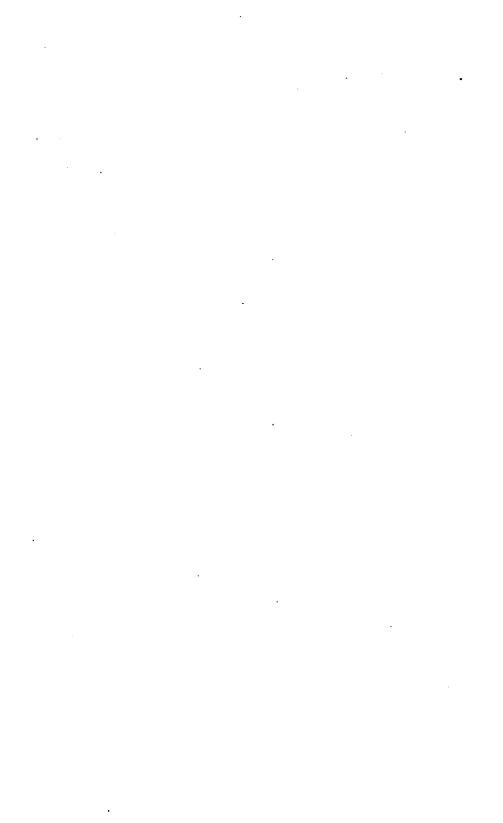
BY

JOHN R. SWANTON



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TLINGIT

By John R. Swanton

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION

THE Tlingit or Koluschan language is spoken throughout southeastern Alaska, from Dixon entrance and Portland canal to Copper
river, with the exception of the south end of Prince of Wales island,
which is occupied by Haida. An interior tribe of British Columbia,
the Tagish, are said to belong to the same linguistic stock, but it is
by no means certain that they have not adopted the language from
their Chilkat neighbors. Such a change is said, at any rate, to have
taken place in the the language of the Ugalakmiut, or Ugalentz, of
Kayak island and the neighboring mainland, who were formerly
Eskimo and have now become thoroughly Tlingitized.

The principal part of the material on which this sketch is based was obtained at Sitka, but I also have considerable material from Wrangell, and one long story from Yakutat. Although each town appears to have had certain dialectic peculiarities, it would appear that the language nowhere varied very widely and that the differences were mainly confined to the different arrangement and handling of particles; the lexical changes being comparatively few and the structure practically uniform. The greatest divergence is said to exist between the Yakutat people on the one hand and the people of Wrangell and the other southern towns on the other—the speech at Sitka, Huna, Chilkat, Auk, Taku, and Killisnoo being intermediatebut I have not enough material to establish the entire accuracy of this classification. Anciently the people belonging to this stock, or a part of them, lived at the mouths of the Nass and Skeena rivers, on the coast now occupied by the Tsimshian, and the universal acknowledgment of this by the people themselves is probably evidence that it was at no very ancient date. Perhaps this recent spread of the people is responsible for the comparative uniformity of their

language. Phonetically, at least, the divergence between the Skidegate and Masset dialects of Haida is much greater than that of the various Tlingit dialects.

Although they must be treated as entirely distinct stocks, Tlingit, Haida, and the languages of the interior Indians, or Athapascan, may be classed in one morphological group. The two former agree in the order which the processes and usually the words themselves observe, although it is not imperative in Tlingit, as in Haida, that the verb should stand at the end. The two also resemble each other in expressing location by means of a multitude of post-positions, or particles with the aspect of post-positions; but Tlingit is noteworthy for its entire lack of locative affixes to the verb, as well as for extreme punctiliousness in expressing the state of an action—as to whether it is beginning, completed, in a transitory state, etc. In spite of these peculiarities and the fact that there is very little lexical similarity, several processes present such striking similarities that, in conjunction with the morphological agreement, an impression is given of a more intimate former relationship.

PHONETICS (§§ 2, 3)

§ 2. Sounds

The following table gives Tlingit phonetics arranged so as to show the inter-relationships of sounds:

			•	•		Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal	Semi- vowel
Labials .						-	-	_	_	_	\boldsymbol{w}
Dentals .						d	t	t!	(8)	\boldsymbol{n}	_
Sibilants .							8 C	8!		_	_
Affricatives,	88	eri	es			dz	ts	ts!	_	_	_
Affricatives,						dj	tc	tc!	_	_	_
Anterior pal	at	als				_	_	k·!		_	_
Palatals .						gg	\boldsymbol{k}	k!	xy	_	y
Velars							q	q!	x	_	_
Laterals .						Ļ	Î.	L!	ł	_	_
Breathing						· ·					h

Vowels: \bar{u} (or \bar{o}), u (or o), a, a (\bar{a} under the accent), \bar{i} (or \bar{e}), i (or e).

Many of these also occur in Haida, to the account of which language the student is referred; but the l and \tilde{n} of the latter language, along with the entire labial series, except w, are wanting, although m appears in a few words imitating natural sounds and in words intro-

duced from other stocks, such as the Tsimshian; l, however, is usually transliterated as n. To make up for this loss of phonetic elements, the number of sibilants and related sounds is greatly increased. Where Haida has only s, dj, tc, and tcl, we find here s, sl, c (pronounced like English sh), dj, tc, tcl, dz, ts, and tsl. The g is not pronounced so far back as Haida g, but, on the other hand, there is a sonant (y), which is pronounced by the younger people exactly like English y. As indicated, three palatal fortes seem to be used; but it is so difficult to distinguish k! from k! that I have not been able to carry out the distinction in my texts. After many palatals a slightly sounded u (or o) occurs, represented by u or v, which develops in certain situations into a full u (or v) sound.

§ 3. Phonetic Processes

Harmonic changes are very few and special. Thus the reflexive prefix c appears as tc or dj occasionally, though I am unable to lay down a rule for the alteration, especially since it occurs in words otherwise identical, as wuckik!iyê'n or wudjkik!iyê'n brothers to one another. Another tendency is for a final surd to change to the corresponding sonant when a vowel is suffixed, as—

qawā'q eye duqawā'qe his eye
yugo'qtc the trap yugo'qdjayu the trap it was
yēk spiritual helper duyē'gî his spiritual helper
tēla'tc gadu' tidjā'qe nothing to kill with (instead of tē'latc
gadu' tîdjā'qe)

More important than either of the above is the employment of o or u in place of i or e when preceded by certain sounds. This takes place usually when x, q, or q! precedes and is itself preceded by o or u. Thus we have $wuq\bar{o}'x$ to get to a certain place by canoe and $wuq\bar{o}x\bar{o}'n$ he had formerly come ashore there; $kun\bar{u}'k$ did, $kunug\bar{u}'n$ while doing. In duq!ua' his mouth (from q!a mouth), at uxua' he ate something (from xa to eat), the u is inserted.

Since y belongs to the same series of k sounds, it is treated in the same manner, and, on account of the weakness of the sound, changes to w. Therefore, when yi is suffixed to a word ending in u, it changes to wu; as, $Xuts!nuw\bar{u}'$ GRIZZLY-BEAR FORT, instead of $Xuts!nuy\hat{u}'$; dutuwu' HIS MIND, instead of $dutuy\hat{u}'$; and we might add $dug\bar{u}'wu$ HIS DRUM (from gao drum). Sometimes, though not invariably, wu is

used after a, especially when a is accented: as, $anq\bar{a}'wu$ chief, $qok^ugwan\bar{a}'wu$ if there were going to be death, $ducax\bar{a}'wu$ his hair. A similar phenomenon exists in Kwakiutl, Chinook, and Dakota.

The strengthening of ", as in $duy\bar{a}'gu$ his canoe (from $y\bar{a}k$ " canoe) and daq $\bar{a}'lunago'qoawe$ when salmon were running up (from $\bar{a}'lunagoq^o$), must not be confused with this.

Contraction of A-i to e occurs, and will be referred to on p. 172.

§ 4. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

Grammatical relations are indicated by affixes and by juxtaposition, reduplication being absolutely wanting. Suffixes are few compared with prefixes, but the number of prefixes is not very great, the categories of ideas expressed in this manner being limited. word-unit is, on the whole, very loose, so that many prefixes might as well be considered as particles. Some of them seem to be essentially of the character of modal adverbs. Others, whose connection with the verb is even weaker, are pronouns and local adverbs. last group is apparently much more closely connected with the noun, in regard to which particles of this class appear as post-positions, while in relation to the verb they appear as prefixes. A number of elements which appear as suffixes of both verbs and nouns are weak in character and are very intimately connected with the word to which they are attached. In some cases they cause or undergo phonetic changes which result in a still closer amalgamation of the two constituent elements.

§ 5. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The distinction between noun and verb is fairly clear, although a number of stems appear both as verbs and nouns, and a few nominal stems appear as incorporated adverbial elements. Plurality is not expressed in the noun, but there is a suffix indicating the collective. The plural of terms of relationship is formed by the same element that expresses the third person plural of the personal pronoun. Possessive pronouns are related to the personal pronouns, but the idea of possession requires the addition of a suffix to the noun possessed. The possessive forms for terms of relationship differ from those for other nouns. There are no true cases, although some postpositions which express local relations are intimately connected with the noun. The number of these is very large.

The most characteristic trait of the verb is the occurrence of a number of prefixes, the significance of which has come to be so weak that they appear rather as formal elements than as clearly distinct categories. It has not been possible to give more than an enumeration of these. They are evidently modal in character and may occur in groups. A few suffixes are common to verbs and nouns. Verbal suffixes are temporal or semi-temporal in character, express finality, or transform verbal expressions into nouns. The Tlingit has a very strong tendency to recapitulate statements by means of demonstratives, which are prefixed to nominal and verbal expressions, as well as used with post-positions.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 6-24)

The Noun (§§ 6-10)

§ 6. Structure

Nominal stems are mostly monosyllabic and quite distinct from verbal stems. (See §§ 25, 26.)

Nouns are compounded by juxtaposition, the qualifying noun preceding the one qualified; as,

 $g_A g \bar{a}' n - q' \bar{o} s$ sun-feet (=sunbeanis) $l\bar{e} q' - k' u d_A' s$ red-snapper coat qo'sa - xa - qoan man-eater-people $x\bar{a}' - s' \bar{a} x^u$ root-hat

Parts of the body, except in composition, are always classified by placing qa man before those belonging to a human being, and the name of the corresponding animal before those belonging to animals; as,

qadjî'n a human hand qawā'q a human eye qaqū'k a human ear qaq/ō's a human foot tanca' a sea-lion's head qowakā'nq!a a deer's mouth

Nouns consisting of a theme and post-positions occur; as,

cī-t!-ka' (cī- behind-on) Sitka. (See § 23, nos. 24, 29.)

More common are nouns containing a possessive element $(-y\hat{\imath} \text{ or } -\hat{\imath})$ (see § 10):

gîts!º qoa'nî sky people xāt qoa'nî salmon people yao teyî' herring rock s! Atc ā'nî Moss Town tān q! Adadjā'yî sea-lion bristles Here may belong-

Kîks-a'di people of the island $an-q\bar{a}'$ -wo town's man (=chief) Kiks (a Tlingit clan)

Other compounds are:

Haida)

Go'na-na foreign tribe (the inland Athapascan) ing) $Dek\bar{v}-na \text{ far-out tribe (the}$

Nouns formed from clauses also occur:

wu-c-ta- $o\bar{a}'$ - $y\hat{a}$ a married couple. (See wu-[§ 15.4]; c-reflexive [§ 11]; ta probably = da [§ 14.4]; ca to marry; $y\hat{i}$ [§ 20.2] yu-t-aq-a/a-ye-t mortar (yu-that [§ 12]; t/aq/a to pound; -ye[§ 20.2];

-t purposive suffix [§ 20.1])

tō-ux-si-yēt whistle (tō into; ux to blow; si[?]; ye[§ 20.2]; -t[§ 20.1])

Yāku-kalasega'ku canoe-resting-place (a place name) (yāku canoe; ka-, la-, se-verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 18.4, 1]; ga stem [?])

Kat-naq-tīn, white-rock-on-top-of-another (Ring island) (?)

 $Y\bar{u}'q/a-k_A'n_Ax-At-yadugu'q$ point he threw something across ($y\bar{u}$ -demonstrative; q'a a point; $k_A'n_Ax$ post-position probably compounded of k_A ON, and n_Ax NEAR; At thing; ya-, du-[§ 15.3; § 17.3] verbal prefixes; guq to throw)

yu-Ac-iga'-wusuwu'-At the thing that helped him (yu-demonstrative; Ac personal pronoun of third person; ga for; wu-verbal prefix; su stem; -wu infinitive or possessive suffix)

Cë nyak!"-Lāx moldy-corner (of salmon), (a personal name) (cë nya corner; k!" probably diminutive suffix; Lāx moldy)

Adjectives, except numerals, follow the noun qualified.

§7. Intensive Suffix

When special attention is to be paid to anything, an intensive suffix, -tc, is employed. Thus $L\bar{\iota}ng\hat{\iota}'ttc$ is the intensive form of $L\bar{\iota}ng\hat{\iota}'tt$ PEOPLE; $K\hat{\iota}ks_Ad\bar{\iota}'tc$, the emphatic form of the name of the clan $K\hat{\iota}ks_A'd\hat{\iota}'$, $qawag\hat{\iota}'tc$, the emphatic form of $qaw\bar{a}'q$ eyes; $\bar{\iota}h\bar{a}'ntc$, the emphatic form of $\bar{\iota}h\bar{\iota}'n$ (we); and $L\bar{\epsilon}l_A'tc$ Never, the emphatic form of the negative particle $L\bar{\iota}el$ Not.

§8. Diminutive Suffix

Smallness is indicated by suffixing $-k.'^o$ or $-k.'^u$; as,

 $x\hat{\imath}xtc.'\hat{\imath}'k.'^{o}$ little frog (from $atk.'a'tsk.'^{o}$ a small boy (this $x\hat{\imath}xtc.'$ frog) always takes the diminutive) $ak.'^{u}$ little lake (from \bar{a} lake) $ak.'^{u}$ her little child

This suffix is used much with terms of relationship, sometimes probably in an endearing sense; as,

cxank!" grandchild tilk!" grandparent

sīk!" daughter
kæk!" nephew or niece

Lak!" little mother, mother's sister

§ 9. Collective

With animate or inanimate objects, but more often the latter, the sense of a lot of or a heap of is expressed by suffixing q! or q!?; as,

Lingî't man or men ta stone q!āt! island hît house gux slave Līngî'tq! many men together teq! stones lying in a heap q!ā't!q!î islands
hî'tq!î houses
quaq! slaves

That this is not a true plural is shown on the one hand by the fact that its employment is not essential, and on the other by the fact that it is occasionally used where no idea of plurality, according to the English understanding of that term, exists. Thus $yuy\bar{a}'i$ Lang! The Big whale may be said of a single whale, the suffix indicating that the whale was very large, and that it had many parts to be cut out. Therefore it may best be called a collective suffix.

With terms of relationship the plural is more often indicated by placing has after the noun:

 $duk\bar{a}'k$ his uncle, $duk\bar{a}'k$ has $du\bar{a}'t$ his aunt, $du\bar{a}'t$ has his his uncles aunts

Has also fulfills the office of a personal pronominal prefix in the third person plural, but it is probable that the pronominal function is secondary (see § 11).

Instead of has, some terms of relationship take $y \partial n$, often in conjunction with the collective suffix q!; as,

dukā'ni his brother-in-law kīk! younger brother

dukā'niyên his brothers-in-law wuckik!iyê'n brothers to each other (wu- § 15.4; c- § 11) duca'tq!?yên his wives

duca't his wife

§ 10. Possession

Possession is expressed by the possessive pronoun, which precedes the noun, and by a suffix which is attached to the term for the thing possessed, except when it is a term of relationship or part of the body, or one of a few other terms. This suffix is -yi after the vowels A, i, e, \bar{i}, \bar{e} , and sometimes after a; -i after consonants; and -wu and -wo after u or o and occasionally after a. Examples are—

yao te'yî herring's rock xîxtc!k!" cīyî' little frog's song

 $x\bar{a}t \ qoa'n\hat{\imath}$ salmon people xuts! nuwu' grizzly-bear's fort

The possessive pronouns are—

Ax my i thy du his Ac his own

ha our yī your hasdu their

Examples—

 $\Delta x \bar{\imath}' c$ my father dula' his mother *duaxā'yî* his paddle duwuts!ā'gayî her cane hasducayī'nayî their anchor

ica't thy wife dutē'q! his heart $dutc\bar{u}'n\hat{\imath}$ his dream duhî'tî his house duā'nî his town

The demonstrative a may sometimes replace the forms of the third person; as, $ac\bar{a}'y\hat{\imath}$ HIS HEAD.

It seems possible that the suffix -i(-u, -yi, -wu) is identical with the participial suffix to be discussed in § 20.2.

§ 11. The Personal Pronoun

There are three series of personal pronouns: the subjective, objective, and independent. The last of these evidently contains demonstrative elements, and may be strengthened by the intensive suffix The third person objective with verbs and post-positions is sometimes a, while du and hAsdu are used only with post-positions. In the following table these pronouns are given, together with the possessive pronoun:

	Subjective	Objective	Possessive	Independent
1st per. sing	x, xa	$x_A t$	Ax	xa
2d per. sing	. i	$oldsymbol{i}$	$oldsymbol{i}$	roae'
3d per. sing		$\left\{egin{a} a \ du \ Ac \end{array} ight\}$	du	hu
3d per. sing. refl	exive -	c	AC	_
1st per. pl	. tu	$\it ha$ -	ha	uhā'n
2d per. pl	. $y ar{\iota}$	yī.	y i	yiwā'n
3d per. pl	-	$\left\{egin{array}{c} a \ (h_As) \ h_Asdu \end{array} ight\}$	$h_A s du$	has

In composition the objective pronoun always precedes the subjective, and both may be separated by verbal prefixes. The use of the independent pronoun in a sentence does not affect the verbal compound, and the pronominal prefixes must be repeated.

The subjective pronoun appears as the subject of all active verbs, no matter whether they have an object or not. Some verbs that have no object take an indefinite object, At SOMETHING; for instance,

At xa xa I eat something At xa cōq I laugh

 $[\S 18.2]$; ax to hear)

Has is freer in its position than the pronouns described before. It seems probable that it was not originally a pronoun.

Examples of the use of the pronoun are the following:

```
xAtc q!Axîtwū's!în I questioned him (xa I, independent; -tc inten-
  sive suffix [§ 7]; q/A mouth [§ 14.1]; xa I, subjective, wu-verbal
  prefix [§ 15.4]; -s/\hat{\imath}n stem)
hu xatc q!awū's!în he questioned me (hu independent pronoun;
  xAtc emphatic form of objective)
iq!Arawwww.s!în I questioned thee (i thee; q!A mouth; xA I)
wae'tc xAt q!eww\(\vec{u}\)'s!\(\hat{i}\)n thou questionedst me (wae'tc emphatic form
  of independent pronoun; x_A t me; q/a-i contracted to q/e mouth
  thou)
uhā'ntc q! Aturoū's! în we questioned him (uhā'ntc emphatic form
  of independent pronoun; tu we, subjective)
wae'te haq!ewū's!în thou questionedst us (ha us)
uhā'ntc yiq! Aturoū's! in we questioned you (yi you; q! A mouth; tu
  we, subjective)
xagāx I am crying
uh\bar{a}'n\ gax\ t\bar{u}'sat\hat{\imath}' we are crying (tu we; sa-verbal prefix [§ 18.1];
  ti to be)
ye yarraq\bar{a}' she said thus (ye adverbial, thus; ya- verbal prefix [§ 15.
  3]; wa-verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; q\bar{a} to say)
ye yā'xoaqa I said thus (x I; wa-verbal prefix [§ 18.2])
ixasitī'n I saw thee (i thee; xa I; si-prefix [§ 18.1]; tīn to see)
yi.casitī'n I saw you (yi you)
xoasiti'n I saw him (x-1); the use of oa here is not explained)
x_{A}tyisit\bar{\imath}'n ye saw me (x_{A}t me; yi ye)
hayisiti'n ye saw us (ha us)
h_{Asyisiti'n} ye saw them (h_{As} them)
Gaya' kade' has awaā'x they heard it on Gaya' (kade' on; has they;
```

a-indefinite pronoun referring to $c\bar{\imath}$ song; wa-verbal prefix

aka't has gox ayu' has assitī'n when they paddled toward it they saw it (a- indefinite pronoun; kat toward; has they; gox to go by canoe; a-yu indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; a- indefinite pronoun; o- [§ 17.2]; si- [§ 18.1]; tīn to see; here a is used three times; first, replacing xîxtc! frog as object of the post-position kat; second, in combination with yu, performing the function of a conjunction, when; and, third, in the principal verb, again taking the place of xîxtc!)

The pronoun is contracted with a few verbal prefixes. The *i* combines with the terminal vowel of preceding elements, as in $x \neq t$ $q/evv\bar{u}'s/2n$ thou questionest me (q/A-i=q/e) mouth thou; xa and the prefix wa- form xoa, although xoa may perhaps originate in other ways also. Contractions are particularly characteristic of the future, which has a prefix gu-. This combines with the first person to gva (for guxa); with the second person to ge (for gu-i). These forms will be discussed later on (§ 15.5).

§ 12. The Demonstrative Pronoun

The demonstrative pronouns are used with nouns, with verbs when changed into nouns, in the formation of connectives, and with certain elements which transform them into independent demonstratives.

- 1. he indicates an object very near and always present.
- 2. ya indicates an object very near and present, but a little farther away than the preceding.
- 3. yu indicates an object more remote, but it has now come to perform almost the function of an article.
- 4. we indicates an object far remote and usually entirely invisible.

 It has come to be used almost with the freedom of yu.

Following are examples of their use:

he'lingît ya'lingît this person yu'lingît the person we'lingît that person he'do this place here $y\bar{a}'t'a$ this place, this person $y\bar{u}'do$ $i\bar{\imath}'c$ $\bar{a}'n\hat{\imath}$ there is thy father's town ayu', awe', when, that being done

Some of them are also employed with post-positions; as, $h\bar{a}t$ HITHER. Sometimes, particularly in songs, another demonstrative, yadi, is heard, which is evidently compounded from ya. It differs from ya in being used to refer to a person who has just been spoken of, but is not actually present.

The Verb (§§ 13-21)

§ 13. Structure

Verbal stems are, on the whole, monosyllablic. They take a considerable number of prefixes and a few suffixes. Most of the prefixes have a very weak meaning, and appear in many cases as purely formal elements, while in other cases the underlying meaning may be detected. It seems easiest to classify these prefixes according to their position. In the transitive verb the object precedes the whole verbal complex. Then follow prefixes, stem, and suffixes in the following order:

Prefixes (§§ 14-18)

- (1) Nominal prefixes
- (2) First modal prefixes.
- (3) Pronominal subject.
- (4) Second modal prefixes.
- (5) Third modal prefixes.
- (6) Stem.
- (7) Suffixes.

§ 14. NOMINAL PREFIXES

A few monosyllabic nouns are prefixed to the verb. I have found the following:

1. q!a mouth or Lips.

qeq!ē'dî ayu' ye'q!ayaqa toward morning she spoke thus (ayu' indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; ye thus; q!a mouth; ya-verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; qa to say)

yuxā'nas! ada'x q!aodîsa' he blew upon the raft (yu demonstrative; xā'nas! raft; a indefinite pronoun; dax on; q!a mouth; o-verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; dî-verbal prefix [§ 18.3]; sa to blow)

2. tu mind.

Atcawē' tuwulîtsī'n therefore (the Kîksa'dî) are brave (tu mind; wu- verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; tî- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; tsīn strong)
Law wa'sa tuwunū'k he felt very sad (Law very; wa'sa how; tu mind; wu- verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; nuk sad)

3. Eu Point.

dāq ā'lunago'qoawe when they were running ashore in a crowd (dāq ashore; a demonstrative; lu point, i. e. crowd; na- at the same time when [§ 17.5]; go'qoawe they run)

4. da- is employed sometimes with words meaning to say or TELL, when it seems to indicate an indirect object.

dukā'niyên ye daya'duqa, his brothers-in-law spoke to him thus (du- his; kā'niyên brothers-in-law; ye thus; da- indirect object; ya- [§ 15.3]; du- [§ 17.3]; qa to say)

§ 15. FIRST MODAL PREFIXES

1. cu- usually stands before all other prefixes, and indicates that the action of the verb is total, applying to all of the people or objects involved.

qot cū'waxīx they had been all killed off

 $yad\bar{c}'x-t\bar{a}k^u$ cuna $x\bar{i}'xawe$ when these two years were over (yathese; $d\bar{e}x$ two; $t\bar{a}k^u$ year; cu-totally; na- at the same time when [§ 17.5]; $x\bar{i}x$ to finish; awe when)

axodê' yaqā' cunagū't he was leading all these men among them (a indefinite pronoun; xodê among; ya demonstrative; qa man; cu-totally; na-at the same time when [§ 17.5]; gu-to go; -t purpose [§ 20.1])

ye yên ha'sdu cuq! ā'wadja thus there them all he told (ye thus; yên there; hasdu them; cu- totally; q!a with mouth [§ 14.1]; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; dja to tell)

Kîksa'dî qot cū'waxix the Kîksa'dî were all lost (qot wholly; cu-totally; wa-verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; xix to finish)

This prefix appears to be used also as a post position.

 $Axc\bar{u}'d\hat{\imath}\ yaqo'x$ come over to me (ax me; $c\bar{u}$ entirely; $-d\hat{\imath}$ to; ya-verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; qox to go by water)

2. ka- indicates causation, and performs the functions of a causative auxiliary.

ax $d\bar{a}q$ qoka'odzîha' she caused a hole to be in it by digging (ax literally, from it; $d\bar{a}q$ shoreward, or into the earth; qo- indefinite verbal prefix [§ 15.6]; ka- causative; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; dzî- verbal prefix [§ 18.6]; ha stem)

hasdudaka'q! kaodu' ţîya nu tēn a large fort was caused to be lowered down on them (hasdu them; daka'q! out on; ka- to cause; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; du- verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; ţi-verbal prefix [§ 18.5]; nu fort; tēn large)

yida'tsqoe'tc yīwackaq!o'kotc ka'osînēx when did your cheek-flesh cause a man to be saved? (yida'tsqoetc when; yi your; wac cheek: kaq!okotc flesh, with intensive suffix; ka- to cause; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; sî- verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; nēx to save)

- At ka'oliga they caused (the canoe) to be loaded up (At indefinite object [things]; ka- to cause; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; ii- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; ga to load)
- add akā wana doxanqā wu then he caused his clothes-man to go out (a demonstrative; de to; a indefinite pronoun; ka- to cause; wa- verbal prefix [§18.2]; na to send; do his; xan clothes; qa man; -wu possessive [see § 10])
- 3. ya- seems to indicate the continuation of an action or state.
 - $y\bar{\imath}ya'xtc$ are you hearing it? ($y\bar{\imath}$ ye; ya-verbal prefix; ax to hear; -tc emphatic suffix)
 - Kîksadî'te a'teayu xîxte! has ayahē'n therefore the Kîksa'dî claim the frog (a indefinite pronoun; tea adverb; a indefinite pronoun; yu demonstrative; xîxte! frog; has they; a indefinite pronoun; ya-verbal prefix; hēn stem)
 - httq!î tūx qa'owagut yucawa't the woman was going through the houses (hît house; -q!î collective suffix; tūx through; ya- o- wa-verbal prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.2]; gu to go; -t purpose [§ 20.1])
 - ya ha'sduqā'nax yagatsā'q when he was chasing them (ya demonstrative; ha'sdu them; qā'nax after; ga- verbal prefix [§17.4]; tsāq to run)
 - yuyanagu'tî when (he was) traveling (yu demonstrative; ga-, na[§ 17.4, 5], verbal prefixes; gu to go; -t-î suffixes [§ 20.1, 2])
 - This prefix ya-seems to be identical with the suffix referred to in § 20.4.
- 4. wu- often indicates the passive, but seems to have a very much wider function.
 - Cit!ka'dê ān has wuqo'x they went with him to Baranoff island (Cī Baranoff island; t! behind; ka on; dê to; ā demonstrative; -n with; has they; wu-prefix; gox to go by canoe)
 - yéayu xîxtc! q!acī'yi wudu'dzîku that is how the frog's song came to be known (ye-adverb; a-indefinite pronoun; yu demonstrative; xîxtc! frog; q!a mouth; cī song; -yi possessive [§ 10]; wu-du-dzi-verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.6]; ku to know)
 - voucti'n at vouduțîk!! peace was made between them (wu-verbal prefix; c-reflexive [§ 11]; tîn with; [wucti'n together]; at indefinite object; wu-du-țî-verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.5]; k!? to be good)
 - The last of these examples shows a curious use of wu-before the reflexive prefix c-, the latter standing independent of the verb, and being followed by a post-position. This employment of wu-with the reflexive is very common.

5. gu- or ga-. Future time is denoted by a prefix gu- or ga-, which is sometimes used much as if it were an independent particle. Besides its strictly future function, it is employed in speaking of any event about to take place as well in the past as the future. In the following simple examples it is often accompanied by the affix x-to become, which will be treated in § 15.7.

wasa' At gugoneyî' whatever is going to happen (wasa' whatever; At indefinite object; gu-future; gona stem; -yî suffix [§ 20.2]) ān guyagu't when he was going to go with them (a indefinite pronoun; -n with; gu-future; ga-verbal prefix [§ 17.4]; gu to go; -t purpose [§ 20.1])

de da'qdê ye guxdusni' yuhî't daidedî' they were going to take up the house-timbers (de now; da'qdê up to; ye thus; gu-future; x- to become; du-s-verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.1]; ni to take; yu demonstrative; hît house; daidedî' timbers)

hît a guxlayê'x gone't ganayî' the opposite side (clan) was going to build a house (hît house; a indefinite pronoun; gu-future; x- to become; la- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; yēx to build [x possibly a suffix])

 $y\bar{a}'doq!oa\ g_Axdut\bar{a}'ge$ they were going to make a hole in this one's mouth (ya demonstrative; do- his; q!a mouth [see § 3]; g_A - future; x- to become; du- verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; tak to bore [?]; -e suffix)

More often the future occurs in conjunction with an indefinite prefix qo or k^u . The following examples illustrate this use, and also show the peculiar manner in which it combines with the personal pronominal prefixes. It will be seen that, instead of guxa in the first person, we find qwa; instead of gu-i, in the second person, ge. It would also seem that contractions of q and g to q, and qand g to g, take place in the first and second persons plural.

Future tense of the verb gīt to do

 Singular
 Plural

 1st per. yeqqwasgī't
 ye'qaxtusgīt

 2d per. yeqge'sgīt
 ye'gaxyīsgī't

 3d per. yeqgwa'sgīt
 has qo' a ye'sgugasgī't

Future tense of the verb geq! TO THROW DOWN

Singular
Plural
1st per. $x\bar{a}'tc$ $y\hat{e}'nde$ $qqwaq\bar{e}'q!$ 2d per. wae'tc $y\hat{e}'nde$ $qgeq\bar{e}'q!$ 3d per. hutc $y\hat{e}'nde$ $a'qgwaq\bar{e}'q!$ hastc $y\hat{e}'nde$ $saqgwaq\bar{e}'q!$

The s which appears in the third person plural is probably a contraction of has, although the full word has may not have been heard when recording.

To CRY takes the prefix or modifier ke, and its plural is formed by the use of the verb ti to BE.

Future tense of the verb $G\bar{A}X$ TO CRY

Singular Plural

1st per. ke kuqwaqā'x (uhā'n) ke gax qaxtū'sati

2d per. (wae') ke kuqegā'x (yīhā'n) ke gax gaxyīsati'

3d per. (hu) ke kugwaqā'x ke has gax ga'xsati

- 6. qo, k^{u} , is used when the event recorded happened at a time or place that is ill defined.
 - Let Let! qa a'tî qosti' there were no white men's things in those days (Let not; Let! white; qa man; a'tî their things; qo-s-verbal prefixes [§ 18.1]; ti to be)
 - yuqo'tiz!î'tk" those who used to leave the others behind (yu demonstrative; yo-ti-verbal prefixes [§ 18.4]; z!ît stem; -k" suf-fix [§ 20.3])
 - $k^{\mu}duc\bar{u}'qtc$ they always laughed at him $(k^{\mu}-du$ -verbal prefixes [§ 17.3]; cuq to laugh; -tc always [§ 19.1])
 - gusu' yên yu $q^{o}x^{2}$ ' tcg^{2} where is it that they never broke it off (gusu' where; yên there; yu-demonstrative; q^{o} verbal prefix; $x^{2}tc$ stem; g^{2} probably should be k^{u} [§ 20.3])
 - At $k^{u}q\bar{e}d\bar{t}'x$ a sign or parable (at something; k^{u} prefix; qe probably stem; -x suffix [§ 19.4])
 - *Lēl su qosti'* there was no rain (*Lēl* not; su rain; qo- s- verbal prefixes [§ 18.1]; ti to be)
- Since future events are by their nature indeterminate, this prefix is constantly used with the future prefix gu-; as,
 - $a'q^ogwal\overline{\iota}q$ when will he break it off? (a indefinite pronoun; q^o indefinite prefix; g(u)- future prefix; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; liq! to break off)
- 7. -x expresses the alteration of a person or thing from one condition to another. It is suffixed to the name of the thing altered, the adjective indicating the altered state, or to the future particle, but is placed among verbal prefixes because its connection with the following verb is extremely close, as is shown by its insertion after the future particle.
 - tsē'sk!ux î'nasti you can become an owl (tsesk!u owl; -x verbal affix; î thou; na- s- verbal prefixes [§ 17.5; § 18.1]; ti stem)

- q!anackitë x siti he had become poor (q!anackiti poor; -x transitive affix; si-verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; ti to be)
- duxong!ē'x siti it had come to belong to his friends (du his; xon friend; -q!e collective suffix [§ 9]; -x transitive affix; si-verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; ti to be)
- to!a ān qo'a qa'yaqā'q!uwanx siti but yet they became men such as one can trade with (tc!a yet; ān with them; qo'a however; qa men; ya- verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; qāq!uwan such as one can trade with [?]; -x [as before]; si- verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; ti to be) gux tusî't we will make it become cooked (gu- future sign; -x transitive affix; tu we; sit to cook)
- ayī' de yeq^gax duī'q! T!a'q!dentān they were going to invite the T!a'q!dentān (a indefinite pronoun; yi-de post-position [dê to]; ye adverbial prefix; qo- indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; ga- future prefix [§ 15.5]; -x transitive affix; du- verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; iq to invite)

§ 16. PRONOMINAL SUBJECT

The subjective pronoun follows the first modal elements. Examples illustrating the position of the subjective pronoun have been given before (§ 11). The following example contains also first modals:

Lēt wuxasAgō'k yāndat!A'tc I can not swim (Lēt not; wu-verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; xa I; sa-verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; gōk can; yāndat!Atc to swim)

§ 17. SECOND MODAL PREFIXES

1. djî- QUICKLY.

- h_{A} 'sdu dāt $x\bar{a}$ d $j\hat{i}\bar{u}$ 'd \hat{i} gut enemies came upon them quickly; (h_{A} 'sdu them; $d\bar{a}t$ upon; $x\bar{a}$ enemies; $dj\hat{i}$ quickly; u- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; $d\hat{i}$ inchoative [§ 18.3]; gu to go; -t suffix [§ 20.1])
- adê' $d\bar{a}k$ $wudj\hat{i}x\bar{i}'x$ he ran down to it (a- indefinite pronoun; $d\hat{e}$ to; $d\bar{a}k$ down or out; wu- verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; $dj\hat{i}$ quickly; $x\bar{i}x$ to get)
- yux has djîrudeā't they started to rush out (yux out; has they; djî-quickly; u-de-[§ 17.2; § 18.3]; āt to go)
- Lēq! ts!utā't ayu' At nate' hAs dji'usîha one morning they started out quickly to hunt along shore (Lēq! ts!utā't [see p. 200, note 11]; a-yu indefinite demonstrative pronoun; At indefinite object; nate' to hunt [?]; hAs they; dji-u-si verbal prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; ha to start)
- hasduṭā'k!" adjī't has adjî'watan they gave their sister to him quickly; (hasdu their; ṭāk!" sister; adj(ī)- indefinite pronoun with intensive suffix; -t to; has they; a- demonstrative; djî-wa-[§ 18.2]; tan to give)

- 2. u- (o-) often accompanies simple statements of past actions. This prefix is never used with the future gu-, or with wu-, nor apparently with the first and second persons singular and plural, and occurs only in the principal verb. It may be an element expressing the active, but may equally well be regarded as a past-temporal prefix.
 - yên uqo'xtc he always came there (yên there; u- prefix; qox to go by canoe; -tc always [§ 19.1])
 - Lēg! ts!utā't ān ke udzigī't dutcū'nî one morning he awoke with his dream (Lēq! one; ts!utā't morning [see p. 200, note 11]; ān with it; ke up; u- prefix; dzi- prefix [§18.6]; gīt to awake; du his; tcūn dream; -î possessive suffix)
 - LAX q!un has uxe' many nights they stayed out (LAX very; q!un many (nights); has they; u- prefix; xe to camp)
 - ayu' has aositī'n there they saw it (a- indefinite pronoun; overbal prefix; si- indicative prefix [§ 18.1]; tīn to see)
 - Le dutū'tx qot kaoduk!ī't it all got out of his head (Le out; du his; tū into; -t at; -x from; qot all; ka-causative [§ 15.2]; o-verbal prefix; du-verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; k!īt to get)
- 3. du- is very nearly identical in meaning with the English perfect tense, conveying the idea of something already accomplished. It resembles wa- [§ 18.2] in some respects, and is often used conjointly with it; but while wa- seems to express finality, du-expresses previous accomplishment.
 - Le dutu'tx qot kaoduk!ī't it got all out of his head (see above no. 2, ex. 5)
 - ck!e ā'gitahān yū'yaodudzîqa "get up!" they said to him (ck!e up; ā'gitahān get [%]; yū- demonstrative; ya- verbal prefix [% 15.3]; o-du-dzî- [% 17.2; % 18.6]; qa to say)
 - agē'dî has gā'dustīn when they saw them already inside (a-indefinite pronoun; gē inside; dî to; has they; ga- when [§ 17.4]; du-s- [§ 18.1]; tīn to see)
 - koducī' duīgā' they hunted for him (ko- [§ 15.6]; du-; $c\bar{\imath}$ to hunt; du he; $\bar{\imath}$ euphonic [?]; ga for)
 - $z\bar{e}l$ wudusku' they knew not ($z\bar{e}l$ not; wu- [§ 15.4]; du-; s- [§ 18.1]; ku to know)
 - ts/utā't hīn wa'tdî akayē'k wudū'waax atxē'tc the next morning (it) was to be heard at the mouth of the creek (ts!utā't [see p. 200, note 11]; hīn water; wat mouth; dî to; a- indefinite pronoun; kayē'k at; wu- [§ 15.4]; du-; wa- [§ 18.2]; ax to hear; at indefinite object; xē to go on; -tc always [§ 19.1])

- danë't ayidê' ye wududzî'ni a box of grease was put inside of the canoe (danë't box of grease; a- indefinite pronoun; -yidê inside; ye thus [?]; wu- [§ 15.4]; du-; dzî- [§ 18.6]; ni to put aboard)
- Lēl has dutī'n they could not see him (Lēl not; has they; duperfect suffix; tīn to see)
- 4. ga- is a prefix which indicates usually that the action was performed just before some other action, and may be translated by our conjunction when. This may be identical with the ga in aga or agaawe'tsa as soon as, immediately upon.
 - Lax ā'tatc gadja'qînawe dāq ugu'ttc when he became very cold, he always came out (Lax very; āt cold; -tc intensive suffix; ga-; djaq to die of [hyperbolically]; -în suffix [§ 19.3]; awe when; dāq out; u- [§ 17.2]; gu to go; -t suffix [§ 20.1]; -tc always [§ 19.1])
 - agē'dî has gā'dustīn ha'sdudāt xā djîudîgu't when they saw them inside, the enemy started to come upon them (see p. 179, no. 3, third example)
 - duī'c ā'nî akînā' wuqaxî'xîn yū'gagan ye yê'ndusqetc when the sun got straight up over her father's town, they always said to her as follows (du- her; īc father; ān town; -î possessive suffix; a- indefinite pronoun; kînā' above; wu- [§ 15.4]; ga-; xîx to reach; -în suffix [§ 19.3]; yū- demonstrative; gagan sun; ye thus; yên possibly there; du- [§ 17.3]; s- [§ 18.1]; qa to say; -tc intensive suffix)
- 5. na- is employed when the action with which it is associated is represented as accompanied by or accompanying some other action. Just as ga- may often be translated when, this prefix may be translated while, yet the two may be used together. It is so similar to the suffix -n [§ 19.3] that it is not unlikely that the two are identical.
 - aya'xde yanagu'dîayu aosotî'n cāwa't yū'adīgīga' cwu' iixac while he was going around the lake, he saw a woman floating there (a- indefinite pronoun; yax around; de at; ya- [§ 15.3]; na-; gu to go; -t purpose [§ 20.1]; ayu indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; a- indefinite pronoun; o- [§ 17.2]; si- [§ 18.1]; tīn to see; cā'wat woman; yū demonstrative; adīgīga in it [exact meaning uncertain]; c- reflexive; wu- ii- verbal prefixes [§ 15.4; § 18.5])
 - dāq has naqo'x a'ayu yuhunxo'a ye'q!ayaqa while they were going shoreward, the eldest brother said as follows (dāq shoreward;

has they; na-; qox to go by canoe; a'a-yu indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; yu- demonstrative; hunxo' elder brother; a indefinite pronoun; q'a- mouth [§ 14.1]; ya- [§ 15.3]; qa to say)

lēq! k!uda's! atū'x nagu'ttc ya ha'sdu yagatsā'q yū'awe ke îck!ē'ntc having gotten inside of his red-snapper coat, when he was pursuing them, that is the way he jumped (lēq! red snapper; k!uda's! coat; a- indefinite pronominal prefix; tūx inside; na-; gu to go; -t purpose [§ 20.1]; -tc always [§ 19.1]; ya [³]; ha'sdu them; ya- [§ 15.3]; ga- [§ 17.4]; tsāq to pursue; yū- demonstrative; awe indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; ke up; î[³]: c- reflexive; k!en to jump; -tc always [§ 19.1])

naṣā'c ga'xtusīt having cut it, we will cook it (na-; xāc to cut; ga- future prefix [§ 15.5]; -x transitional affix [§ 15.7]; tu we; sīt to cook)

xāt qā'naadî naa'ttc yuxū'ts! qoa'nî the bear people, when they go hunting, always go after salmon (xāt salmon; qa- [§17.4]; na-; at to go; -î part. suffix [§20.2]; na-; At to go; -tc intensive suffix; yu-demonstrative; xūts! bear; qoan people; -î possessive)
tc!āk* yānagu'tîawe qox akū'dadjītc after it had walked a long time, it would stop suddenly (tc!āk* a long time; ya- [§15.3]; na-; gu to go; -t purpose; -î suffix [§20.2]; awe when; qox completely; a- indefinite pronoun; ku- future prefix [§15.5]; da- [?]; djī stem; -tc always [§19.1])

§ 18. THIRD MODAL PREFIXES

- 1. 8- or st- is used in a simple statement of an action or condition, whether past, present, or future, but not usually of one which is incomplete.
 - tc!āk* altī'nî a'ya aositī'n looking for a while, he saw her (tc!āk* a long time; a- indefinite pronoun; l- [§ 18.4]; tīn to see; -î [§ 20.2]; a'ya indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; a- indefinite pronoun; o- [§ 17.2]; si-; tīn to see)
 - dutuwu'sigu she felt happy (du her; tu-mind; wu- [§ 15.4]; si-; gu to go [§])
 - daqanē'x wusite! quarrelsome he was (daqane quarrelsome; -x [§ 15.7]; wu- [§ 15.4]; te, stem)
 - Lel ye awusku' duyī't satī'yî he did not know it was his son (Lel not; ye thus; a- indefinite pronoun; wu- [§ 15.4]; s- ku to know; du his; yīt son; sa-; tī to be; yî participial suffix [§ 20.2])
 - a'teqet dusgo'qtc what they throw it with (du-[§ 17.3]; s-; goq to throw; -tc always [§ 19.1])

For examples of the use of this prefix with the future, see in § 15.6. It is important to note the evident identity of this prefix with the particle As or Asi.

dîs kawukî's!î Asiyu' Lēq! tāt yū'awasa it was a whole month which he thought a night (dîs month; kawukī's!î whole; Asi particle; yu demonstrative; Lēq! one; tāt night; yū demonstrative; a- indefinite pronoun; wa- verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; sa to say [=think])

xate yetsi'net La asiyu' it was the mother of the bears (xate this; La mother)

xatc te asiyu' it was a stone

2. wa- indicating completed action...

ts!utā't ayu' dāk has uwaqo'x in the morning, at that time out they got (u-[§ 17.2]; wa-; qox stem)

At/ā'x has uwaxe' behind them they camped

has Cq!at qoan ca'oduwaxêtc they conquered the Stikine Indians (Cq!at Stikine; qoan people; ca-[?]; ō-[§ 17.2]; du-[§ 17.3]) gul Lax Lēq! dîs hasduka' cuwaxī'x probably entirely one month on them passed (cu-[§ 15.1])

ale', $x\bar{a}t$ $\bar{u}'waha$ mother, I am hungry (\bar{u} - wa- verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; ha stem)

3. dî-denotes the beginning of an action.

ad A'xawe xā djiudigu't after that to war they started (xā war; dji-u-[§ 17.1, 2])

qeqë'de qonaha' Le cū'yaq!a'odîtan toward morning the woman began to change her manner of talking (cu-completely [§ 15.1]; ya [?]; q!a-mouth; o-[§ 17.2]; tan stem)

acê'nya wudî Lā'x it had begun to mold at the corner (a- indefinite pronoun; cê'nya corner of; wu-[§ 15.4])

wucka't caodite' they started to rush around (wu- [§ 15.4]; c-reflexive prefix; kat post-position; ca-reflexive [?]; o- diverbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; te stem)

yuxā'nas! ada'x q!aodîsa' he began blowing on the raft (yudemonstrative; xā'nas! raft; q!a-mouth [§ 14.1]; o- [§ 17.2])

kaodît! A'q! it began to be hot weather (ka- o- dî- verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 17.2]; t! Aq! stem)

TO START TO GO TO A CERTAIN PLACE is expressed by means of an adverb.

go'na yēqgwagagu't when he was going to start (gona starting; ye thus; qo- indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; gu- future prefix [§ 15.5]; ga- verbal prefix [§ 17.4]; gut to go)

BOAS]

- 4. 2- or 22- indicates repetition of an action or a plurality of objects acted upon.
 - yax has aya'olidjaq yutā'n thus they killed off the sea-lions (a-indefinite pronoun; ya- [§ 15.3]; o- [§ 17.2]; djaq to kill; yudemonstrative; tān sea-lion)
 - ayu' aoliza'c then he let it float along (ayu' there; a- indefinite prefix; o- li- verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; zac stem)
 - xatc qawage' asiyu' aca'olihîk it was full of eyes (xatc this; qaman; wage' eye; asiyu' [§ 18.1]; a- demonstrative; ca-= cu[§ 15.1]; o- [§ 17.2]; hîk stem)
 - ān qadjî'n aoli Ļē'k" he shook hands with those things in his hands (ān with it; qadjîn man's hand; a- indefinite pronoun; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2])
 - xā'yî yākq!" aya'x aoliq!a'nq! he made the enemy's canoes upset by quarreling (xā enemy; -yî possessive suffix; yāk" canoe; -q!" collective; ā'yax like that; a indefinite pronoun; o- liverbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; q!an stem; -q! suffix [§ 19.5])
- 5. L- or Li- is used in contradistinction to the above when the action . takes place once, or is thought of at one particular moment.
 - aositī'n cāwa't yuadīgī'ga cwu' i.i.ac (when he was going around the lake), he saw one woman floating there (a- indefinite pronoun; o-si-[§ 17.2; § 18.1]; tīn to see; cāwa't woman; yuadīgī'ga there; c- reflexive; wu-[§ 15.4]; zac to float)
 - dekī'na hī'nî qo'a wuṭiū'k far out its water, however, boiled (dekī'na far out; hīn water; -î possessive suffix; qo'a however; wu- ṭi- verbal prefixes [§ 15.4]; ūk stem)
 - yên cao Lîtsî's there he stopped
- 6. dz?- conveys the idea of the attainment of a state not hitherto enjoyed, and is best translated by the words to come to be.
 - aya'xawe duya'tq'î qodzîti' this is why his children came to be born (a- that; yax like; awe it is; du- his; yat child; -q'î collective; qo- indefinite [§ 15.6]; ti to be)
 - ck_A a'odziku' yuxā't qoa'nitc wusnē'xe afterward he came to know that the salmon people had saved him; a- indefinite pronoun; o- verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; ku to know; yu- demonstrative; xāt salmon; qoan people; -tc intensive; wu-s- [§ 15.4; § 18.1])
 - tc/u tc/āk* līngî't tîn ka'odjîte yuē'q a long time ago there came to be copper among the Indians (līngî't Indians; tîn with; ka-o-[§ 15.2; § 17.2]; yu-demonstrative; ēq copper)
 - wā'sa iya'odudzîqa', Axyī't? what did they come to say to you, my son? (wā'sa what; i you; ya- verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; o-du- [§ 17.2,3]; qa to say; Ax my; yīt son)

7. cî- expresses desire or wish, and may be used equally well as a stem.

 $dus\bar{i}' qok!\bar{i}'t! ak^ucit_A'n$ his daughter liked to pick berries (du- his; $qok\bar{i}'t!$ berries; a- indefinite pronoun; k^u - [§15.6]; t_An stem)

Suffixes (§§ 19, 20)

§ 19. SUFFIXES OF TEMPORAL CHARACTER

These suffixes, which are not to be confounded with true temporal suffixes, are -tc, -nutc, -n, -x, and perhaps -q! and s!.

1. -tc indicates invariability in the action, and may best be translated by ALWAYS. It is perhaps identical with the intensive suffix (§ 7).

duwā'qde yagacī'tc her eyes to he always pointed

ts!u yên uqo'xtc again there he always went by canoe

gagā'n Kanē'sdîca cakī'nax ke xîxtc the sun always rises over the brow of Cross Mountain (gagā'n sun; cakī'nax over the head of; ke up)

 $q_{Andawe'}$ utā'itc $dud_{A'}q_{!an_{A}x}$ towards the fire he always sleeps with his back $(q_{An}$ what burns; $t\bar{a}$ to sleep; du- his)

2. -nutc marks what is habitual or customary.

hu qo'a ts! As xūk ALī'q! anutc she, however, only dry wood would get (ts! As only; xūk dry wood; Līq! to fetch)

duqê'tcnutc they would throw off their coats

Acu'tcnutc $duy\bar{e}'tk!^u$ she was in the habit of bathing her child (a = a indefinite pronoun; cutc stem; du- possessive; yet child; $-k^u$ diminutive)

ux udulcu'qnutc they would laugh at him (u-du-l-verbal prefixes [§ 17.2, 3; § 18.4]; cuq to laugh)

ldakA't A'dawe at!o'qt!inutc all kinds of things he would shoot
(ldakAt all; Ad thing; a-we indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; a- indefinite pronoun; t!oqt! stem)

 $\bar{a}'t!_{A}q!anutc$ he would pound

3. -n (after consonants -īn or -ōn). This suffix marks a stationary condition of the action, and is usually employed in conjunction with another verb, when it indicates the state of things when the action contained in the principal verb took place. The action it accompanies may be conceived of as past, present, or future, and from its character it approaches at different times in meaning a perfect, continuative, and usitative. This suffix is perhaps related to the prefix na-treated in § 17.5.

- Lā'gu yên yAx dulnîgî'n ye qoyanaqe'tc when a person is through with a story, he always says this (Lā'gu story; yên there; yAx thus; du-l-verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.4]; nî[k] to say); ye thus; qo-ya-na-[§ 15.6, 3; § 17.5]; qa to say; -tc[§ 19.1])
- wa'nîn cwu tîxa'c edge turned up, he floated (wan edge; in [?]; c-reflexive prefix; wu-tî-verbal prefixes [§ 15.4; § 18.5]; xac stem)
- duq!ē'nax cî tc!a yūt q!anacxê'ntc duī'yeq gagaa'tîn when his spirits came to him, blood would flow out of his mouth (du- his; q!a mouth; -nax from; cî blood; tc!a that; yūt out of it; q!a mouth; na- [\$ 17.5]; c- [\$]; xên stem; -tc always [\$ 19.1]; du-his; yeq spirit; ga [\$]; ga- [\$ 17.4]; at to go [pl.]; -în suffix)
- ituwu' q!wan cat!l'q Nixd' nēl gu'tnî be courageous when Nîxâ' comes in (i- thy; tu mind; -wu possessive suffix; q!wan exhortative [§ 22.3]; ca- reflexive; t!îq! stem [?]; nēl into house; gut to go; -n -l suffixes [§ 20.2])
- tc!aye' dāq gacī'tc Acgadja'qên when it almost killed him, he would run up (tc!aye' almost; dāq up; ga- verbal prefix; cītc to run; Ac for c- reflexive [that is, he allowed himself to be killed, though by something else]; ga- verbal prefix [\$ 17.4]; djaq to kill; -ên verbal suffix)
- tān a aka'wati anax gaduskū't hu ana'x yên wuqoxō'n he pounded out a figure of a sea-lion, so that people would know he had come ashore there (tān sea-lion; a indefinite pronoun; ka-wa-[§ 15.2; § 18.2]; a indefinite pronoun; nax around; ga-du-s-[§ 17.4, 3; § 18.1]; ku to know; -t purpose [§ 20.1]; hu he; yên there; wu-[§ 15.4]; qox to go by canoe)
- $h_{A}s$ $agac\bar{a}'n$ when they marry (a- ga- verbal prefixes)
- 4. -x may perhaps be regarded as a distributive; at any rate, it indicates that the action takes place many times, or continues for some period.
 - Lēl At udja'qx ts!u yên uqo'xtc he kept coming in without having killed anything (Lēl not; At indefinite objective; djaq to kill; ts!u there)
 - hu qo'a awe' \(\bar{e}l\) ut\(\bar{e}'x\) he, however, did not sleep (u- [\§ 17.2]; -x) \(\bar{e}l\) \(g_{\lambda}'g\)\(\bar{e}l\) ugu'tx he never showed himself (\(\bar{e}l\)\ not; \(g_{\lambda}'g\)\(\bar{e}l\)\ was [\§]; \(u\)- verbal prefix [\§ 17.2]; \(gu\) stem; \(-t\) purpose [\§ 20.1]; \(-x\)
 - tcul Ac utē'nx Ac wudjīyī'ayu Acī't q!ē'watAn before he thought of it, his nephew saw him and spoke to him (tcul before; Ac him; tēn to see; Ac his own; -yī possessive; ayu demonstrative; Acī't to him; q!a- mouth [§ 14.1]; wa- verbal suffix [§ 18.2]; tAn stem) aga' tsa axē'x then only he ate (a- indefinite pronoun; xa to eat; -x) zēl ulgē'x kē' ṭadî not ever got big the sea-gull (u- l- verbal prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.4]; gē stem; -x)

- 5. -q! Although the meaning of this suffix has not been satisfactorily determined, it may be included in this list, because it seems to be used in describing events that have taken place at some particular time, and to present a marked contrast to the suffix last considered.
 - $tdak_{A}'t$ $y\bar{e}tx$ $duc\bar{a}'q!$ people from all places tried to marry her $(tdak_{A}'t)$ all, everywhere; $y\bar{e}tx$ from into; du-verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; ca stem)
 - ckax ke djîtī'nîyeq! you can not see anything (tīn to see; îye participial suffix lengthened [§ 20.2]; rest uncertain)
 - cakustī'q!tc those are (my people) there (s- verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; tī stem, to be; -tc always [§ 19.1]; rest uncertain)
 - aya'xawē aosî'ne acī'n ganaltā'dîcîx līt! tū'dî ac wugē'q! as he had told him to do when he ran into the fire with him he threw him into the basket (aya'xawe as; a indefinite pronoun; o-sī [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; ac him, reflexive; -n with; gan fire; altā into [?]; dî to start to; cîx to run; lit! basket; tū'dî into; ac he; wu- [§ 15.4]; gē to throw)
 - xā'yî yākq!" aya'x a'olîq!a'nq! he made the enemy's canoes upset by quarreling (see p. 183, no. 4)
- 6. -sl occurs after a few verbs, but its significance is obscure.
 - Atxawe' qola'xs! from there he listened (qo- indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; l- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; Ax stem)
 - aga' keqgetī's! wek!wa'lx you will look out for the green fernroots (aga' for that; ke particle; q- indefinite prefix [§ 15.6];
 ge=gu-ī future prefix and personal pronoun [§ 15.5]; tī to be;
 we- demonstrative; k!walz fern-roots)

 $h_{AS} qot\bar{\imath}'s!$ they were looking for him (qo-indefinite prefix; $t\bar{\imath}$ to be)

§ 20. SYNTACTIC SUFFIXES

- -t is suffixed to a verb to indicate that it contains a statement of the purpose for which some other action was performed.
 - dukā'ktc ade' qoka'waqa duīga' qagē'x dusgā'ndayu his uncle sent some one after him to burn [his body] (du his; kāk uncle; -tc intensive [§ 7]; ade' to it; qo- indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; ka- wa-verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 18.2]; qa to say; du he; īga' for; du-s-[§ 17.3; § 18.1]; qan fire, to burn; -d for -t before vowel; -ayu demonstrative)
 - qā na A'dî k!îdē'n yên wudu'dzînî Atū't qong A'nadayu and they put on good clothing because they wanted to die wearing it (qā man; na-verbal prefix [§ 17.5]; At to go [pl.]; -î verbal

- suffix; [§ 20.2]; k!îdē'n good; yên there; wu-du-dzî- [§ 15.4; § 17.3; § 18.6]; $\lambda t\bar{u}'t$ into it; qong λ [uncertain]; na to die; -t purpose; ayu demonstrative)
- duīga' At nagasū't something to help him (duīga' for him; At indefinite; na-[?] ga- verbal prefixes [§ 17.4]; su to help; -t purpose)
- ada'x awaxō'x acī'n ckangalnī'gīt then he invited him to tell him (something he did not know) (ada'x after it; ac- he; -n with; c- reflexive; kanga [? compare qonga second example; l- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; nīk stem; -t purpose)
- Ak! q layu yē'yati qā akade' wugu't ga'nga a man stopping at Auk went to (the lake) to get wood (ak!", Auk; -q! at; ayu demonstratives; yē- adverb, thus; ya- [§ 15.3]; ti to be; qā man; -kade' on; wu- [§ 15.4]; gu- to go; -t purpose; gan wood, fire; ga for).
- The use of -t with gu To Go, as in the last example, has become very common, and in that connection it appears to have lost something of its original function.
- 2. -i, -o after consonants; yî-,-wu after vowels. The subordination of one clause to another is effected more often than in any other manner by suffixing -i or -o after consonants, or -yi or -wu after vowels (see §§ 3 and 10). This seems to have the effect of transforming the entire clause into a participle or infinitive.
 - yuqā' qo'a kā'deq!akā'x daqt wudjîxî'xî the man who jumped out from (the raft was very much ashamed) (yu demonstrative; qa man; qo'a however; hā'deq!akā'x from on it; daqt out; wudjî-[§ 15.4; § 17.1]; xîx to jump or move quickly)
 - dudjī'q! ye yutī'yî s!āq gatā' ake' asē'wati he set up a bone trap he had (du he; djīq! to; ye thus; yu- demonstrative; tī to be; s!āq bone; gatā' trap; a- indefinite pronoun; ke up; a indefinite pronoun; se- verbal prefix; wat[i] to set up)
 - hade' wat at cī'yî this way! those who can sing (ci to sing)
 - Lēl ye wua'xtc yucā'wat atxayî' axa' yudjê'nwu she never got full eating sheep-fat (Lēl not; ye thus; ax to eat; yu- indefinite pronoun; cā'wat woman; a indefinite pronoun; at things; xa to eat; -yî suffix; axa' fat; yu- demonstrative; djê'nwu mountain sheep)
 - wuctacā'yî married to each other (that is, married couple)

 aya'zde yanagu'dîayu aosîtî'n while he was going around it, he

 saw (a- it; ya'zde around; ya-na- [§ 15.3; § 17.5]; -ayu demonstrative)

- tclāk* altī'nī aya' aosītī'n looking for a while, he saw her (a-demonstrative; l- [§ 18.4]; aya' it is this)
- qodzîtî'yî at big animals or things; apparently signifies things.

 BEING OR EXISTING (qo- indefinite [§ 15.6]; dzî- verbal prefix

 [§ 18.6]; tī to be; -yî suffix; at things)
- 3. -k. A verb is frequently changed into a noun by taking a suffix -k, and this is also usually indicated by the demonstrative prefix; but it would seem, from the manner in which it is used with certain verbs, especially with the verb to call or name (sa), that it should be regarded as a perfect participial suffix as much as a noun-forming suffix.
 - $y\bar{\imath}yuq!at_A'ng\hat{\imath}tc$ your well speaking of them ($y\bar{\imath}$ you [pl.]; yu- demonstrative; q!a mouth; t_An stem; -tc intensive; - $g\hat{\imath}$ stands here for k^u)
 - yē'duwasaku their names being these (ye thus; du-wa-verbal prefixes; sa stem)
 - tīl yudjîsît 'nk" waves rise up on it; or waves, the rising up of them upon it (tīl wave; yu-demonstrative; djî-sî-prefixes; tan stem)
 - yē'yuwagutku that was why he had traveled that way; or, more strictly, thus the traveling of him (yē thus; yu-demonstrative; wa-verbal prefix; gut stem)
 - yīka'-at-xack" the ones having split tongues for you (yī- you; ka post-position; at thing; xac stem)
 - yuq!ayata'nk" the one that could talk (yu-demonstrative; q!a mouth; ya-verbal prefix; tan stem)
 - yuqoyalis!ê'ık" when he was playing with the children, he would hurt them; or, the hurt he would do to them (yu-demonstrative; qo-ya-li-verbal prefixes; s!êL stem)
 - $y\bar{u}'ayal\hat{i}q!k^{u}$ he would break the knife he got hold of $(y\bar{u}$ -demonstrative; a- indefinite; ya- verbal prefix; $l\hat{i}q!$ stem)
 - Lax ya La'qk" he was a very great eater; or, the great eater that he was (Lax very; ya- verbal prefix; Laq stem)
 - $dun\bar{a}'$ At $l\bar{\imath}'tc!\hat{e}'q^uk^u$ he was a dirty little fellow; or, the dirty little fellow that he was $(dun\bar{a}\ [?]\ At\ thing;\ li-verbal\ prefix;\ tc!\hat{r}q^u$ stem)
 - ada' yuq! A'du Li A'tk" about it they were all talking; or, the talking that went on about it (a- indefinite; da post-position; yudemonstrative; q! A mouth; du- Li- verbal prefixes; At stem)
 - tc/a AkAnī'k tc/u le' ayê'x yū'yatīk" whatever he told them took place (tc/a whatever; tc/ule' then; ayê'x like it; yu-demonstrative; ya- prefix [§ 15.3])
 - qaye' qokugwanë'xe tc!ule' yushanîkku ayê'x yū'yatīku when s

- person was going to get well, he told them, and so it was (qa) person; qo-[§ 15.6]; $n\bar{e}x$ to be well; for the rest see last example). The end of this sentence might be rendered as was the telling of this by him, so was the fact
- $d\bar{a}'sa\ g_A'xdudj\bar{a}'q\ q\bar{o}n\ yu_Aka'yan^ikk^u$ what they were going to kill was what they got $(d\bar{a}'sa\ \text{what};\ g_A$ future [§ 15.5]; -x transitional [§ 15.7]; du- verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; $dj\bar{a}q$ to kill; $q\bar{o}n$ [§]; yu- demonstrative; a- indefinite pronoun; ka- ya- verbal prefixes [§ 15.2, 3]; nik stem)
- 4. -ya. Another suffix similar to this is -ya, which is perhaps identical with the continuative ya- treated of in § 15.3. This is mainly used in clauses which in English would be subordinated by means of a relative pronoun or adverb, and often the participial suffix -i [§ 20.2] is employed in conjunction with it. It would seem that the entire clause is turned into a noun in this manner, and becomes the object of the principal verb. Examples are as follows:
 - yax galē' yuq!ās adē' uduwaq!ā'siya far is the distance which the cascade comes down (yax like; galē' far; yu- demonstrative; q!ās cascade; ade' to it; u-du-wa-[§ 17.2, 3; § 18.2])
 - tc!u ade' $xaq!\bar{u}'ya$ awe' $ay_A'x$ qot $c\bar{u}'waxix$ just the way they were sleeping they were destroyed (tc!u just; ade' at it; xaq^u to sleep; $ay_A'x$ like it; qot completely; cu-[§15.1])
 - dudji'txawe yîdadunā'ya from him they knew how to fix [a trap]
 (du him; -dj intensive [§ 7]; t to; x from; awe demonstrative;
 yîdadunā'ya they learned to fix)
 - ade' has kaq!adi'nutcya ade' akaolīxē's! he put them in the place where they were in the habit of hooking fish (ade' at it; has they; ka to cause [?]; q!at to catch [?]; -nutc habitually [§ 19.2]; a-indefinite prefix; ka-o-lī-[§ 15.2; § 17.2; § 18.4])
 - atē'xya aosîku' when she slept, he knew (a- indefinite prefix; te to sleep; -x -ya suffixes [§ 19.4]; a- indefinite prefix; o- sî-verbal prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; ku to know)
 - kaodît! A'q! ā'xo gudiya' it was hot weather from where he started (ka- o- dî- verbal prefixes [§15.2; §17.2; §18.3]; t!aq! stem; a- indefinite prefix; xo among; gu to go; -t purpose [§20.1])
 - Lēl has ā'wusku ade' yuyanē'giya they did not know what to make of it (Lēl not; a-indefinite pronoun; wu-s-[§15.4; §18.1]; ade' at it; yu-demonstrative; ya-verbal prefix [§15.3]; nek to say)
 - has ā'wawus! "guda'x sa yē'daduna'taya" they inquired, "From where do they get this?" (gu where; dax from; sa interrogative particle; ye adverb; da-du-na-verbal prefixes [§ 14.4; § 17.3,5]; at to go [pl.])

ANALYSIS OF VERBAL FORMS.

Pronominal Nominal object.	First modal prefix.	Pronominal subject.	Second model prefix.	Third model prefix.	Stern.	Suffix.	
	non			di	Laz		It had begun to be moldy.
	ya		*	16	ρά		He said to her.
	uon.		djî		#		He got down to it quickly.
	72.03		qn	•	An		He was seen.
			2	dzi	£		He came to know it.
	non				nët	•	Being saved.
	ya		n-qn	dzí	ρĎ		They came to say to you (came to -ds1).
9/8				wa	tan		He went out and spoke.
	ka		n-qn		kAt		It got completely out of his head.
	202		du	100	unt		They had started.
	ka		3	34	nēz		It caused to be saved.
			du	toa	28	12	Having been named:
-	na			Ħ	hac	2	He was always floating himself about.
				8.4	2	Z	Being (his son).
	z-nø	150			7		We will cook it.
	gu-z		gs		żac	-	When it is going to be cut.
	ka		n-du	pas	वीख		They moved things out.
9/9	ka			wa	710		He sent some one (out) to speak.
	*		3	2	te		It came to be.
	ka			?	ník		He was telling (them).
	3			to a	242		They wern all lost.

			_		-	-		I fe is vary strong in mind () a lynye)	
	•	5							
	9/9			:	•	tos		He spit on it.	
	1	20-04			201	ząc		He was going to cut off.	
	g/a					22		He fasted on it (an island).	
		1018				zāc	-	When he cut it.	
		2			dzi	25	yi-ya	He having lived for (more than a hundred years).	
		Z.		Pa		na		When he was dying.	
8		2			45	at	:	They started to go down.	
		qo-ya		n-qn	201	उ		They hunted for her for an indefinite time.	
				pa-na		at	-	When they go after salmon.	
8				bg.		77	fn	When they would come in.	
8		8.				pan	te	It would always burn.	
			-	2	38	nēz		They saved you.	
		tot.		8.		‡‡	#	When it got.	
		O.B			wa	AE	te	It always heard.	-
			za	na		41	de	Go with me (de imperative particle).	
	lu				wa	bnø		They rushed (to the door) in a body (lu).	
8		cu-ka		3	Z,	184I		They kicked into it.	
(41)				na-ga		. 118		(Something) to help him.	
ha				2	E	nēs		They have cured us.	
		ya		na		djag		You are dying (of cold).	
			Ĩ.		25	nt		You put (or laid) down.	
ha		ku-gu			wa	t/a		We will be warm.	
		ya	•	na		ni	yi	You are having.	
tat	da	ya				ga		You are saying to me.	
									•

§ 21. Composition of Verb-Stems

A real composition of two verb-stems in one word seems to be entirely wanting. It sometimes happens, however, that the stem which contains the principal idea is placed before another verb-stem of very general meaning, such as ti to be, xix to get, or nuk* to become, and is there treated as if it were a prefix or an adverbial modifier, all of the other verbal prefixes being attached to the general auxiliary stem. Thus we have—

yīhā'n ke gax gaxyīsati' you (pl.) WILL CRY, where gax is the regular stem of the verb meaning to CRY, and ti, the stem of the verb to be, taking the future, pronominal, and all other prefixes. Similar to this is k!ānt has uwanu'k" THEY BECAME ANGRY, where k!ān signifies ANGER, and nuk" to become. Of this same type is qot cū'waxix they were all destroyed, although it is uncertain whether qot is ever employed as a regular stem in the place of xîx.

The list on pages 190 and 191 contains the analysis of a number of verbal forms in accordance with the groups of prefixes and suffixes described in §§ 14-20.

Adverbs (§§ 22, 23)

§ 22. Modal Adverbs

- 1. ag? is an interrogative adverb which is used in interrogative sentences in which no interrogative pronoun occurs. It is placed after the verb, or near the beginning of the clause.
 - iyan'xtc agî'? do you hear it?

 - xat $y\bar{i}$ sit $\bar{i}'n$ agî? do you see me? (xat me; yi you; si- prefix [§ 18.1]; $t\bar{i}n$ to see)
- 2. de following the verb indicates the imperative.
 - Adjī't gut dê! come up to me! (Ax me; -dj intensive [§ 7]; -t to; gu to come; -t purpose [§ 20.1])
 - a'nax asaqo'x dê! go with it around it! (a indefinite pronoun; nax around; a indefinite pronoun; sa-prefix; qox to go by canoe) ga'nga naa't dê! for firewood go! (gan firewood; ga for; naprefix [§ 17.5]; at to go)

- 3. q!wAn expresses a mild imperative and resembles our own PRAY, OF SUPPOSE.
 - dēkī' q!wan daqīcī'q out, pray, run to him! (dēkī' out; da- to [§ 14.4]; qī-[?]; cīq to run)
 - hīnq! q!wan yên xat cat into the water, pray, then put me! (hīn water; q! at; yên then; xat me; cat put)
 - ituwu' q!wan cat!î'q! Nixû' nēl gu'tnî be courageous when Nixâ' comes in (see § 19.3; i you; tu mind; -wu possessive; ca-reflexive; t!îq!, stem [?]; nēl into the house; gu to go; -t -n -i suffixes [§ 20.1; § 19.3; § 20.2])
- 4. I expresses the negation. Generally this element appears combined with the connective Le THEN. The emphatic negative is lil, apparently a doubled negation.
 - lt kīnīgī'q ya axhî'tî never tell about my house (lîl never; ki = ka [?]; nik to tell; -iq suffix; ya about; Ax my; hithouse; -î possessive)
 - lîl LAX ye xAt kugA'ndjîq never let me burn up! (LAX very; ye thus; xAt I; ku future; gAn to burn; -tc always; -îq a suffix)
 - In negative questions the negation is contracted with the interrogative particle.
 - Lē'gil xat wunēku? am I not sick? (Lē adverb; gi interrogative particle; l not (with Lē); xAt I; wu-verbal prefix; nēku sick)
- 5. gut expresses probability, and is generally initial.
 - gul Lax Lēq! dîs hasduka' cuwaxī'x very probably they passed all of one month (Lax very; Lēq! one; dîs moon; hasduka' on them; cu-entirely [\S 15.1]; wa-verbal prefix [\S 18.2]; $x\bar{x}x$ stem) gul de djînkā't ayu' q!a'owaxe for probably ten days he went [without food] (de already; djînkat ten; ayu' demonstrative; q!a mouth [§ 14.1]; o- wa- prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.2]; xe stem)

§ 23. Locative Adverbs

Locative adverbs are difficult to distinguish from post-positions, but the following may be mentioned as of constant occurrence:

- 1. dāk outward, out to sea
- 2. dāq shoreward
- 3. ke upward
- 4. de now, right away, already
- 5. ye thus or as follows
- 6. yêx or yax like

9. yên there

7. $n\bar{e}l$ into the house

- 10. dekī' far outward
- 11. $ixk\bar{\imath}'$ down below, specifically southward

8. yu or yux out of doors

12. yîk inside

Bearing a closer resemblance to post-positions are:

13. t or $d\hat{e}$ to	29. <i>ka</i> on
14. <i>n</i> with	30. <i>ga</i> for
15. x from	31. $q_Aq!$ for
16. q! at	32. $g\bar{e}$ inside of
17. $\bar{y}i$ down in	33. tîn with
18. <i>yī'nadê</i> down toward	34. $h\bar{a}'yi$ down underneath
19. yes for	35. <i>q!ēs</i> for
20. qox back to, backward	36. gayi down in front of
21. x _A n to a person	37. $w_A t$ at the mouth of
22. tu into	38. $t\bar{a}k$ in the middle of
23. $t\bar{a}'yi$ under	39. nax through, on account
24. t/a behind	of, in association with
25. $d_{A}x$ from	40. $g\bar{a}n$ outside of
26. da around	41. $datc\bar{u}'n$ straight for
27. $x\bar{o}$ among	42. ya in the neighborhood of
28. kī toward	43. sak^u for
Db. 1 64b :	fi ibb

The last of these is always used after the verb.

Even nouns and verbs are used exactly as if they were conceived of as post-positions: as,

hî'tq!î tūx ya'wagut yucā'wat adja'q dax the woman went through the houses after she had killed it (hît house; -q!î collective; tūx through; ya-wa-verbal prefixes [§ 15.3; §18.2]; gu to go; -t [§ 20.1]; yu-demonstrative; cā'wat woman; a it; djaq to kill; dax from)

aq!î'ts cantū'dê kar a'odîgeq! he put (his coat) on to go down into the midst of its tentacles (a- it; q!îts tentacles; can-tū'dê into the midst of; kar adverbial; a- indefinite pronoun; o- dî-prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.3]; geq! to do quickly)

ayalanē's!awe awa'n when he had sharpened the edges of it (a-indefinite pronoun; ya-la-verbal prefixes [§ 15.3; § 18.4]; nēs! to sharpen; awe when; a it; wan edges)

As, on account of their phonetic weakness, the post-positions t, n, x, and q! must always be agglutinated to some other word, they sometimes have the appearance of cases, but the first of these is simply a contraction of $d\hat{e}$; and the distinction in use between all of them and the syllabic post-positions is not marked enough to justify a separate classification.

The adverbs de, ke, and ye are essential to certain verbs, and the same may be said of At SOMETHING with the verbs xa TO EAT and xun TO START.

§ 24. Conjunctions

The conjunction used between nouns and coordinate clauses is qa and; while antithesis is expressed by qo'a, which more closely approaches English however in its use than but. Conjunctions employed to introduce sentences are, for the most part, compounded of post-positions and demonstratives:

 $ad_{A}'xayu$ or $ad_{A}'xawe$ and then (compounded of a; $d_{A}x$ from; a, and yu or we)

Atxawe' afterwards (from a; t to; x from; a; and we)

aya'zawe on account of which (from a; yaz like; a; and we)

tc/u Le', evidently THEN, consists of two adverbial particles, tc!u and Le!

wanani'sawe by and by (probably compounded from some verb)

Atcawe' contains the intensive suffix tc.

Subordinate clauses, when not turned into participles or infinitives, are connected to the principal verb by awe' or ayu', which also occur in conjunction with the participial suffix -i, and often with ga-, na-, or -n.

VOCABULARY (§§ 25-28)

Stems are almost invariably monosyllabic, and consist usually of a consonant followed by a vowel; or a consonant, vowel, and consonant. Occasionally, however, we find single vowels; a vowel followed by a consonant; or a vowel, consonant, and vowel. Two consonants never occur together in the same syllable unless one is an agglutinated affix.

§ 25. Nominal Stems

Following is a list of several simple nominal stems:

a lake
an town
as! tree
aza' paddle
āc father
yāk' canoe
yāk mussel
yao herring
yaz'tc sea-otter
yēk supernatural helper
yīt son
dā's!a snare
dîs moon

ta stone
tan sea-lion
tāt night
nu fort
naa't clothing
nūk!" shells
tcunē't bow
tsa seal
tsēsk!" owl
s!āx" hat
sīt spruce
cat wife
can old person

cayī'na anchor
cī blood
cī song
gagā'n sun
gotc wolf
qa man
qahā'k" salmon-eggs
qou people
q!a point
q!ān fire
q!ān fur-seal
q!āt! island
xa enemy

xao log or dead tree
xāt root
xōn friend
xōx husband
kāt fish-basket
kā'nî brother-in-law
kē' ṭadî sea-gull
ṭā'na evening
ṭūts! grizzly-bear
ṭiṭtc! frog
hīn fresh water
hût house
hu'nx elder brother

Onomatopoëtic words are surprisingly rare.

The following are the terms of blood-relationship:

līlk! grandparent īc father La mother Lak! mother's sister (literally, little mother) $k\bar{a}k$ mother's brother āt father's sister, and father's sister's daughter sa'nî father's brother and father's sister's son hunz man's elder brother catx woman's elder sister kīk! man's younger brother, and woman's younger sister Lāk! man's sister ik! woman's brother kālk! mother's brother's children cx_nk! grandchild $y\bar{\imath}t$ son, and son of mother's sister sī daughter, and daughter of mother's sister kêlk! sister's child, and child of woman's brother

Terms of relationship through marriage are the following:

xox husband cAt wife wu father-in-law $tc\bar{a}n$ mother-in-law $k\bar{a}'n\hat{\imath}$ brother-in-law of man, and sister-in-law of woman

The other relationships are indicated by terms purely descriptive. Most of the above are also used in a broad sense to cover those persons of the same sex, clan, and generation, as the one to whom it more particularly belongs. A sister's husband was called husband; and a wife's sister, wife, because, in case of the wife's death, the widower had a right to marry her sister.

§ 26. Verbal Stems

One or two nominal stems, such as sa NAME, tcūn DREAM, and xīl!

HERRING-RAKE, are also found as the stems of verbs, but usually the
two sets of stems are quite distinct. The following is a partial list
of verb-stems:

u to use qīt to do ha to dig na to die s!u to cut off ka to be lazy na to do tla to slap t!a to be hot ni to put cī to hunt for xe to stay, remain hîk to be full of gu to go (one person) at to go (pl.) djêl to set, place dja to tell, explain tsin to be strong ti to be gîq! to throw ku to know gow to go by canoe $L/\bar{e}x$ to dance ta to sleep qa to say cat to take, seize su to help (a supernatural xac to drift xōt! to sharpen being acting) $\bar{a}x$ to hear ca to marry hēn to stand xa to eat $x\bar{e}q!$ to sleep or to go to sleep ya to carry, bear $k!\hat{e}$ to be good s!ît to cover $di\bar{\imath}$ to have tît to drift ge to sit $g\bar{a}x$ to cry nēx to save $k!\bar{a}n$ to hate nîk to tell ts! Aq to smoke $\bar{u}k$ to boil yex to make $x\bar{o}x$ to invite t!uk to shoot tan to put t/Aq! to pound nuku to become wūs! to ask $dj_{A}q$ to kill xîn to fly into tīn to see k! A k! to cut $q!ak^u$ to forget qas! to strike gên to look at, examine $q!\bar{a}k$ to swim Ak to weave xîx to get trîs to swim $g_{A}n$ to burn

It is possible that the final consonant of one or another of these stems is really a suffix, and such may have been the origin of some terminal consonants which are now inseparable.

§ 27. Numerals

Numerals precede the nouns with which they occur. The cardinal numbers are:

Lēq! one

dēx two

nats!k three

daq!ū'n four

kē'djîn five

Lē'ducu six

daxa'ducu seven

na'ts!kuducu' eight gucū'k nine djî'nkāt ten djî'nkāt qa Lēq! eleven

 $K\bar{e}'dj\hat{n}$ is formed from ke up and $dj\hat{n}$ hand; $dj\hat{v}'nk\bar{a}t$ contains the suffix kat across or upon and $dj\hat{n}$ hand; $L\bar{e}'qa$ is from $L\bar{e}q!$ one and qa man.

When human beings are referred to, slaves usually excepted, the numeral takes the post-position $n_{A}x$.

na's!ginax qa three men Leducū'nax dukē'lk!î has his six nephews dēx gux two slaves

The numeral ONE, however, is sometimes unchanged.

yulē'q! yatī'yiga wukik!iyê'n bring one of the brothers

lēq! atī'yia bring one man

 n_{Ax} is also used to form distributive numerals.

Ordinals are formed from cardinals by means of a final -a. d_Axa' the second nats/gia' the third

THE FIRST is expressed by cuq!wai'nax.

Numeral adverbs are formed by suffixing -dahēn.

daxdahē'n yē'yanaqa when he said thus twice
daxdahē'na gu'dawe after she had been twice

§ 28. Interrogative Pronouns

The chief interrogative pronouns, also used as relatives, are $ad\bar{u}'sa$ who, $d\bar{a}'sa$ what, and $w\bar{a}'sa$ what or how. The final syllable sa is separable, however, although never omitted, and ought rather to be regarded as an interrogative particle, though it is perhaps identical with the particle $s\hat{i}$ or $\Delta s\hat{i}$ referred to in § 18.1. Examples of the use of these pronouns are:

adū'sa wu L!ī'q! who broke it off?
adū'sgî qasī' gaca' I wonder who will marry my daughter
dā'saya ye djī'wani what has done this?
dasayū', a Le' what is that, mother?
ha dā'tîn sa what with? (that is, what can you do?)
wasa'yu hadē' ye'doqa what to us do they say thus?
tc!u Le' Lēl wudusku' wā'sa waniye' then they did not know what
had been done

wā'sa iya'odudzîqa' axyī't what did they say to you, my son?

With these should be connected $gu's\bar{u}$ where.

gusū' yên yuqoze'tcgî where is, then, the breaking off of it?
gusū' tūwunu'guyīyî where is it that he had felt bad?
guda'xqā'x sayu' ū'wadjî zēl ye'awusku' from whence he came,
she did not know

The last of these examples shows the locative character of gusu' (in this case contracted to gu); and the first two, the curious manner of its employment.

TEXT

Qāq!atcgū'k

(Told by interpreter, Don Cameron, at Sitka, January, 1904)

yē'yati 🌯 wu'ckîk!îyê'n yē'duwasaku hunxō' 5 Cīt!kā'q!ayu¹ named thus At Sitka it was that there were brothers the eldest that is Lēq! 10 ts!utā'tavu 11 has akucîta'n.9 Qāq!atcgū'k.7 AL!ū'nayu 8 Qaq!Ategu'k. Hunting it was they liked. One morning it was on that xodê' 13 udja'qx.15 dāk 13 has uwaqo'x.14 q!ā't!q!î Lēł Αt to among out they went by canoe. Not things he ever killed. yên uqo'xtc. 16 Tslu dāk uwago'x.14 Ada'xayu 17 yuq!ü'n 18 xō'dê there he always came Again out he went by canoe. And then the fur seals tn among in by canoe. wuduwasa'.19 "Hu naqo'xtcîya 20 ava'.21 Cīłk!a'ı! 23 1'sa 23 Αt things always going in canoe is here. his name was called. "He Keep quiet your voices gaā'x."* Dāq nago'x 20 a'ayu 25 yuhunxō'a 36 yē'q layaqa: 27 has lest he Shoreward they were going by at that time the eldest brother it said thus: hear. canoe

¹ Cit/kā' (Sitka) compounded of Ci the native name of Baranoff island, the post-position t/a BEHIND or BACK OF, and the post-position ka ON; q! locative post-position AT; ayu compounded of yu the demonstrative and probably a-indefinite pronoun, used to call particular attention to the place.

we an adverbial particle referring to BROTHERS, which may here be translated as FOLLOWS, although

It sometimes refers to what precedes; ye-continuative prefix § 15.3; ti stem of the verb to be.

* wu- § 15.4; c- the reflexive prefix § 11; kik! YOUNGER BROTHER; -yen suffix which seems to take the place of has to indicate plurality.

⁴ ye as follows; du- § 17.3; wa- § 18.2; sa to name or call; -ku noun-forming or perfect participial suffix \$ 20.3.

hunz ELDER BROTHER; o probably possessive; kik! Younger Brother.

a stands for ye'duwasaku.

Object of yë'duwasaku.

s a-indefinite pronoun indicating the things hunted for; L/un Hunting For, employed as a post-position; -ayū (see note 1).

has personal pronoun subject third person plural; a-object referring to al/a'n; ku-indefinite prefix; ci-desire § 18.7; tan to put, verb-stem of many uses.

¹⁰ Leq! ONE, numeral modifying ts!utā't. Very often the noun modified is omitted in connections like this.

¹¹ ts/u AGAIN; tdt NIGHT; ayu demonstrative. The meaning seems to be, ANOTHER NIGHT BEING PAST.

¹² q/at/ isl./.nd; -q/1 plural; 20 among; de motion to.

¹³ Adverb; SEAWARD OF TO AN OPEN PLACE.

¹⁴ u- § 17.2; wa- § 18.2; qor to GO BY CANOE.

¹⁶ u- § 17.2; djAq TO KILL; -x distributive suffix § 19.4.

¹⁶ u- § 17.2; gox to go by canoe; -tc intensive suffix § 7.

¹⁷ a- indefinite pronoun; -dax FROM; ayu demonstrative.

¹⁸ yu- demonstrative; q/un fur-seal.

¹⁹ wu- § 15.4; du- § 17.3; wa- § 18.2; sa to name, to call, also voice.

na- action accompanied by another action § 17.5; qoz to go by Canoe; -tc intensive suffix § 7; -f participial suffix; -ya noun-forming suffix § 20.2, 4.

²¹ a indefinite pronoun, and ya demonstrative.

[#] c- reflexive § 11; }- frequentative § 18.4; k!AL! TO BE QUIET.

²⁸ f- THY; sa VOICE (see note 19).

²⁴ ga- subordinating prefix § 17.4; dr to HEAR.

z and ayu.

[≥] yu- demonstrative; hunzo' ELDER BROTHER; a indefinite pronoun.

²⁷ yē- AS FOLLOWS; q/a MOUTH; ya- § 15.3; qa stem.

"Quick paddles it has become windy." Then angry they became. The bowman yāk" to sawago'q" 3 duaxa'yî. ** Ldaka't yē's ** wudzîgī't. ** Ada'xayu 17 into the pushed his paddle. All did the same. And then

cana' 37 Yū'yāku 18 qo'a Lē wu'lixac. 30 has wu'dîs!ît.38 Dekī'dê 40 however, then heads they covered. The canoe, drifted. tāt 11 wu'lixac.89 Leducū' 41 ya'kaye qa Yadiî'nkāt-qa-dēx 42 has and nights they drifted. The twelth day days yu'litîtku 45 yuyā'ku 18 Aosîtī'n 46 a'odzîgīt 44 aka'tayu 43 ke yên he woke there the drifting against the canoe. on that Hessw up the shore

q!āt!ka'q! 47 Asîyu' 48 tān, tsa, q!ūn, yaxutc! qa tān-q!Adadzā'yî. 49 on the island it was sea-lions, hair- fur- sea-otters, and sea- bristles.

ada' 50 aolita'q! 51 yuq!ā't!dāq!.53 Has kā'wadjêł.58 Fadaka't Αt around it drifted the island around on. They things All Ka'ndak!ē'ti 57 yuLē'q! tāku qa acuwu'. Lēq! tāku 54 ayē's 55 wuti'. 56 Onē year they were there. It was completed the one year and a half. tcucstā't.59 ãn 60 Wutē'x 58 yuqā' Lēq! ts!utā't ke udzîgī't61 morning with it Slept regularly the man to sleep about himself. One up he woke qox64 agā'qtc.65 Ada'xayu17 dutcū'nî. 👊 Yē'atcun 63 Lēq! tslutā't 11 back healways got. his dream. He dreamed thus And then one morning

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" ye- § 15.3; n- action accompanied by another action § 17.5; du- § 17.3; nuku TO BLOW.
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> k. Mm anger; - dattainment of a state § 20.1.

[■] u- § 17.2; wa- § 18.2; nuk= TO BECOME.

M Perhaps containing on HEAD, qu MAN.

[#] pāk= CANOE; - motion into.

[■] a indefinite pronoun; wa- § 18.2; goqu TO PUSH.

[™] dw- HB; aza' PADDLE; -yi' possessive suffix § 10.

Freiers to action preceding; -s probably stands for has THEY.

[™] ww- § 15.4; dzi- to COME to § 18.6; git to Do.

[&]quot; CE HEAD; -ne probably around, near.

⁼ ww- § 15.4; di-inchoative § 18.3; s/tt TO COVER.

> ww- § 15.4; 1- frequentative § 18.4; pac to DRIFT.

^{*} dek? FAR OFF; -de motion thither.

a Leq! one; six = one counted upon five.

^{*} ps- demonstrative; djin HAND; -kdi UPON or ACROSS, probably the two hands lying upon each other; se AND; džz two.

Probably a indefinite pronoun; ka on; t motion to; ayu demonstrative compound.

[#] a indefinite pronoun; o- § 17.2; dzi- to come to be § 18.6; git.

[■] pu demonstrative: l- frequentative § 18.4; tit to drift ashore; -ku verbal noun § 20.3.

⁼ e-indefinite pronoun; o- § 17.2; -st simple statement of an action § 18.1; tin TO SEE.

[#] qMt! ISLAND; kA ON; q! AT.

Probably a indefinite pronoun; si simple statement of fact (see note 46); yu demonstrative.

[■] q/a probably MOUTH; -yi possessive suffix § 10.

s indefinite pronoun; da AROUND.

a indefinite pronoun; o- § 17.2; L frequentative § 18.4; taq! to DRIFT.

w yes demonstrative; q/at! ISLAND; da AROUND; q! AT.

[■] ke- to CAUSE to DO \$ 15.2; wa- \$ 18.2; djel to ARISE.

M Strictly WINTER.

s indefinite pronoun; yes on account of, or ye plus a for has they.

[₩] ww- 15.4; # TO BE.

ar I am unable to analyze this word. ka may be the prefixed auxiliary.

^{■ 15.4;} ta TO SLEEP; -z distributive § 19.4.

^{**} tenc- perhaps reflexive § 11; - single statement of action § 18.1; to TO SLEEF; -t suffix indicating purpose § 20.1.

[■] a indefinite pronoun; -n with.

[■] m-active prefix § 17.2; dzi- to come to be § 18.6; git to do.

du- HIS; town DREAM; 4 possessive suffix after a consonant §§ 3, 10.

[■] ye- demonstrative; a indefinite pronoun; teun to DREAM.

ex occurs both as adverb and as post-position.

s indefinite pronoun; gaq to REACH; -tc intensive suffix § 7.

dukī'k!-has 66 ye'ayaosîqa, 67 "Cā'yidaqê'dê. Xākuyî At kayîlaga'. 70 his younger brothers he said to as follows, "Sit up. Into the things you load. cance yê'nde 71 hayākugwatā'n.73 Ģagā'n Kanē'sdî-ca 73 Tcākugē'yî Anywhere thither we will go. Snn Cross-mountain (Verstovaia) cakī'nax⁷⁴ ke xîxtc." 75 vên has yā'watan.76 Qo'ka Ada'xavu near the always gets." And then there they were heading. It was top of dark wucgē'dî ⁷⁷ hasducayī'nayî 78 hīnq! 79 has anatī'tc 80 gagā'n ana'x st into itself their anchor in the they lowered from near it water xî'xtciya.82 LAX qlūn 88 has uxe' 84 sayu' 48 has aosîtî'n kë'ladî ke they up where it gets. Very many they camped when it was yadjî'ndahēn.85 XAtc86 aosîtī'n. Axa'nga 87 L!ūx asivu' has Near it standing suddenly It was Mount it was they SA.W. Edgecumbe (on the water). that "Yū'ca 89 adatcū'n," 20 yasgaqoxayu' 88 has aosîtī'n L!ūx k!idē'n. straight towards it," they Mount plainly. "The when they were Edgecumbe mountain coming yū'yawaqa 91 Qūq!atcgū'k, "adatcū'n 90 yên yayī'satan." 92 Ada'xayu "straight towards there you be steering." was what said Qāqlategū'k, And then xā′nadê⁹³ Ye has ā'wasa Yākukalsiga'ku. 44 ana'x yên has uwaqo'x. there they came by towards Thus they named it Canoe-resting-place. near evening gaduskū't 36 hu akawati′ 95 ana'x Tān A. ana'x yên wuqōxō'n.** so they might it he caused ashore there had come by Sea he near it lion to be WAS at it know canoe.

[#] du- HIS; kik! YOUNGER BROTHER; -has plural for terms of relationship.

of ye demonstrative; a indefinite pronoun; ya- § 15.3; o- § 17.2; si-simple statement § 18.1; ga to say.

^{*} Probably c- reflexive; 4-YOU; do-inchoative § 18.3; of TO SIT; de imperative suffix or particle § 22.2.

[■] yāku CANOE; yi probably DOWN INTO.

⁷⁰ ka- to Cause § 15.2; yi- ye; l- frequentative § 18.4; ga to LOAD.

¹¹ yen THERE; de motion toward.

[&]quot; ha US; ya- § 15.3; ku- indefinite § 15.6; gwa- (for gu-) future § 15.5; tan TO GO.

[&]quot;Kand'st is the modern Thingit word for Cross (Lieut. G. T. Emmons believes it to be a corruption of Christ. The consonant cluster st does not sound like Thingit); ca MOUNTAIN.

[&]quot; CI HEAD; ki TOWARDS; "AI NEAR, OF FROM NEAR BY.

[&]quot; pir to get; -tc intensive suffix § 7.

⁷⁶ ya- § 15.3; wa- § 18.2; tan to HEAD.

[&]quot; wu- § 15.4; c- reflexive; gë into; di motion to.

⁷⁸ hasdu- their; cayi'na ANCHOR; -yi possessive suffix.

[&]quot; hin water; -q! into.

 $[\]infty$ a indefinite pronoun; na-action accompanied by another § 17.5; ti stem; -tc intensive suffix.

st a indefinite pronoun; nat near, or from near by.

^{*} rix to GET; -tc intensive suffix § 7; -t participle; -ya verbal noun § 20.2, 4.

^{*} After LAZ q/un, the word tat WINTER should be understood.

[#] u- § 17.2; ze to CAMP.

s ya- § 15.3; dji- rapidly § 17.1; na- at the same time as §17.5; da- inchostive § 18.3; hen to stand.

^{≈ -}tc emphatic suffix (?).

^{**} a indefinite pronoun; x an post-position indicating motion to the neighborhood of some person; -p a Purpose.

²⁸ ya- § 15.3; s- probably stands for hAs; ga- when § 17.4; gaz to go by canoe; -sys demonstrative.

[»] yu demonstrative; ca mountain.

so a indefinite pronoun; datcun post-position, perhaps containing da Around.

⁹¹ yu demonstrative; ya- § 15.3; wa- § 18.2; qa TO SAY.

²² ya § 15.3; yi- second person plural; sa- indicative § 18.1; tan to steer.

[#] de motion toward.

[&]quot; yāk" CANOE; kai (?); si- indicative §18.1; ga or gak" (?).

s a indefinite pronoun; ka- to CAUSE § 15.2; wa- § 18.2; ti to BE.

[%] or subordinating prefix § 17.4; du-§ 17.3; s-indicative § 18.1; ku to know; -t purpose § 20.1.

[%] wu- \S 15.4; goz to go by Canoe; -n conjunctival suffix preceded by δ in harmony with the o before s \S 3; \S 19.3.

Ad./mome	('5/41b-d≙ M	hia		V5/5-09	~~5/~dâ 100			
Ada'xawe And then	yaCī't!kadê ^{se} here to Sitka	has they	wuqo'x. came by cance.	This town	gayā'qdê 100 ashore in front of			
yā'sgaqo'xa	yu' ¹⁰¹ telā'guay	7Î′ 102	duca't 108	gānt agā'x.	Tclaye' su			
when they were in by canon	coming the old one	•	his wife o	utside wept.	At that very time			
gaxē'ayu'104	aosîtî'n yü'yāk	¹ān	egaya'dê 10	⁵ yānaqo'x.	106 Aosîtī'n			
when she was crying	she saw the canoe		to in front of	was coming.	She saw			
awu'agê' ¹⁶⁷ she had woven		Wudîl She start			Here			
has uwaqo'	x. Dutuwu' 113 s	sigu' y	vucā'wat-cāi		duxa'ng! 115			
they came			the old woman					
dāq gu'da	yu ldaka't at	qadji	dē′ 116 ye ε	osi'ni ¹¹⁷ tān	-q!adadzā'yî,			
up came wi		to the	men these	he gave se	a-lion bristles,			
ya'xºtc di	ũ gu', qlūn dūg	\mathbf{u}' . I	În qādjî'n "	⁸ aoliĻē'k ^u .	110 Dukā'ni-			
ses-otter s	kins, fur-seal ski	ns. V	Vith hands hese	he shook.	His brothers-			
vên ¹³⁰ vē′	dayaduqa, 121 "			1 128 Hôn HI	At-kā'wati.124			
		Long si			feast has been			
_	•	_	place		given.			
Yuyī's-qa 12	s de 126 udü'waca	." 137	ALē'n 128 tu	wunu'k ^{u 139} 8	watlē'.130			
The young	is already married	đ."	It was much	trouble	she felt.			
** pe this, employed because no story was told in Sitka; de toward. ** pe this; de town; de possessive suffix. The reason for the use of this suffix is not clear. ** pe' pe post-position, in front of; -q probably indicates motion shoreward; -de toward. ** pe- § 15.3; for has they (?); pe-subordinating prefix § 17.4; que to go by canoe; -ayu demonstrative. ** teldk= old, old times, old things; -(a)pi possessive suffix referring to duca't.								
M est to CRY:	-č participle § 20.2; -cyu (demonstr	ative					
,	ew times before post-pos			uch as ga and ge; g	d'ys in Pront of;			
& TOWARD.								
	<pre>p- action done at the sam pronoun; ww- 15.4; Ak T</pre>			and volced before	vowel: J nerticiple			
§ 20.2.	pronoun, wa- 3 10.1, at 1	U WEAVE	, with termina so	una voicea perore	vower, -e paracrpie			
™ nůt boot; s								
™ srs- § 15.4; di-incheative § 18.3; kdn to MOVE. (?)								
m sel into the house; de toward. m we- § 15.4; gs to go; d purposive suffix § 20.1.								
m he demonstrative; 4 post-position.								
III du HER; tu MIND; wu possessive suffix after # § 10.								
In pu demonstrative; cd'wal woman; cdn old. In du he; -ran to the neighborhood of a person; -q/ at.								
LE MAN; -C voiced before vowel; emphatic suffix § 7; de Toward.								
137 See note 46; nd TO GIVE.								
III gas MAN; djf:								
120 JEE TO SHAKE. 120 die His; gen plural for terms of relationship (see note 3).								
m pë demonstrative; da sign of indirect object § 14.4; pa- § 15.3; du- § 17.3; qa to say.								
22 de now; telika a long time ago.								
120 f. Thy; -q! post-position. 122 yes demonstrative; At SOMETHING; ks-causative § 15.2; ws- § 18.2; ti to be.								
	ative; pie young preso			, w 10 BE.				
m de now.		-						

= 1- § 17.2; du- § 17.3; wa- § 18.2; cs to marry (-woman).

im a indefinite pronoun; Lèn big.

im in mind; wa- § 15.4; suk= to become.

im a indefinite pronoun; wa- § 18.2; t/2 to feel.

[Translation]

Brothers lived at Sitka of whom the eldest was named Qāq!Atcgū'k. They were fond of hunting. One morning they went out among the islands. He (that is Qāq!atcgū'k) kept coming back without having killed anything. He went out again. Then his name was mentioned among the fur-seals. "The one who always hunts is here. Keep quiet, lest he hear your voices." When they were going towards the shore, the eldest brother said, "Use your paddles quickly, for it has become windy." Now they became angry. The bow-man pushed his paddle down into the canoe. All did the same thing. covered their heads. The canoe, however, drifted on. They drifted out for six days and nights. The twelfth day he (Qāq!Atcgū'k) awoke and found the canoe drifting against the shore. He saw sea-lions, hair-seals, fur-seals, sea-otters, and sea-lion bristles on the island. All had drifted ashore around the island. They took their things up. They were there for one year. A year and a half was completed. The man kept sleeping, thinking about his condition. One morning he woke up with his dream. He kept dreaming that he had gotten home. And one morning he said to his younger brothers, "Sit up. Put the things into the canoe. The sun always rises from the neighborhood of Mount Verstovaia." Then they headed in that direction. When it became dark, they lowered their anchor into the water in the direction from which the sun comes up. After they had spent very many nights, they saw a sea-gull upon the water. What they saw was Mount Edgecumbe. When they got nearer it, they saw plainly that it was Mount Edgecumbe. "Straight for the mountain," said Qāq!Atcgū'k, "steer straight towards it." So towards evening they came near it. They named that place Canoe-resting-place. He pounded out the figure of a sea-lion there so that they might know he had come ashore at that place. When they came ashore in front of the town, his old wife was outside weeping. While she was crying, she saw the canoe coming in front of the town. She saw the root-hat she had woven. She got up to go into the house. thither. The old woman's mind was glad. When her husband came up to her, he gave all these things to the people—sea-lion bristles, seaotter skins, fur-seal skins. He shook hands with these in his hands. His brother-in-law said to him, "The feast was given for you some time ago (that is, the mortuary feast). The young woman is already married." She (the younger woman) was very much troubled on account of it (because her former husband was now a man of wealth).

HAIDA

BY

JOHN R. SWANTON



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HAIDA

By John R. Swanton

§1. LOCATION

The Haida language, called Skittagetan by Powell, was anciently spoken only on the Queen Charlotte islands, off the coast of British Columbia. About a hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago, however, a large body of Haida moved from their old towns in the northwestern part of the islands, and settled around Cordova and Kasaan bays, Alaska. As originally situated the Haida consisted of six fairly well-marked geographical groups, each of which probably possessed certain dialectic peculiarities; but only two or three wellestablished dialects can now be said to exist. The two most important of these are that spoken at Skidegate, in the central portion of the Queen Charlotte islands, and that spoken at Masset (on the northern end of the islands) and in Howkan, Klinkwan, and Kasaan, Alaska. The first I shall call the Skidegate dialect, and the second the Masset dialect. The speech of the people around the southern extremity of the group differed so far from these that it may also have been entitled to dialectic rank, but so few of those who used to speak it now survive that we have no absolute knowledge on this point. From the name given by whites to their principal town, I shall call this hypothetical dialect the dialect of Ninstints.

The nearest neighbors of the Skidegate Haida were the Tsimshian of the mainland of British Columbia; and the nearest neighbors of the Masset Haida the Alaskan Tlingit. There is evidence, however, that at one time the Tlingit were neighbors of the southern Haida as well; and the speech of both shows morphological and even lexical similarities such as lead to a suspicion of genetic relationship. Although Tsimshian influence has been very strong among the Haida in recent years, the Tsimshian language is quite distinct, and the only other language in this region which shows any morphological similarity to Haida is the Athapascan spoken in the interior of the continent.

The examples given in the following sketch have been taken from my collection of Haida texts. Those in the Masset dialect will be found in the publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Volume X; those in the Skidégate dialect in Bulletin 29 of the Bureau of American Ethnology. References preceded by B refer to Bulletin 29.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-5)

§ 2. System of Sounds

Like most other languages of the north Pacific coast of America, Haida makes an extended use of sounds of the k, l, and s series. It is peculiarly remarkable, however, for the great extent to which it employs n and \tilde{n} (ng) and the frequent juxtaposition of two or even three vowel-sounds. Following is a list of all those sounds which the Haida themselves appear to recognize:

		Consonants						Forcels Semi- 1		
		1	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal			
Affricatives			dj	tc	tc!	_	_	- "	•	
Dentals.			d	t	t!	8	\boldsymbol{n}	_		
Palatals.	•		\boldsymbol{g}	\boldsymbol{k}	k!	ŗ	$ ilde{n}$	y	- 1 - 1 1 1	
Velars .			g	\boldsymbol{q}	q!	\boldsymbol{x}	_	ħ	i (or \tilde{e}) i (or \hat{e})	
Labials .			Ъ	\bar{p}	-	_	m	\boldsymbol{w}	\bar{a} (or a) A	
Laterals.	•		Ļ	L	L!	l, l	-		$\tilde{\boldsymbol{u}}$ (or \tilde{o}) \boldsymbol{u} (or \boldsymbol{o})	

An anterior palatal series might be added to these, but the sounds to be so characterized seem only palatals followed by a close vowel. The fortis sounds are accompanied by a slight explosion, which results from urging more breath against the articulating organs than can at once pass through. Some speakers bring these out very forcibly, while others pass over them with considerable smoothness. the latter case it is very easy to mistake them for corresponding sonants. It is doubtful whether d and t and dj and tc really exist as recognizedly separate sounds; to is sometimes heard in the Masset dialect, and dj in Skidegate in corresponding situations. nounced intermediately between the ch in German "ach" and in German "ich," with which latter sound it agrees entirely when placed before a close vowel. In the l-series L is much like dl, and L much like tl; but the tongue is extended farther forward along the palate, and there is a greater flow of breath around it. In I the outflow of breath becomes extreme. m and p are usually final sounds in certain

syllables where they appear to convey a kind of onomatopoetic sense. In both cases there is a little longer pause with lips closed after the enunciation than is usual in English. b, which occurs in barely half a dozen words, seems to be of the same nature. In the Masset dialect g and z are articulated so feebly that it is best to represent them by independent signs, and signs, and signs, but this alteration seems to be only an accompaniment of the shorter form of speech which Masset people affect. In the present sketch all of the examples not marked "Masset" are taken from the Skidegate dialect.

Among vowels we have to distinguish clearly between those proper to the language and those which seem to be purely accidental, a sort of by-product of speech. In the former class are \bar{u} (or \bar{o}), u (or o), \bar{i} (or \bar{e}), i (or e), a, and a. The sounds in the pairs \bar{u} and \bar{o} , u and o, \bar{i} and \bar{e} , i and e, are not distinguished from each other, and in each case the two probably stand for a single sound. i and e pass very easily into \bar{i} and \hat{e} ; and the latter may be described as accidental sounds, although which pair is really accidental it would be hard to say. Under the accent; a is lengthened into \bar{a} . Sometimes \ddot{a} is heard instead of \bar{a} ($ki\bar{a}'lu$, $ki\ddot{a}'lu$); and sometimes the doubling of a sound gives the effect of \ddot{a} , as in Masset $q\ddot{a}\tilde{n}$, equivalent to $qa'_{}^{}a\tilde{n}$, and $q\ddot{a}'\tilde{n}an$, which is the same as $qea'\tilde{n}an$. a following wa, as in $wa'_{}^{}Lu$, resembles a; and a is heard in a few exclamations, but it is not proper to the language. The semi-vowels, u and u, are etymologically related to u and u, and must be considered modifications of these sounds.

A notable feature of Haida is the doubling and juxtaposition of vowels, accompanying the general vocalic character of the speech. Any two vowels may thus be used together, but, although generally treated as equivalent to a single vowel, they do not seem to be pronounced as closely together as the vowel-sounds which compose our diphthongs. Examples of this phenomenon are:

djā'ada woman
la l' kītāā'gañ wansū'ga he told her the news, they say
l' sū'us he said
gua towards
ta'olañ friends
gui toward
l' gea'lagan he became
lnaga'i the town

A weak i may be followed by two vowels, as in gia'ogî AT THE END.

§ 3. Grouping of Sounds

Syllables may consist of a single vowel; a consonant with following vowel, or with vowel-combination like the above; two consonants with following vowel; two consonants, a vowel, and a terminal consonant; or of two consonants by themselves.

While all classes of consonants may stand at the beginning of words, k sounds are not admitted as terminal sounds.

Two groups of consonantic clusters may be distinguished—those with initial s and l, and those with other initial consonants. l, z, and z! belong in part to the former group.

Only s and l, and to a certain extent l, L, L, and L! may form initial clusters, and the first two are found with considerable frequency in monosyllabic stem. In these clusters s and l are followed by other consonants; but s is not followed by another s or an affricative. Following are examples, taken from the Masset dialect:

stañ two 280.10 lta'nu to eat (collective) 278.7 st!ē sick 300.28 lqul to move about lkwid disturbed, in haste 719.5 *sgat* to chop 275.10 lk! A'mal needle of coniferous tree *skît*- to club sk!iän but 296.32 303.11 $s^{\epsilon}oan \ (s^{\epsilon}w\bar{a}n)$ one 275.7 lñēid to begin to split 711.23 sq!ao salmon-berry bush 319.23 Fianq!ale' pit 703.25 8LAGA'm butterfly 296.26 lgam kelp sr!a hand

Initial clusters with initial L, L, L! or l are not rare, but are formed probably in all cases by composition.

lnagai' town 704.9 (from na to live)

LÑa'nda a whole one 707.11; 419.15

l'LÑalañan she cooked it 731.41 (al to cook 295.7)

LNŌt 710.26

L!'lgadañîdan to split quickly 711.26

L!djūgia'ga-i standing 725.26

Lsku'nagañan they dress up 717.34

All other consonantic clusters do not admit surd stops in second position, and no k sound occurs in first position. The only cluster beginning with an affricative that I have found is djx. Presumably all these clusters are due to composition of stems which terminate and begin with consonants respectively. This would account for the

absence of k sounds as first sounds of clusters, since these do not occur as terminal sounds.

§ 4. Dialectic Differences

Compared with the Skidegate dialect, Masset appears to have undergone a shortening process throughout. I have already mentioned the change of g and x to $^{\epsilon}$ and x ; and this shortening is also conspicuously noticeable among vowel-sounds, a appearing as $_{A}$, hao as \bar{u} , st_A or sta as st', while the u and a sounds generally, especially when terminal, are reduced to very light breathings. The vowel-combination ai becomes almost \bar{e} . Sometimes, however, one vowel is changed into another, as in sti\tilde{n} Two (Masset $st_{A}\tilde{n}$) or u'ngu on top of (Masset $i'\tilde{n}gu$). In conformity with a euphonic tendency to be noted below, \tilde{n} , as in $i'si\tilde{n}$, often changes to n in Masset. Occasionally, too, whole syllables are dropped, and so we have qaod for qa'odi; t!al and dal for $t!al_{A}'\tilde{n}$ and $dal_{A}'\tilde{n}$; $i't!ad\bar{e}$ for i't!xagidasgai.

Another difference between these two dialects, related to the question of euphony, is the change of g into x in certain situations in the Skidegate dialect, and its retention in Masset. Thus $\bar{a}'djgua$ over there in Masset becomes $\bar{a}'djxua$ in Skidegate, and l' $q\bar{a}'gals$ he went our becomes l_A $q\bar{a}'x\bar{u}ls$. This is interesting as seeming to show that the euphonic tendencies have acted differently in the two branches of the Haida tribe.

All that is known of the peculiarities of the Ninstints dialect is that it tended to substitute k for g, and that in the manner of its enunciation it was esteemed by the other Haida to resemble Athapascan.

§ 5. Laws of Euphony

The most important euphonic change in Haida is related to that spoken of above. Within the Skidegate dialect itself the g and g of the connective particle ga-i (see p. 262), the possessive suffix $-g_A\tilde{n}$ (see § 28.4), and the past-temporal suffixes before the quotative $w_A n s \bar{u}' g a$ (see § 23.1), are dropped in certain situations, generally having to do with the preceding sound. It is not possible to make rules that will cover all the cases which occur, but it generally happens that g is retained after a and dropped after u. After the consonants and the remaining vowels it is more often dropped than retained; but exceptions are numerous, especially after $\bar{\imath}$, $\bar{\imath}$, the l-sounds, and s

contracted from $dj\hat{i}$. In the cases of infinitives and participles, exceptions are more numerous than with nouns. Examples of the use and disuse of this g are the following:

xā'gai the dog B 37.4 zua'i the canoe B 29.21 djā'gañ his wife B 29.30 awu'ñ his mother B 7.1 goda'i the box B 71.32 nā'nāñ his grandmother B 59.14
nā'ñgai the play
q!adī'gai the slumber
ā'sgai this thing B 33.28
l' gea'lgai when he came (to be)

In the Masset dialect the g of -agan, the Skidegate past-inexperienced temporal suffix (see § 23.2, p. 248), is dropped in most situations, but retained as g after a, conformably with the above rule

la *l! îsdagī'gañan* they always took him

L! 'ā'sgadanî they landed xed îdja'nî they were ashore

But---

 $q\bar{a}$ L $y\bar{u}'$ An $q!\bar{e}dju'$ L!agan a big l' $t\bar{a}'gan\hat{i}$ he ate reef stood out of the water $n_A\tilde{n}$ $\bar{i}'L!agidagan$ one was chief

The final consonant of certain stems is sometimes l, sometimes l. Of these, l usually appears before a vowel, l before a consonant:

la sta l! stīls they went back a'asîñ gut la qarîtgiā'lasi he for him ran over this way upon it

But accent seems to have something to do with the phenomenon; for, when two vowels precede this consonant and the accent falls upon the second, l is commonly employed; thus—

Ģei lā'ga la tc!î'tlageā'lgai Ļu when he got through breaking his paddles

l is also sometimes introduced where it has no grammatical significance, and thus we find yakulsī'a in the middle instead of yakusī'a.

n and \tilde{n} seem to bear much the same relation to each other as do l and l, only in this case \tilde{n} is plainly the original sound. Thus the terminal phonetic combination $-\tilde{n}_{AS}$ often contracts to ns; for example, $n\tilde{a}'tga$ hao $la'oat\tilde{u}gwa\tilde{n}g_{A}\tilde{n}_{AS}$ his nephew sat around whittling or $n\tilde{a}'tga$ hao $la'oat\tilde{u}gwa\tilde{n}g_{A}ns$. This phenomenon may be due as much to rapid pronunciation as to any other cause.

Before s the terminal \tilde{n} of the imperative future suffix disappears, as also from $ga\tilde{n}a'\tilde{n}$ like before x_An , as in $ga\tilde{n}a'x_An$; while in $g\tilde{n}'\tilde{n}g_A\tilde{n}$ TO HIMSELF it appears to be inserted.

s becomes dj before most vowels; for example, tās sand, tā'djai the sand; ā'djî this, ā'sgai this thing; hawa'n dañ xē'nañaūdja do you still live? and gam gu 'ant da'ñ'a t'ala'ñ î'nalñañus § 5

MAY WE NOT LEAVE WATER WITH YOU? (Masset)—have the same interrogative suffix $-\bar{u}dja$, -us.

Labials are of small consequence in Haida. Still it is worth noting that $s\bar{\imath}p$ SEA-ANEMONE changes the p to b when followed by the connective particle, namely, $s\bar{\imath}'bai$.

6 6. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

Grammatical categories and syntactical relations are expressed almost solely by composition, affixing, and position. There is a sporadic case of duplication presented by the continuative suffix -g_A\vec{n}; as, la q\vec{n}'\vec{n}g_A\vec{n} HE IS LOOKING, la q\vec{n}'\vec{n}g_A\vec{n}g_A\vec{n} HE LOOKS MANY TIMES; but it is not extensively used. The perfect tense is expressed by a form which may possibly represent dieresis, but which is more plausibly explained as a suffix, -y; as, la suda'yag_An\vec{n} \vec{v}'la \vec{i}sda's\vec{i}, HE DID DIFFERENTLY FROM THE WAY HE HAD SAID HE WOULD DO.

Verbal and nominal stems may be combined into stem-complexes by juxtaposition. These complexes are treated syntactically like single stems, each element in the complex receiving its significance by its position. Besides compositions of such independent stems, a number of others occur in which the component elements do not seem to be independent, but occur as prefixes or suffixes. There is, however, no sharp dividing-line between composition and affixing; and some of the elements that appear at present as subordinate may prove to be independent stems. Notwithstanding the phonetic independence of the elements of the stem-complexes, their relation is so intimate that it seems best to consider them as single words because they enter as units into syntactic construction. A number of sound changes which have been referred to seem to be of a purely phonetic character, and not to have any morphological significance.

IDRAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES (§§ 7-12)

§ 7. Noun and Verb

In general, the distinction between nominal and verbal stems is very sharp. It is true that certain stems are used in a manner that leaves a doubt as to which category they belong, but their use is quite limited. Such are $w\bar{a}'lgal$ potlatch and to potlatch, xial dance and to dance, na house and to live; while $g\bar{i}da$ chief's

SON, $y\ddot{a}'n_{A}\tilde{n}$ CLOUDS, $t\bar{a}'\tilde{n}a$ SEA-WATER, have or may present verbal forms. Generally, however, a noun which is used as a predicate is followed by a verbal stem, or appears incorporated, as, l' $g\bar{i}dag\bar{a}'g_{A}n$ HE WAS A CHIEF'S SON, l' $tc\bar{a}'aLdas$ HE HAD A SPEAR (from $tc\bar{a}'aL$ SPEAR).

Verbs that change into nouns usually become abstract, their origin being thus easily recognized. The names for instruments, store-articles, and some other things, are generally descriptive terms and thus verbal, but they have dropped their verbal suffixes and taken on a noun-forming suffix. Rarely a verb is turned into a passive and then into a noun by prefixing ta and suffixing gai (see § 17.4, p. 236). These are the only cases in which we find verbal prefixes in nouns.

§ 8. Composition

Although there is much freedom in the composition of stem-complexes, a number of types may readily be distinguished. The more fully developed complexes of this kind generally express by an initial element an idea of modality, most commonly instrumentality; by a second element, the nominal object; by a third element, the peculiar kind of action; and by a fourth element, the local relations of the action. In those cases in which the various elements are best developed, the first element appears as an instrumental prefix; the second, as a term expressing a group of nouns characterized by a a certain shape; the third is a verbal stem; and the fourth expresses direction and location.

These word-complexes are followed by suffixes expressing tense, mood, and related concepts.

§ 9. Classification of Nouns

The classification of nouns, referred to before, is one of the characteristic traits of the language. The groups characterize objects as "long," "slender," "round," "flat," "angular," "thread-like," "animate," etc. On account of the extended use of these classifiers, incorporation of the noun itself is comparatively speaking rare. It is here represented by the use of the classifiers which express the subject of the intransitive verb, or the object of the transitive verb as a member of a certain class of things, the principle of classification being form.

On the other hand, the same verbal stems—like "to carry," "push," "move," "be"—are used, on the whole, in relation to all §§ 8, 9

kinds of objects, regardless of their form; consequently there are also only a few cases in which the verbal stem differs in the singular and plural. This agrees also with the fact that in the noun the idea of plurality is only weakly developed. It occurs only in terms of relationship and a few other terms designating human beings.

§ 10. Personal Pronouns

Verbs are strictly distinguished as active and neutral. Neutral verbs are, on the whole, those designating states of the body and qualities, while all other verbs are considered as active. The subject of the latter is expressed by the subjective pronoun, while the pronominal relations of the neutral verb are expressed by the objective pronouns. In the pronoun the speaker, person spoken to, and person spoken of, are distinguished. The distinction between subjective and objective forms is confined to the first and second persons singular and to the first person plural. Besides these forms, an indefinite singular and plural occurs. The indefinite personal pronouns are also commonly used before nouns to perform the functions covered by our definite and indefinite articles. The personal pronoun of the third person plural is also frequently used as an equivalent to our passive. It is also employed as an equivalent to the form for the third person singular, when the person referred to is especially venerated or respected. The speaker may refer to himself in the same way.

§ 11. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstratives are limited in number, the most general spatial relations only being indicated. The demonstrative employed to mark—nearness occurs very often, and corresponds to a similar demonstrative in the Tlingit language. There are certain other particles of a demonstrative character, but they more often indicate grammatical connection than spatial relations.

§ 12. Connectives

Special local relations are expressed by a long series of connectives which are in intimate relation with the verb, but also with the noun and pronoun. They characterize the special relation of the indirect object to the verb. They are placed preceding the direct object and following the indirect object, if there is one. They seem to be adverbial in character.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 13-34)

§ 13. Formation of Word-Complexes

As already stated, Haida words are very loosely put together and many of their elements may also be used independently. The type of the word-complex which may be isolated as the predicative term of the sentence embraces four groups of elements:

A FIRST GROUP, describing an incidental state or activity, particularly instrumentality.

A SECOND GROUP, indicating the nominal object of transitive, the subject of intransitive, verbs.

A THIRD GROUP, expressing the principal predicative term.

A FOURTH GROUP, expressing local relations and modalities.

Although there is hardly any phonetic influence between these groups of elements, their connection is so intimate that the combination is best considered as a single word, even though the component elements may occur in other combinations quite independently. An example of such a combination is the word dañgidāll!xasga CANOE BEING HAULED SEAWARD, which is constituted as follows

First group: $d_{\Lambda}\tilde{n}$ by pulling.

Second group: $g\bar{\imath}$ canoe-shaped object.

Third group: $d\bar{a}l$ to move.

Fourth group: $\begin{cases} L!xa \text{ toward something.} \\ sga \text{ seaward.} \end{cases}$

Several complexes of this kind may enter into combinations. It would seem that when this is the case each complex expresses modality of instrumentality in relation to the following ones in the same way as the first group expresses modality in the single term. An example of this kind is the word gidjiqildalskit to place an animate object by causing it to become (one that) holds on with the hands:

First complex, third group: $g\bar{\imath}dj\hat{\imath}$ to hold with hands.

Second complex, third group: gil to become.

Third complex, third group: da to cause.

Fourth complex, third group: skit to bring into contact.

These combinations may be illustrated by the following examples:

la la tagiaga'ñgwañas he ate it as he stood around (la la objective and subjective pronouns; ta to eat; -gia to stand; -gañ continuative; -gwañ about; -as participle)

gī'tgalañ stiñ ê'siñ la qêñq!a'ozañas he also saw his two children sitting there (gīt child; -ga possessive suffix; -lañ plural suffix with terms of relationship; stiñ two; ê'siñ also; la subjective pronoun; qêñ stem to see; q!a to sit; -o suffixed auxiliary; zañ perhaps a form of gañ continuative [§ 24.1, p. 250]; -as participle [§ 25.7, p. 254])

aga'ñ la sgalqa'idagan he went stealthily (aga'ñ reflexive; la subjective pronoun; sgal to hide; qa to go; -id inchoative; -agan

past inexperienced)

la gu la qaqea'tañagan he went and looked at her (la objective pronoun; gu post-position at; la subjective pronoun; qa to go; qea to look; taña to go by sea [?]; -agan past inexperienced)

l' qā'djî la qiñq!a'idjudalasi he saw his head go by (l' possessive prefix 3d person singular; qā'djî head; la subjective pronoun; qiñ [same as qêñ] To see; q!a-i- classifier [§ 15.18, p. 232]; dju of that sort or kind; dal to go; -asi participle)

gam dala'ñ L! qtñxītxā'ñga'ngasga they will not see you flying about all the time (gam negative particle; dalañ object 2d person plural; L! subject 3d person plural; qtñ to see; xīt to fly; xāñ [?]; -gan continuative; ga [?]; -sga future)

While many verbs and nouns may enter into compositions like those described, others occur, at least at present, only in such compositions, and therefore appear as prefixes or suffixes, according to their position, preceding or following the third group, which contains the principal verbal stems. This is particularly true of the second group, which contains a large group of nominal terms of very general significance, each representing nouns conceived as possessing a certain form. Therefore the second group appears essentially as a group of nominal classifiers, although special nouns occur occasionally in the same position. The local relations which belong to the fourth group never occur independently.

§ 14. First Group: Instrumental Verbal Prefixes¹

1. un- by means of the back.

- la ga u'ntcitani he carried some on his back (la he; ga some; tcī stem [?]; -îd inchoative [?]; -an past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; -î suffix [§ 25.6])
- xa'ñagi L!na dī la u'nxidas Ļu I wish he would carry me on his back face up (xañ face; L!na I wish; dī me; la he; xit to pick up; -s participle [§ 25.7, p. 254]; Ļu when)

¹See also § 17.1, p. 235. All references in § § 14-27 refer to the Skidegate Texts, Bulletin 29, etc.

- la la u'nsltc!aias he came in with him and took him off from his back (la him; la he; un- with back; sl to place; tc!a into; -y perfect [§ 23.7, p. 249]; -s participle [§ 25.7, p. 254])
- 2. tc/ît- by shooting or by hammering; also independent verb, to shoot.
 - l' gī'tgalañ sti'ñxan tc!îtgā'igadañagā'iagañ wansū'ga her sons knew well how to shoot stones by means of a stick (l' her; gīt child; -ga possessive [§ 28.1, p. 257]; -lañ pl.; stî'ñxan both; tc!ît- by shooting; gāia to know how to)
 - la tc!îtguega'ndî qa'odîhao after he had shot for a while (la he; gue stem; -gan continuative; -di [§ 20.7, p. 241]; qa'odî connective AFTER A WHILE; hao general demonstrative)
 - la la tc!ī'gas he shot it (la it; la he; tc!ī to shoot; -ga auxiliary to be [§ 18.5, p. 237]; -s participle [§ 25.7])
- 3. da- by pushing or by an outward motion of the hands.
 - l_A L! dat's Lgawas they pushed him down (l_A him; L! they; L[§ 15.20, p. 232] shaped like a human being; sL to put or place;
 gawa [?]; -s participle [§ 25.7])
 - ga la gan la dā'gîlsî she put it in for him (ga in; la him; gan for; la she; da- prefix; gîl [?]; -sî participle [§ 25.7])
 - l' qeū'ga la dasq!a'skîtgoasî they put it in front of it (l' it; qeū'ga in front of; la they [with -qo § 20.1, p. 240]; da- prefix; sq!a-[§ 15.11]; skît stem; -sî participle)
 - la gut gia'gai la daq!ā'inanañgoas he rubbed tallow on them (la them [with -go § 20.1]; gut upon; gia'gai the tallow; la he; daprefix; q!āi [§ 15.18]; nan to rub; -a ñ continuative [§ 24.1]; -s participle)
 - L! dadjît! Aldai'yagAni they pushed down 45.15 (djî stem; -t!Al
 down; da to cause; -y perfect)
- 4. dan- By Pulling; also an independent verb(?). This is one of the most frequent instrumentals.
 - la daña'ndjîL!xas he pulled [him] out head first 29.26 (la he;
 dañ- by pulling; andjî erect; -L!xa toward; -s participle)
 - gu'tsta la da'ndaias he pulled him apart (gut together; sta from; la he; dañ- by pulling; da to cause; i=y perfect; -s participle) sewan l'da'ñantc!î las lu when he pulled one out of the sea (Masset) sewan one; l' he; dañ- by pulling; antc!i=andjî erect; la perhaps l!xa toward; -s participle; lu when)
 - A'ña l' dA'ñidanî he pulled his property out (Aña his own; l' he; dAñ- by pulling; -da to cause; -an past inexperienced; -i [§ 25.6, p. 253])
 - $l_A d_A \tilde{n} q l \bar{a}' i L a s$ he pulled out (head) 10.4 (q l a i -§15.18)
 - la da'ñsqlastas he pulled out a long one 57.9 (sqla- § 15.11)

5. dal- by means of a current of water (dal rain).

l' dā'līlas he floated (living one) down 97.19

ñā'lga'nda yū'dala dā'llgaldal!xaiagan much seaweed came drifting 33.22 (ñā'lgaa'nda seaweed; yū = yū'an much; -dala pl. adj. [§ 39, p. 276]; dāl- by means of a current; lgal to turn; da to cause [§ 18.2]; -L!xa toward; -i perfect; -agan past inexperienced [§ 23.2])

6. tla- by stamping or treading upon. Perhaps related to stla.

la L! t!asê'lgañañ they tickled her by treading 31.26 (la her; L! they; t!a- by treading; sêl to tickle; -gañañ continuative duplicated [§ 24.1; § 6])

qala'i īnagwa'i gei la t!ananā'ñasi he stamped half of the alder to pieces (qal alder; -ai the; īnagwai the half; gei into; la he; t!a- by treading; nan to roll about; -añ continuative; -asi participle)

l' t!a L!sadā' ñgasgas she washed it by treading upon it in the sea (l' she; L!sadāñ [%]; ga to go [%]; -sga seaward; -s participle) gei lA t!anan A' ñgawasî they broke in pieces with their feet (gei into [pieces]; lA they [with -gaw]; t!a- with feet; nan to grind;

-4 n continuative; -asi participle)

7. st!a- by kicking; identical with the word for foot.

la st!a'sgidas he kicked it (la it; la he; sgid stem; -as participle)
la st!aza'ostagiasi he kicked it into the water (la he; zao quickly;
sta stem; -giā suffix [?]; -si participle)

lā'ga la la st!aqadai'yagan he kicked his own 89.33

8. nan- by grinding, being the stem of the verb to grind.

aga'ñ la nanha'ilūwus he destroyed himself by grinding (aga'ñ himself; la he; hailū to destroy; -s participle)

9. skît- by chopping or by clubbing.

la gei la skîtnana'ñxidaias he began to chop them up (la it [pieces]; gei into; la he; nanañ stem; -xid inchoative; -i perfect; -s participle)

La la skida'ndî qa'odî after he had chopped it for a while (La it; la he; skid to chop; -an probably continuative; dî [§ 20.7] qa'odî after a while)

na'wai la skîtnana'ñgawasi they clubbed the devil-fish (nawai the devil-fish; la he [with -gaw § 20.1]; nanañ stem; -asi participle)

 $g\bar{\imath}$ l_A $sk\bar{\imath}dj\bar{u}'usi$ he tried to club them $(g\bar{\imath}$ to [post-position with omitted object]; l_A he; ski[t] by clubbing; dju to try, to do that sort of thing; -usi participle)

aga'ñ la skîtk!ō'tuldas he let himself be clubbed to death 12.13 (aga'ñ self; k!ōtul dead; da to cause)

l'skîtqā' goñasi he went around while they were beating time 13.16

10. skiū- by means of the shoulder.

l' īnagwa'i la skiū'guxidas he carried half of it on his shoulder (īnagwa'i the half; gu stem [?]; -xid inchoative [§ 18.6]; -as participle)

la $ski\bar{u}'sk!agl'\tilde{n}wasi$ he sat with it on his shoulder $(sk!a-[\S 15.8]; gl\tilde{n}$ thing $[\S]; w=u$ to continue to be $[\S 18.1]; -asi$ participle) la $ski\bar{u}'djllsi$ being on shoulder 37.32

11. 8Ll- WITH THE FINGERS, this being the word for HAND.

l' xa'ñē ge'îsta gā'ilgañ la sı/gīsta'ias he pulled out a blood-clot from his eye with his fingers (xa'ñē the eye; gei into; sta from; gā'ilgañ blood-clot; gī-shape [§15.13]; sta to move from; -i perfect; -s participle)

la sl!sla'ya he moved the fire with his hands (sl stem; ya [?])

12. gin-cause in general, of which the special variety has just been given; possibly related to gi'na THING.

ga'ihao l' gîñīdja'ñ wansū'ga that made him feel that way, they say (ga'-i that; hao way; is to be; -an past inexperienced [§23.2]; wa'nsū'ga quotative)

kuna'i sqao l' giñīl!zēdagea'lañ wansū'gañ what he got in exchange for the whales made him rich (kuna'i the whales; sqao in exchange for; il!zēda rich or a chief; geal to become [§ 18.10]; -añ past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; wansū'ga quotative) a giñq!a'adias he (accomplished something) by pretending to be

asleep (q/a to sleep; -di [§ 20.7]; -as participle)

la L! gîñgū'sūgañan all that time they made him speak (gusū to speak [from stem su]; -gañ continuative; -an past inexperienced) gîñk!otul to cause to die 81.43

 $aga'\tilde{n}$ $g\tilde{n}st!\tilde{e}'g\hat{n}daiya\tilde{n}$. . . she made herself sick 73.34

13. $k\hat{\imath}t$ - by means of a stick (compare $k\hat{\imath}'tao$ spear).

l' inagwa'i la kîtdjīxîdā'ñ wansū'ga he carried half of it off on a stick, they say (īnagwa'i the half of it; djī stem; -xid inchoative [§ 18.6]; -añ past inexperienced; wansū'ga quotative)

la la kîtgā'tatc!as he threw it in with a stick (gāta to throw; -tc!a inside; -s participle)

l' kîdā' wan they struck at him with a stick (Masset) (la him;
 l' they [with w § 20.1]; -an past inexperienced)

la l' kîq!atṛigan he took it into the canoe with a stick (ki[t]-with stick; q!at stem; -ṛi into canoe; -gan past inexperienced) la rua'-i kitgīdā'lasi he pushed the canoe with a pole 41.3 (ru canoe; -a-i the; gī- flat object)

kîtq!ā'idjîlgwagagan put out (a copper) with a stick 87.24 (q!ā'i-round thing [§ 15.18, p. 232])

- 14. **kil-** or **kil-** by means of the voice, for which word this is the stem.
 - gai ls gi kîlgadā'ā . . . those shouted out to him (gai those; gi to; gad stem [?]; -aā past inexperienced)
 - gia'gañai qā'djî kîlgā'txa Lasi the house-pole heads shouted (gia'ganai the house-pole ["standing thing"]; qā'djî heads; gāt stem [?]; -xa [?]; La [?]; -si participle)
 - Llua'i lā'ga la ki'lgōlgaiagan he told him to use his wedge 33.13 (Llua'i the wedge; lā'ga his [§ 28.1]; gōlga to make; -i perfect; -gan past inexperienced)
 - la l! kilq!ā'wan they told him to sit ($q!\bar{a}$ to sit; w=u to continue in one place [§ 18.1]; -an past inexperienced)
- 15. kwa- by a stream of water pouring out; also an independent verb(?).
 - tc!aanua'i gei ga'niai t!ala'ñ kwalgī'stasgadaasañ we will let the water run into the fire (tc!aanua'i the fire; gei into; ga'niai the water; t!ala'ñ we; lgī-[§ 15.25]; sta to move from; -sga into fire; da to cause; -asañ future)
 - tcī'wai kwagā' L!xa Lāgañag An the current flowed out quickly (tcī'wai the current; gā stem; -L!xa toward; -Lāgan first or at once [§ 21.3]; -gAn past inexperienced)
 - tcī'wai kwaq!ā'mall!xasi the current made cracks by the rapidity of its flowing (tcī'wai the current; q!ā'mal to crack; -l!xa toward; -si participle)
 - gant kwa'tcītc!awas water flowed down (gant fresh water; -s
 participle)
 - gani koa't!a'mdagasi a stream flows narrow 8.10 (t!am-narrow)
- 16. k/ut- with the Lips, a nominal stem.
 - l' k!utlū'stala he spits water upward (lusta stem [?]; -la upward) k!utlū'lda to make noise with lips 91.37
 - q!aal la k!utnā'ñasi he wet the arrow-point with his lips (q!aal arrow-point; nañ stem; -asi participle)
- 17. **\$\varphi Al-** BY MEANS OF FIRE ACTING FROM WITHOUT (compare \$\varphi ai \text{sunshine}).
 - l' xaltā'igwēgasga it will fall away under the sunshine (tāi- prone object [§ 15.3]; gwe stem [i]; ga to be [i]; -sga future)
 - $n_A\tilde{n}$ $x_All_{L}a's$ one of them was burned up $(n_A\hat{n}$ some one; L-[§ 15.20]; μa stem [%]; -s participle)
 - l' k!wa'iAgalañ za'ligaias his elder brothers were burned off (k!wai elder brother; -ga possessive suffix; -lañ plural; i-animate object [§ 15.20, p. 232]; ga to be [§ 18.5]; -i perfect; -s participle)

- xAiya's Ļu l' xA'lL!a'L!a'diaot!AlgAñAs when the sun shone, the heat made it lengthen out (xai to shine; -as participle; Ļu when; -t!Al downward [?]; -gAñ continuative; -As participle) xAlhā'-iluAsi destroyed by fire 37.13
- xalga'mdaxide's beginning to be shriveled up by fire 37.15 (lgam-[§ 15.24])
- 18. qō- (Masset co) by means of fire acting within the body itself.
 - q!al laal k!a'tdala q!ās gōzāgodiês small persons with black skin held burning pitchwood (q!al skin; laal black; k!at short or small; -dala plural suffix for adjectives [§ 39]; q!ās pitchwood; -xa inanimate plural [§ 15.26]; go to be somewhere; -di determinate; -ês participle)
 - ge'ista gō L!ā'muldaañas flames came out of it (gei into; sta from; L!āmul stem [?]; da causative; -añ continuative)
 - l' qā'li gut qōxa'plagañasi it passed quickly down, burning through the inside of him (qā'li inside; gut upon; xap quickly; la stem [?]; -gañ continuative; -asi participle)
 - a'asîñ gōhā'iluêsi at once they were destroyed by burning (a'asîn at once; hā'ilu to destroy; -êsi participle); see also 37.8
- 19. $x\bar{u}t$ or $x\bar{a}$ by the wind or the Breath; also independent verb, to Blow.
 - l' xā's Lsgasi it blew out strongly (-sga seaward; -si participle)
 gam Lgu sta xūtskîtgañgā'nsga no breeze will blow from anywhere 31.6 (gam negative; Lgu where; sta from; skît stem;
 -gañ negative suffix [§ 25.3]; -gān continuative; -sga future)
 - la xūtskitc/a'si he blew it in (skî[t] stem; tc/a inward; -si participle)
 - $G\bar{a}'sqo$ ya \bar{o} $x\bar{u}'^{\epsilon}as^{\epsilon}aian$ (they) were blown straight out to $G\bar{a}'sqo$ (Masset) ($G\bar{a}'sqo$ name of island; ya straight to [postposition]; \bar{o} [= hao] demonstrative; $x\bar{u}$ by wind; $^{\epsilon}as$ stem; $^{\epsilon}a$ to go; -ia perfect; -an past inexperienced)
- 20. gAl- (Masset [Al) BY LEADING, PULLING, or TOWING.
 - gīwa'i ga la ga galgā'is Lasi something pulled him to the fishing-ground 29.23 (gīwa'i the fishing-ground; ga to; ga something; gāi-floating [?]; sz stem; -si participle)
 - gwa'iai gadō' la la galgā' lgaldaasi he pulled him around theisland 29.21 (gwai island; ai the; gadō' around; gā-[§15.17]; lgal to move about [stem]; da to cause; -asi participle)
 - la ga ga'lt!a Laiagan something drew it away (ga something; t!a[§ 15.4]; La to separate part from whole; -i perfect; -agan past
 inexperienced)

- la L! ga'lqatc!as they led her in (qa to go [sing.]; -tc!a inside; -s participle) 49.18
- 21. qea- by looking. It is the stem of the verb to look.
 - gam il! qeasê'lgañ don't tickle us by looking at us (gam not; il! us; sêl to tickle [stem]; -gañ negative suffix [§ 25.3])
 - tc!ī'goya-i la qea'q!a'-idā'ldi qa'odi after he had looked at the rising sun B 29.9 (q!a'-i- rounded objects [§ 15.18]; dāl to move; di [§ 20]; qa'odi after)
- 22. q!eît- with a knife. It is the stem of the verb to out.
 - l' $x_A \tilde{n} l \bar{a}' g a q! e i d \bar{a}' g_A s$ its bow was carved $(x_A \tilde{n} \text{ bow or face}; l \bar{a}' g a \text{ its}; q! e i d a to be carved [stem] [?]; <math>g_A$ to be[§ 18.5]; -s participle)
 - l' dal lā'ga la q'eitgînga'was they cut his belly open (dal belly; lā'ga his; la they [with -gaw § 20.1]; gîn stem [?]; -as participle)
 - l' qā'djî la q!e'iLĻqawañ wansū'ga they cut his head off and put it into the canoe, they say (qā'djî head; la they [with -qaw]; q!ei[t] with a knife; L to remove part from whole; -L into canoe: -an past inexperienced; wansū'ga quotative)
 - la la q!e'itxidan . . . he started cutting it up, they say (q!eit to cut up [stem]; -xid inchoative; -an past inexperienced)
 - l'a'oga la gi q!eitlai'yagan his mother cut off for him 7.2
 - l' q!eitq!ā'-i ıxidia'-i ıū when he began to cut off (the round thing) 12.14
- 23. q!o- by means of the teeth.
 - la ga q!o!'dasis something held him tight in its mouth (ga something; !- shape [§ 15.20]; das stem [?]; -is participle)
 - zā'gai hao q!ē'nʌñ q!oganā'ñgʌnî the dog was playing with [a stick] (zā'gai the dog; hao that; q!ē'nʌñ in company with; ga shape [§ 15.17]; nāñ to play [stem]; -agʌn [§ 23.2]; -î [§ 25.6])
 - zā'gu q!ok!ū'gatziasi they had halibut in their mouths (zā'gu halibut; k!u short obj. [§15.15]; gat stem; zi [?]; -asi participle)
 - ku'ngia q!oq!ē' Lai the piece of whale bitten off (Masset) (kun whale; gia piece of; q!ē shape [§ 15.18]; L to remove; ai the)
 - xā l' q!ok!otu'lgaga'wañ wansū'ga they say the dogs killed them with their teeth 81.421
- 24. xa- by grasping with the hands.
 - au'ñ gi la xagal/xagî'lgañasi he brought it to his mother (au mother; -[u]ñ his own [§ 28.3]; gi to; ga stem [?]; -l/xa toward; -gl shoreward; -gañ continuative; -asi participle)
 - $ki\bar{u}'gaidjao x\bar{a}'gi\tilde{n}as$ sledge-hammers held in their hands (kiu'-gaidjao sledge-hammers [gaidjao perhaps = q!ai-dju roundish]; $gi\tilde{n}$ stem [i]; -as participle)

¹[Compare § 15.26, p. 234. Perhaps all these forms belong to the classifier zz.—Ep.]

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- A xagudjā' ñasi he threw them around (gudjā n analysis uncertain; -asi participle)
- la gi la xā'sztc!as he handed in to him 55.7 (sz stem; tc! into)
- 25. *xAn* with the face. This is the stem of the word for face, and it is rather doubtful whether it belongs properly in this class, although similar to the others in form.
 - lkiā'gui l' djā'ga la sta xañlgū'ldas his wife turned her face away from him toward the door (lkiā outside; gui toward; djā wife; -ga possessive; sta from; lgūl stem to turn about; da to cause; -s participle)
 - la sta la xañga'ogañas she turned around from him (sta from; gao stem; -gañ continuative; -as participle)
 - gam lā'ga xa'ñgîñgañas she did not look in the face as though anything had happened (gam not; -ga possessive; gîn stem [perhaps properly qîn to look]; -gan negative; -as participle)
- 26. L- BY ANY KIND OF CONTACT, but more particularly CONTACT WITH THE HANDS. It is the stem of the verb to TOUCH.
 - L!a gu la Lda'las he laid his hands on them (L!a them; gu at or there; dal stem; -as participle)
 - $d\bar{\imath} la lsl$ let me go ($d\bar{\imath}$ me; la imperative particle; sz stem)
 - guda'ñ la Lnanā'ñasi he rubbed the medicine on himself (gud upon; -añ himself; nan stem to Rub; -āñ continuative; -asi participle)
 - la Lxē'gîlai Ļu when she made a noise at the door (by touching it) (xēgîl [or xēgîl] stem to make a noise; -ai demonstrative or article turning clause into a noun; Ļu when)
- 27. Lu- BY CANOE. It is also the word for CANOE.
 - xaldā'ndjidai Leîl silgiā'ñ Luqā'idesi the five slaves started back by canoe (xaldā'n [or xa'ldan] slave; -djid plural of human beings [§29.2]; -ai demonstrative; Leil five; silgia'n back [adverb]; qā to go; -īd inchoative; -esi participle)
 - nañ ga'nsta la Luqā' L!xas he came to one by canoe (nañ one [indefinite person]; ga'nsta to [probably compound post-position of gan for and sta from]; qā to go; -L!xa toward; -s participle)
 - la da'ñat la Luqā'itxîtgiañgai Ļu when he started to go home with him (da'nat in company with; qā to go; -it inchoative; -xît seems to be inchoative used again, -it with qā having become so common as to have become stereotyped; -gian [?]; gai demonstrative; Ļu when); see also 7.9
- 28. xi- with the arms (from xi arm, wing).
 - la xîsıgīla'i iu when he waved his arms toward the town (si stem; gīl shoreward; -ai demonstrative; iu when)

29. sqot- with the Arms. It is also the word for armpit.

la sqōtxagiā'ñagani he had under arms 69.13

la gi sqō'tgādāgan (he) took him by the arm 65.12

La spotskidā'ñañ wansū'ga it is said he clapped with the hands 29.22

L! sqotxē'gans they beat drums 89.41

30. kiū- by TYING.

kiūq!ā-igadañasi fastened stones by tying (to it) 71.6 (q!ā-i-rounded object [§ 15.18])

kiūtc!îsriāwagani (it) was tied (to the doorway) 67.1 (tc!îs- cubic object [§ 15.2])

§ 15. Second Group: Classifying Nominal Prefixes¹

Following is a list of the more important of these, with examples:

1. tci- classifies such objects as full sacks and bags, pillows, etc.

la'gi la la tcī's Lsga'ias she brought the full sack out to him (gi to; la it [sack]; la she; tcī-classifier; sz stem; -sga seaward; -i perfect; -s participle)

 $ga\ k!\bar{e}'dj\hat{i}\ tc\bar{i}q!\bar{e}da'$ some people with big bellies (ga some [people];

k!ē'djî bellies; q!ēda' big)

la gi ga'ndjilgagīgai la kiutcīsgide'sî he tied a dancing blanket to him (gi to; gandjilgagī dancing blanket; gai demonstrative; kiu-tying; sgid stem; -esi participle)

2. tc/is- cubic objects, such as boxes.

la'ia 1! tc!isxida's they picked up a whole box of cranberries (la'ia cranberries; xid to pick up; -as participle)

qayū'da tc!îsLe'îl five boxes of berries and grease (qayū'da boxes containing a mixture of grease and berries; Le'il five)

nīdjā'ñu at sgā'na wa'ga sgā'gōdai tc!i'sgodigañgī'ni masks and whistles were always in the secret-society box (nīdjā'n to imitate; -u noun-forming suffix [\$26.1]; at with; sgā'na supernatural objects, and thus secret-society whistles; wa that; ga in; sga-sacred; goda box; ai the; go stem to LIE; -di determinate suffix; -gan continuative [?]; -gīn usitative; -i perfect)

La teli's Lsgas he brought out a box 55.23

- 3. tal- applied generally to objects lying on or close to the ground, but also to clubs, etc., grasped in the hand.
 - L! taisLĮgā'gas they all went to bed (sL stem; -Įga all; -ga auxiliary to BE; -s participle); see also 67.15

gū'gus t!agane' ta'igodies lo! a house (shape) lay there (gū'gus what! t!agane' behold! go stem to lie; -di determinate suffix; -es participle); see also 65.28

- gia'sgalañ taistā'nsîñxa eight storehouses (gia'sgalañ storehouses; sta'nsîñxa eight)
- $n_A\tilde{n}$ qataidā'las one (wave) came moving toward him ($n_A\tilde{n}$ one, a; qa [?]; $d\bar{a}l$ to move; -as participle)
- $\bar{u} \, L' \bar{u} \bar{l} \, s L \bar{a}' \bar{n} \bar{a} g \hat{\imath} \, l_A \, t \bar{a}' i g \hat{\imath} \bar{n}$ he held a club on the left side $(\bar{u} \, L' \bar{u} \, l \, \text{club};$ $s L \bar{a}' n a \, \text{left}; \, g \hat{\imath} \, \text{at, in; } g \hat{\imath} \bar{n} \, \text{stem [?]})$
- 4. t/a- flexible objects represented as crossing or coiled.
 - tcā'lga la la t!algū'ls he put a ground squirrel about her as a blanket (tcā'lga ground squirrel; lgūl to go around [stem]; -s participle)
 - gîtại'ñ la la Lt!algūldayañ wansū'ga she had put it on her son as a blanket, they say (gît son; -qan her own; L- with hands; lgūl to go around; da to cause; -y perfect; -an past inexperienced; wansū'ga quotative)
- 5. tlao- objects shaped like spoons and feathers (tlagu'n feather)
 - aga'ñ la t!a'oageîldas he puts himself (into the water) as an evergreen needle (shape indicated) (aga'n himself; a stem [?]; -geil to become [§18.10]; -da to cause [§18.2]; -s participle)
 - la'ga la sqast!a'olasi he bit off his tongue (-ga possessive; sqas [?]; la stem; -si participle)
 - gut la la dāt!a'onana'ñas he rubbed it (his tongue) on it (gut upon; dā- outward motion; nanañ stem; -as participle)
 - sza'gwal t!aoqō'na a big spoon (sza'gwal spoon; qō'na big)
 ga-it!a'ogîñdā'las feathers floating about 41.4, 6 (ga-i floating)

La tla'ostas he took out a feather 55.25

 l_A $d_A\tilde{n}t!a'osdaiyasi$ — man he pulled out the feather 55.26, 31 $(d_A\tilde{n}$ - by pulling)

t!a'odju it is a feather 55.26

- Skiä'mskun-tla'odjugîns hawk with feather sticking out of water 41.31 (skiä'mskun hawk; dju to be; -gîn afloat)
- 6. t!Am- certain slender objects.
 - t!A'mdjiwasi it was slender (djiw = dju sort, kind [§ 39]; -asi participle)
 - wa'ga t!A'mgîtdiasî it became smaller there (wa demonstrative; -ga at; gît stem [?]; -di determinate suffix; -sî participle)

Lū ta'mdju a narrow canoe 7.7

koa't! A' mdagasi flowing narrow 8.10 (koa- by a current)

l'tamxiê'nL!xa'si he came to a narrow one 73.38

7. sta- ring-shaped objects, like finger-rings, bracelets, barrel-hoops.

lnaaa'i au'taa state'ilasi a village of five curving rows (lna = lana

lnaga'i gu'tga stale'îlasî a village of five curving rows (lna = lana
town; gai demonstrative; gut together; -qa in, at; leil five;
-asi participle)

l' dastā'sgidasi he pushed a curved (bow) against it 79.7

staga'otc!ayasî they came in and sat down in circular lines (gao stem; -tc!a motion into; -y perfect; -sî participle)

qwē'stal gatsta'sgît!a'lgans a rainbow moved up and down (qwē stal rainbow; gat- with rapidity; sgî=sgît stem; -t!al motion down from above; -gan=-gan continuative; -s participle) ga stagī'dañas something ring-shaped 9.1

- 8. skia- small cylindrical, and occasionally square objects.
 - $g\bar{\imath}'na\ sk!a'dAla$ some cylindrical objects (stones) ($g\bar{\imath}'na$ thing; dAla plural with adjectives [§ 39])
 - sqod's qe'ists që'gu sk!asda'yas he had pulled a basket out from under his armpit (sqoda armpit; -sn his own [§ 28.3]; gei into; sts from; që'gu basket; sda = sta stem; -y perfect; -s participle)
 - sī'wai wada'ñat gu'tgui la dask!axunā'ñasi he was rolling the lake together with it (sīw = su lake; ai demonstrative; wa it; da'nat together with; gut toward; gui toward [with motion]; da-motion outward; xun stem [?]; -an continuative; -asi participle)
 - nañ sk!a'idjuwagas the one that had a knot-hole (shape) in it (nañ the one; dju it is of that sort; -ga to be; -s participle) lgudja'-i la ga sk!axuna'ñdalasi mats rolled toward him 89.11
- 9. ska-round objects, like marbles, berries, eggs, and potatoes.
 - asī $dj\bar{\imath}x\bar{\imath}'$ skadalda'nsî the waterdrops falling from this were round (asī this; $djix\bar{\imath}'$ [?]; dAl = dAla plural with adjectives; dan stem; -sî participle)
 - la la gaska'xidas he picked it (cranberry) up with it (spoon) (ga[?]; xid stem; -as participle)
- 10. sga- (Masset sea-) strings, ropes, hairs, etc.

dā'gîl sgalu'nal three strings (dā'gîl strings; lu'nal three)

wa' Luxan ga galsga'stala'yañ wansū'ga something pulled all of them up (wa it; Lu when; xan just so; ga something indefinite; gal- by pulling; sta stem; -la suffix meaning up; -y perfect; -an past inexperienced; wansū'ga quotative)

* $\bar{a}l\ s^{a}\bar{a}'sgu\ ALL\ NIGHT$, night being spoken of metaphorically (Masset) (* $\bar{a}l\ night$; $sgu\ it$ is all [?])

- 11. sq!a- long objects, like sticks and paddles.
 - sq!agilā'ñas extending out in lines (from the island) (gil seaward
 [?]; -āñ continuative; -as participle)
 - ā'lai sq!ala'al ten paddles (āl paddle; ai demonstrative; la'al ten) lqea'ma qā'djî sq!astî'ñ two kelp-heads 53.24 (lqea'ma kelp; qā'djî heads; stîn two)
 - sq!axiū'sgagai sq!asta'nsîñsga'sî four lines of people danced toward the beach (xiū stem; -sga toward beach; gai the; sta'nsîn four; -sga toward beach; -sî participle)

la dañsqlasdaga'-i Lū'hao when he pulled (it) out 77.43 (dañ-by pulling)

dasq!ā'sgidañ push on the long one 55.18 (da- by pushing)

sqā'baga-i sq!ala'Al ten deadfalls 61.3

sgā'na łga'na sq!astî'ñ two dorsal fins 89.3

 $k\hat{i}'tawe \ sq/ast_A'\tilde{n}$ two spears (Masset) ($k\hat{i}'tao$ spear; e=ai demonstrative; $st_A\tilde{n}$ two [Masset dialect])

See also

 $8q!\bar{a}'\tilde{n}o$ pole 41.1

sqlagawa'-i stringers 89.12

- 12. **sLl-* indicates the shape assumed by objects lying in a heap, such as driftwood, pieces of dry halibut, a cord of wood.
 - $tc/\bar{a}'anuai\ s\ L/g\bar{a}'wasi$ the fire lay there ($tc\bar{a}anu$ fire; ai demonstrative; $g\bar{a}'w=gao$ or go to lie; -si participle)
- 13. gī- materials such as blankets, shawls, tablecloths, mats, thin sails. It is sometimes used for canoes, instead of ga-.
 - mat qā'li la gīga L!xa'sgas he brought the insides of a mountaingoat (mat mountain-sheep; qā'li insides; qa stem; -L!xa toward; -sga seaward; -s participle)
 - ga'ilgañ la sı!gīsta'yas he pulled out a blood-clot with his fingernails (ga'ilgan blood-clot [from gai BLOOD]; sı! with fingers; sta stem; -y perfect; -as-participle)
 - qwē'gal gia'at gīstî'ñ two sky blankets (qwē'gal sky; gia'at blankets; stîn two)

lgūs gīle'il five mats 55.12

la dañgī'stalia'-i ļū when she pulled up (her dress) 31.19

la dañgi'djiL!xaga'ñasi he pulled out the canoe 29.28 (dañ- by pulling; dji stem; -L!xa towards)

la kîtgī's Lgā'n sga he will push (the canoe) 41.30 (kît- with pole; -sL stem; -sga future)

14. gū- flat but broad and thick objects.

Skī'na qāsga la la q!ogusgidañ... he emptied all from his mouth at the head of Skeena, they say (making a lake) (Skī'na Skeena; qās contraction of qā'djî HEAD; -ga at; q!o- with teeth [§14.23]; skid stem; -añ past inexperienced)

Qî'ngî lana'ga xē'tgu ano' qā Ļ gudja'ogīdas it must have been in front of Qî'ngî's town that a reef came up (Qî'ngî [name]; lanā' town; -qa possessive; xēt down in front of; gu there; ano' it must have been; qā Ļ reef; djao = dju it was of that sort; gīd stem; -as participle)

l' gūlasga'ñ wansū'ga he went off in the shape of a flounder, they say (la stem; -sga toward the sea; -añ past inexperienced)

xā'gu la dañgūga' L!xa'sî he pulled the halibut out on the surface (xā'gu halibut; dañ- by pulling [\$14.4]; ga stem; -L!xa toward; -si participle)

La dañgulgalda'asi he pulled (a cloud) around it 41.40

La dañqū's La Leilas he pulled out five (boxes) in succession 55.24

- 15. k!u- short objects. Posts, nails, and some short loops are so denominated.
 - sta la k!ū'gwētc!asī he (a short bird) came in from it (sta from; gwē stem; -tc!a motion into; -si participle)
 - la dañk!ū'stasgoā'ñañāgani he pulled (the spear) out for good 69.9 (dañ- by pulling; sta stem; -sgoañ for good)
 - la L'golgak!usLai'yañ wAnsū'ga it is said he made (gambling sticks)
 53.1
 - gī'na k!ū'giñasi something he held in hand 73.40
- 15a. k! At- small objects.
 - k!ū'da k!a'tdjîr!xaga'-i a small beak came out 53.28 (-r!xa towards)
 - qe'igao k!a'tdju a small basket (qe'igao basket; k!at-classifier; dju it was of that sort)
- 16. xAt-small objects. Used like the above.
 - ga xa'tdju some small (olachen) (ga some; dju they were of that sort)
 - n_A\tilde{n} \text{ lgal x_A'tdju a small dark person (n_A\tilde{n} a; lgal dark or black;
 dju it was of that sort)
 - stan xa'tdju a small killer-whale (Masset) (stan killer-whale; dju it was of that sort)
- 17. ga- (Masset 'a-) flat objects, such as boards, doors, pictures, looking-glasses, dishes, lakes, canoes.
 - lnaga'i gala'ildaya'ganî there were five towns (lna = lana town;
 gai the; la'il five; -da causative; -ya perfect; -qan past inexperienced; -i perfect)
 - q!adaxui' aga'ñ la gasLsga'yas he turned himself in his canoe (indicated by its shape) toward the mainland (q!ada toward sea [mainland being considered outward]; xui toward; aga'n himself [§ 28.3]; sL stem; -sga seaward; -ya perfect; -s participle)
 - lā'ya la gagaL!xa'sgas he brought out a dish of cranberries (lā'ya cranberries; ga stem; -L!xa toward; -sga toward open place)
 - $g\bar{u}'gus\ t!agane'\ ga'godies\ lo!\ a\ level\ (pond)\ lay\ there\ (g\bar{u}'gus\ what!\ t!agane'\ behold!\ go\ stem\ to\ Lie;\ -di\ determinate\ suffix\ [\S20.7])$
 - uū gasgoā'nsiñ one canoe 10.9 sqa'ola-i gaze'il five clam-shells 55.11
 - $l\bar{a}'na$ 'as' oa' $ns\hat{i}\tilde{n}$ one town (Masset) ($l\bar{a}'na$ town; s' oans $i\tilde{n}$ one)

- 18. qlai- (Masset qle-) roundish objects, such as rolls of dry-goods, lumps of bacon, and pieces of whale-meat.
 - $q\bar{a}'$ La q/\bar{a}' igodies a roundish reef ($q\bar{a}'$ La reef; go stem to Lie; -di determinate suffix [§ 20.7]; -es participle); see also 77.45
 - $g\bar{\imath}'gawai \, l_A \, d_A \bar{\imath} q \, l_a' i\bar{u}stasi$ he pulled out the fish-trap $(g\bar{\imath}'gaw = g\bar{\imath}'gao \, fish-trap; \, ai \, the; \, d_A \bar{\imath}$ by pulling; $\bar{u}sta \, stem \, [?]; \, -si \, participle)$
 - sta sī'nañ la q/a'is Last he snuffed from the (round basket) (sta from; sī'nañ snuffing; sL stem; -asi participle)
 - ge'ista la gi la L! q!ā'istas they gave him a round thing out of it (gei into; sta from; gi to; sta stem; -s participle)
 - kîtq!ā'idjîlgwagagan (they) put down (a copper plate) 87.24 (kît-with a point)
 - la qea'q!a'-idā'ldi qa'odi after he had looked at (the sun) for a while 29.9 (qea- by looking; dal motion; -di [§ 20.7]; .qa'odi after)
 - L! q!a'-isLgiasi they put down (the drum) 14.3
 - l' qā'dji ga q!oq!ā'-isgidagʌn by biting it jammed his head 91.11 (qās head; q!o- by biting; sgid contact)

We find also

- L! q/ā'-isll!xatc!ai'yagani they brought (the canoe) in to him 101.4 (sl- stem; -l!xa towards; -tc! into)
- la L! q!a-isLsgai'yagan they took him (porcupine) out to sea 45.16 (sL- stem; -sga out to sea); the same for KNIFE 87.7
- la L! q!a-isLlai'yaqan they took him (beaver) up 47.1 (-l up) q!a'-idjuL!xadies (foam) coming piled up 95.10 (-L!xa towards)
- qoñ q/ēstā'nsañan four moons (=four months) (Masset) (qoñ moon; stā'nsañ four; -an past inexperienced)
- 19. q!ōl- the shape assumed by long flexible objects, such as hairs or strings, when they are tangled together; also bushes with many stems.
 - a' igan q!añ djūdja'i wa'gut q!ōlxā'was here was a hemlock with a clump of branches sticking out all over it (a' igan here; q!añ hemlock; djūdja'i the branches; wa it; gut upon; xāw = xao stem; -as participle)
 - k!a'lda q!ōlgue'la clump of branches; fall down! (k!a'lda clump of branches; gue stem; la imperative)
 - $k\hat{\imath}'nx_An$ ga l_A daq! $\bar{o}'lskides\hat{\imath}$ he shoved in a bunch of moss to stop up the hole ($k\hat{\imath}'nx_An$ moss; ga in; da- by pushing; skid stem) sin $q!\bar{o}ldj\bar{u}'gan$ a bunch of gambling-stick wood 55.2
- 20. L- animate things, such as human beings, animals, fish, insects.

 l' !xiendā'las he was running along (xien probably means quickly)

 § 15

- la L!A sīla'iga Ļgodia'sī he, however, was lying down in the baby's place (indicated by shape) (L!A however; sīla'i the place; ga in; go to lie; -di determinate; -asî participle)
- iā'xodada idjîrixas a grebe came out of the water (iā'xodada grebe; djî stem; -r!xa toward; -s participle)
- la'gui aga'ñ la Lelgia'las he (a fish) turned himself toward him (gui toward [with motion]; aga'n himself; el stem; -gial toward shut-in place; -as participle)
- La q!a-itr's Las he cut up (a whale) 51.7 (q!a-it- by cutting)
- la dañistai'yagani he pulled out (a bear) 95.14 (dañ- by pulling; sta to move away)
- la L'sLtclas he brought in (a bird) 27.31 (-tc! into)
- la la ! linā'gas he put a living one down 13.1
- L'xida to take (a child) 27.17
- L'sgugeils found a whole one 49.11
- 21. L- or Lu- the shape assumed by a number of clams or fish with a stick run through them to hold them together, and also by a canoe with many persons standing up in it.
 - ya'gulsi l_A gīxa' \tilde{n} rudjūdā'asi he placed them standing in line in the middle of the canoe (ya'gu = ya'ku middle; l euphonic; -si participle; $g\bar{n}xa'\bar{n}$ standing; $dj\bar{u}$ it was of that sort; $-d\bar{a}$ causative [§18.2]; -asi participle)
 - ku'ngado Ldā'lL!xas (a canoe full of men) is coming around the point (kun point; gado around; dāl to go [pl.]; -L!xa toward; -s participle)
- 22. L!- thin objects, such as thin boards, berry-cakes, pies and pieplates, flat cans of beef.
 - gu'tgi la la dā l!skīda'sî he flattened it together (gut together; gi to; dā- by pushing; skīd stem.; -asî participle)
 - ga tī'djai 1/gōsgā' certain flat rocks lying out from (the woods) (ga certain; tīdj = tīs rocks; ai the; go to lie; -sgā seaward)
 - L!Le'îl five (plugs of tobacco) (Le'îl five)
 - $y_A'mdj\hat{\imath}$ $L!djiwog_Ang\bar{a}$ go to the flint which sticks out thin! $(y_A'mdj\hat{\imath}$ flint; djiwo=dju it is of that sort; $g_An=g_A\hat{\imath}$ continuative; $-g\bar{a}$ to be [§18.5])
- 23. **Iga-** branching objects, such as bushes with numerous branches from one stem, combs, several hooks on one line, clothing with a coarse weave, the vertebral column, and even a person who is very thin.
 - L! Lā'djî la gīlga' Las he broke off the ends of some cedar-limbs (L! some; Lā'djî limbs; gī- [?]; L stem to touch)

- l_A lgaî'ngawus he put up (a stone wall) (î'ngaw perhaps contains
 go TO LIE; -us participle)
- la dañlgā'stagwa'gasi he pulled out (a hemlock branch) 10.6
 ta'olē lgalunul'ā'wan there were three hooks (Masset) (ta'ol hooks;
 ē the; lunul three; 'aw = 'o to lie; -an past inexperienced)
- 24. ly Am- large roundish or cubic objects.
 - sī'sa lga'mqēda L! lga'mgatxî they had large round rattles in their hands (sī'sa rattle; qēda large; gatxi stem [?])
 - xallga'mdaxide's (skin) shriveled up in fire 37.15 (xal- by fire)
- 25. *lgī* large cylindrical objects, like logs, steam-boilers, smoke-stacks, rolls of bedding, many objects flowing in a stream, also driftwood sometimes, and large fence-rails.
 - wage'ists kwalgī'stssga'si (olachen) ran out of it in a stream toward the sea (wa it; gei into; sts from; kwa- in a stream; sts stem; -sga outward; -si participle)
 - t! An la lgī'gīñas he was carrying a hard, dead limb (t! An limb or knot rotted out of a tree; gîn stem; -as participle)
 - lāi xutlyūdjū' L!xagias there cranberries were blown out (in a cylindrical body) (lāi cranberries; xut- by the wind [§14.19]; djū stem; -L!xa toward; -gia outward; -s participle)
 - \[
 \bar{v}' \text{L'!ga x\bar{o}' dai d\bar{a} lg\bar{v}' ata\text{Lgagasa\bar{n}}\] you might eat our hair-seal (\bar{v}\text{L'!}
 \]
 our; \[
 -ga\] possessive; \[
 x\bar{o}d = x\bar{o}t\] hair-seal; \[
 ai\] the; \[
 d\bar{a}\] you; \[
 a[\bar{q}];
 \]
 \[
 \tau_{\bar{o}}'' \text{L' mo\bar{o}} \bar{d} \\
 \tau_{\bar{o}}'' \text{L' mo\bar{o}} \\
 \tau_{\bar{o}}'' \text
 - L! lgī'stansîñdai'yagan they make four (grave-posts) 91.29 (stansîñ eight; -da to make)
 - lgidjū'usgadia's (glow of fire) shines toward beach 39.6
 - $sk\bar{\imath}'l\bar{e}$ l $w^{\epsilon}\bar{e}$ $l\bar{a}$ $lg\bar{\imath}dj\bar{u}'diwan$ put a tall dance-hat on his head! (Masset) ($sk\bar{\imath}l$ dance-hat; \bar{e} the; l imperative particle; w=wa it [hat]; $\epsilon\bar{e}$ into; $l\bar{a}$ probably =la with the possessive $-\epsilon a$ HIS; $dj\bar{u}$ stem; -di determinate suffix; -an past inexperienced)
- 26. xa- many inanimate small objects.
 - ... $x\bar{a}'godigani$ they (gills) lie 97.26 (qo to lie; -di determinate; -gan experienced; -î [p.253])
 - ta-ū xā'xīwas halibut-hooks were hanging 67.19 (ta-ū hook; xiu to hang; -as participial)
- 27. slap
 - $g\bar{\imath}'na\ g\bar{\sigma}'lgal\ sL\lambda'pd\lambda la$ some slim, blue things ($g\bar{\imath}'na$ some; $g\bar{\sigma}'lgal$ blue; $d\lambda la$ plural with adjectives of shape)
- 28. t!Ap
 - gī'na sgēt t!a'pdjūL!xa something short and red protruded (gī'na something; sgēt red; djū stem; -L!xa toward)

- 29. **k! Am-** small (cf. no. 15a, p. 231).
 - $L\bar{u}$ k!A'mdAla small canoes ($L\bar{u}$ canoe; dAla plural with adjectives) t!a'gas k!A'mdala small flakes of snow 31.28
- 30. gām
 - ga q!ā'laga gā'mgodies a large open space in the woods (ga some [indef. pl.]; q!ā'laga open place or swamp; go to lie; -di determinate; -es participle)
- 31. L/Ap
 - la L!Apdjî'lAxadas he let a small part (of the surface of the moon) be seen (djîlaxa [?]; -da causative; -s participle)
- 32. sLām
 - q!ā'djai l' xē'ls ge'ists sgēt ssā'mdjîgolā'ñdālasi the gum hung out from his mouth red (q!ādj=q!ās gum; ai the; xē'ls mouth; gei into; sts from; sgēt red; djî probably=dju it is of that sort; golā'ndal analysis uncertain; -asi participle)
- 33. tc/1- the insides of such objects as sea-eggs.
- 34. st!a- dumb-bell shaped objects, such as the liver of a dog-fish.
- 35. skAp- applied to such an object as the curled tail of a dog. skA'pdala crooked wedges 33.13
- 36. skiet- small and very slender objects, such as certain small, slender teapots.

Third Group: Principal Predicative Terms (§§ 16-21)

§ 16. Characterization of Predicative Terms

Most elements of this group must be considered as independent verbs. It has been pointed out before that they may also enter into combinations. Among some of them this tendency is strongly developed. Here belong the verbs forming terms of the first group (see § 14). A number of others are so intimately related with other ideas in their significance that they occur only rarely alone, if at all, and appear, therefore, in part rather as auxiliary verbs, or even as affixes.

§ 17. Stems in Initial Position

Some of these stems take initial positions.

- 1. gai- (Masset gi-) refers to any object floating upon the water, gai being the stem of the verb to FLOAT.
 - Na-giū' ga la gā'iszgeilgīgas he stopped at House-fishing-ground (floating there upon the water) 29.8 (Na house; giū fishing-ground; ga in; sz stem; -qîl to come to be [§18.10]; gī completion of action; ga to be; -s participle)

§§ 16, 17

gam l' lanā'ga da'osqual ga'is Lga'oga nīga nīga driftwood never floated ashore in his town (gam not; lanā town; -ga possessive; da'osqual driftwood; sz stem; gao [?]; -gan negation; -gan continuative; -ga to be)

l' xe'tgu l' gā'is Lgîls it floated ashore in front of him (xet down in front of; gu there; sL stem; -gîl shoreward; -s participle)

l' $g\bar{a}'i\bar{n}gwa\bar{n}_As$ it was floating about $(g\bar{a}=g\bar{a}i$ -floating; $-i\bar{n}$ on sea; $-gwa\bar{n}$ about; -As participle)

[This stem might be considered as an instrumental, like those discussed in § 14. It takes the same position before classifiers as other instrumentals do: $g\bar{a}'$ -it!aoga'ogadie's a feather floated ashore 37.24 (t!ao-feather-shaped object).—ED.]

2. gan- applied when a number of people are doing a thing en masse.

la sta L! ga'ndaxîtdjîlasi they all started away from her (sta from; da = dal to go [pl.]; -xît inchoative [§18.6]; -djîl truly)

la sta L! ga'nlgalañas they went home from him (sta from; lgal to go indirectly; -an continuative; -as participle)

la ga'nsta gandā'lı!xagîlsi they came to him together (ga'nsta to [=gan for and sta from = coming for a purpose]; dāl to go [pl.]; -l!xa toward; -gîl landward; -si participle)

 $lg\bar{u}'nul\ g_{A}ndax\bar{\iota}'d_{A}n$ three came along 107.20

l' ganā'lgō qa'odihao after they had gone along 37.2

[It would seem that this element must be considered as a classifier, analogous to those discussed in § 15 and meaning group of people. The following example illustrates its use following an instrumental: la l! galga'ndaxîtgā'wañ wansū'ga it is said, they led him home 81.39 (gal-by leading).—Ed.]

3. xao- (Masset $x\bar{o}$ -) to do a thing quickly.

la at gut la da'oxaostas they seized each other quickly (at with; gut each other; dao- to go and get [prefixed]; sta stem)

la ga ga nā'ñxao igañasi it quickly ground off his skin (ga to; ga something; nāñ = nan to grind [§ 14.8]; i stem [?]; -gañ continuative; -asi participle)

l' dā'ealañ stañ l' dōxō'staseaian her two brothers ran down to take her (Masset) (dā'ea younger brother; -lan plural; stan two; dō to go and get; sta stem; -sea seaward; -i perfect; -an past inexperienced)

4. ta- expresses the use of a transitive verb without object.

taga'ogañañ wansū'ga they say few were left 11.8

taq!ā'das she cut up 49.1

taqō'ldjuulas he spread out in morning 53.4

taskidā' ñagani they plundered 105.4

§ 17

§ 18

§ 18. Stems in Terminal Position, First Group

Most of these verbal stems take a terminal position:

- 1. A TO SIT OF CONTINUE TO BE.
- 2. da to cause.
- 3. dal to move along while something else is taking place.
- 4. 811 TO WISH.
- 5. *ga* TO BE.
- 6. xit (Masset -id) to begin
- 7. xAl or xAl (Masset Al or Al) to tell.
- 8. ga (Masset 'a) to Go.
- 9. gaya (Masset 'aya) to know how to do a thing.
- 10. gett or geal (Masset 'et or 'el) to become.
- 11. xan to think or guess.

Examples of the use of auxiliaries with nouns:

- ganı xē'lauas there lay a water-hole (ganı fresh water; xēla a water-hole; u to lie or sit [no. 1]; -as participle)
- L! lgā'uas they put stones into the fire (lgā stones; u auxiliary [no. 1]; -as participle)
- la gā'ldas he stayed all night (la he; gāl night; da [no. 2])
- l_A la sū'udas he said to him 27.2 (sū to say, intransitive)
- l' tcā'a Ldas he had a war-spear (l' he; tcā'a L war-spear; -da auxiliary [no. 2]; -s participle)
- $d_A\tilde{n}$ gu l mad \tilde{a} 'dasga I will put mountain-goats upon you ($d_A\tilde{n}$ you; gu there; l I; $mad = m_A t$ mountain-goats; \bar{a} [?]; -da auxiliary [no. 2]; -sga future)
- nañ t!ē'djî lgā'gas the one who was half rock 8.9 (nañ one; t!ē'djî half; lgā stone)
- l' nā'tga gazā'gas his nephew was a child¹ (nā't nephew; -ga possessive [§ 28]; gazā child; -ga to be [no. 5]; -s participle)
- lā'ga xalagā'gan his (implement) was copper (-ga possessive;
 xala copper; -gā to be [no. 5]; -agan past inexperienced)
- la gi yä'nañgeîlgoas it became foggy upon them (la them [with suffix -go]; gi at or upon; yā'nan clouds or fog; -geîl to become [no. 10]; -as participle)

Examples of the use of auxiliaries with other verb-stems:

- l' $q!\bar{a}'o-\bar{u}$ $qa'od\hat{i}$ after he had sat there for a while $(q!\bar{a}[o]$ to sit; u auxiliary [no. 1]; $qa'od\hat{i}$ after a while)
- La qoyā'das he caused it to be dear (= he valued it) (qoyā dear;
 -da auxiliary [no. 2]; -s participle)

¹ Gdzz appears to have been originally a verb meaning to BE WEAK (see § 19.1), but here it is made a verb over again just as if it were a noun.

- l' dā'yîñdal qa'odî after he had gone along hunting for a while (dāyîn hunting; dal to go [no. 3]; qaodî after a while)
- dañ gi 1! gī'dayū'ansiñga they wish to give you much food (dañ you; gi to; gīda to give food to any one; yu'an much; -sin auxiliary [no. 4]; -ga perhaps this should be -sga future)

l'a'oga l' tā'gas his mother ate it 27.28 (ao mother; -ga possessive; tā to eat; ga to be [no. 5]; -s participle)

la la qā'r!xaxalgoas they told him to come out to them (la they [with suffix -go]; qā to go; -r!xa toward; -xal auxiliary [no. 7])

nañ qea'ñgasi one went to look (nañ one; qea stem to LOOK; -añ continuative; -ga auxiliary [no. 8]; -si participle)

nañ gazā's nā'ñaġayageils the child came to know how to play (nañ the [with suffix -s]; gazā child; -s participle; nāña = nan stem; -gaya to know how to [no. 9]; -geil to come to [no. 10]; -s participle)

qoña'i lā'ña q!ēstā'nsañai^eels their months became eight, or eight months passed over them (Masset) (qoñ moon; ai the; lā'na their [singular form covering plural] = la + aña their own; q!ē-classifier [§ 15.18]; stā'nsaña = stā'nsañxa eight; i probably euphonic; -^eel auxiliary [no. 10]; -s participle)

hayî'ñxan Laga xia'lxa'ñgua I think he has danced long enough (Masset) (hayî'n instead of [dancing longer]; xan so, thus; Laga enough [?]; xial to dance; -xan auxiliary [no. 11]; -gua declarative suffix [25.5])

§ 19. Stems in Terminal Position, Second Group

A number of others are also apparently verbal stems, but appear in close connection with other verbs, so that they almost convey the impression of suffixes. In some of them, however, their independent character is quite apparent.

- -xa usually occurs in such close conjunction with the verb stem that it is hard to determine whether it is a true suffix or not. It may indicate state.
 - dī dala'ñ zgazagî'lga you tire me with your handling (dī me; dala'ñ you [pl.]; z- by handling [§ 14.26]; gaza together means WEAK; -gîl to become [§ 18.10]; -ga auxiliary [§ 18.8])

Sawalī'xa gia'xayas Sawalī'xa stood up (Sawalī'xa man's name; gia to stand; -y perfect; -s participle)

la gan l' st!ē'xaqiälañ wansū'ga he became angry with him, they say (gan with [?]; st!ē angry or sick; giāl to become [§ 18.10]; -añ past inexperienced; wansū'ga quotative)

la'gi l' lgoa'xagîls he became afraid of him (gi of; lgoa stem to FEAR; -gîl auxiliary; -s participle)

- la kîlge'idaxa-k!ōtwā'lañ...he made her so ashamed by his words that she died (kîl- by words [§ 14.14]; geida perhaps means it is that way, but with -xa it signifies to become ashamed; k!ōtul to be destroyed; -añ past inexperienced)
- gam L! qē'xagañas they did not find him (gam not; qē perhaps is qea TO SEE, but with -xa it means TO FIND; -gañ negation)
- 2. -gîn, -gîn, or -în motion by sea; also an independent stem.
 - l' qa'idañgîñas it went of itself by sea (qa to go; -id inchoative [§18.6]; -an continuative [?]; -as participle)
 - qā'giñ qa'odi after it had gone along on the ocean for a while (qā to go; qa'odi after a while)
 - l' za'oins he was fishing 29.7 (zao to fish; -s participle)
 - l' sa'îîns he went out hunting by sea (saî to hunt; -s participle)
- 3. - $q\bar{o}n$ (Masset - $^c\bar{o}n$) conveys the idea of random progression on foot, and is used only after the verb stems $q\bar{a}$ and is.
 - l' $dj'' lgoqag\bar{o}'nd\hat{i}$ after he had danced around for a while (l' they [with suffix -go]; $dj\hat{i}l$ stem to dance; qa to go; $-g\bar{o}n = -g\bar{o}\bar{n}$ suffix; $-d\hat{i}$ determinate suffix)
 - l' qā'goñganî he wandered around (qā to go; -gan past inexperienced; -î perfect)
 - la qinqā'qonas he saw walking about 12.2
 - la qā'gōñ qa'odi after he had walked about 67.33
- 4. **-gta** is also used principally after $q\bar{a}$, and seems to indicate that the motion is with a definite object in view, straight on to a certain place. Possibly it is the stem of the verb to stand, with which it is morphologically identical.
 - gut la qagiaga'ñ qa'odî after he had gone along upon the trail for a while (gut upon; qa stem to go; -gan continuative; qa'odî after a while)
 - ga la qā'giaga'nsî he was going thither (ga to; qā stem το σο;
 -gan past experienced; -î perfect [§ 25.6])
 - la'ga nañ qā'giagañas one came to him upon the trail (ga to; nañ one; qā stem to Go; -gañ continuative; -as participle)
- 5. -q!ol or -q!ol to do secretly; also independent verb stem.
 - Sawalī'za l' qîñq!o'ltadiês Sawalī'xa looked at him unobserved (Sawalī'za man's name; qîñ stem to Look; -ta perhaps for; -da auxiliary; -di determinate suffix; -ês participle)
 - la l' sū'd Aq! oldaian he whispered to her secretly (sū stem to say; -d A to cause; -da to cause [used twice]; -i perfect [§ 23.7]; -an past inexperienced)

^{1[} Nos. 2-4 might be classed with the locative suffixes described in § 22.-ED.]

dī la q!olgî'nda don't let any one know of me (dī me; la imperative particle; gîn [?]; -da to cause)

§ 20. Stems in Terminal Position, Third Group

It is probably due to their significance that the following groups take ordinarily their position following the last series:

- -go (Masset -'o) PLURALITY. Originally this probably marked distributive plurality. It always follows la, the personal pronoun of the third person singular.
 - gan la la djilā'dagoas they had her as bait for it (gan for; la they [with -go]; djilā bait; -da to cause; -as participle)
 - sta L! a Luqū'itgoasî they went away (sta from; L! a they; Lu-by canoe [§ 14.27]; qā to go; -it inchoative [§ 18.6]; -asi participle)
 - l' nā'xagangoga'nga they fly about (l' they [with -go]; nā'xa to fly [pl.]; -gan continuative; -gan probably continuative also, the suffix being doubled; -ga auxiliary)
 - l_A q!a'osLogagawañ . . . they came and sat down by the fire
 (l_A they [with gaw = -go]; q!a to sit; -o probably auxiliary;
 sLo stem [?]; -ga auxiliary [?]; -añ past inexperienced)

la sta la Luqā'-itgoas they left him by canoe 59.3

l' gë'tgatgawa'-i Lū when they had gone 59.4

la lanadageilgā'wagan they had a town 103.11

- 2. -Lga (Skidegate dialect) indicates that all of the objects or persons just mentioned are included in the action.
 - l' ga'olū igagawas they all got up (l' they [with -gaw = -go])
 la'giaga gī'nagai qa'il igagas all his property was lost (gia property; -ga possessive; gī'na things; gai the; qa'il stem; -ga auxiliary; -s participle)
- 3. odjū Masset equivalent of the above.
 - falA'nsL'odjawanî it was all cooked (falAn to cook; sL appears to be
 the principal stem; fodjaw=fodju all; -an past inexperienced;
 -i perfect)
 - *a L! l'sdals*odjawan all went down to it (*a to; is[?]; dal to go; s
 [?]; *odjaw = *odju all; -an past inexperienced)
 - L! \bar{v}' L!ada od jawan all went down to it (\bar{v}' L!ada [?]; od jaw = od ju all; -an past inexperienced)
 - $L\bar{u}'gu\bar{e}$ $A'\tilde{n}a$ $l'\hat{i}'sda^{\epsilon}odjawan$ he took all into the canoe ($L\bar{u}$ canoe; gu there; $\bar{e} = {}^{\epsilon}\bar{e}$ into; $A'\tilde{n}a$ his cwn; $\hat{i}sda$ stem; $-{}^{\epsilon}odjaw = -{}^{\epsilon}odju$ all; -an past inexperienced)
- 4. -ski applied to an action that fails of accomplishment, or perhaps to one that nearly succeeds.

- k!īwa'i gei l' xa'ptagoaskiä'sî he almost went flying through the doorway (k!iw=k!iu doorway; ai the; gei into; xap probably means quickly; tagoa [%]; -äsi participle)
- la dā'yīñskia'gadjūugañ he hunted for it in vain (dā'yīñ to hunt; rest uncertain)
- gei L! dayî'ñskiya'i Lu when they found nothing there by hunting (gei into; dayîn to hunt; -y perfect; ai the; Lu when) gadō' l ge'tskiañ I could in no way get them (gadō' around [always used with this stem]; l I; get stem; -an [?])
- 5. -goan. A frequentative best translated by the English word ABOUT.
 - l' xeti't tc!i'nlgoañgas he went about hunting birds (xetî't birds; tc!în to shoot or hunt; l perhaps euphonic; -qa to go; -s participle). See also 27.27

l' $g\bar{a}'y\bar{\imath}\bar{n}goa\bar{\imath}_As$ it was floating about $(g\bar{a}y-gai-floating; -l\bar{\imath}_A$ on water; -As participle)

- gō'ñgañ da'ñat la na'ugoañ qa'odî after he had lived along with his father for a while (gōñ man's father; -gañ his own; da'nat in company with; na to live; ū auxiliary; -goañ along or about; qa'odî after a while)
- la la i'na-ūgoañ qa'odî after he had remained with his wife for a while (i'na to marry; -ū auxiliary; qa'odî after a while)
- 6. -gī the completion of action; also, sometimes, continuation, in which case it probably means continuation to the end.
 - la geîlgīdaga'i Ļu when she had finished (geîl to become; -da auxiliary; gai the; Ļu when)
 - la sugī'gai Ļu when he was through talking (su to talk; gai the)
 la qīñgī'gwasi they looked at it for some time (la they [with -qw =
 -go]; qīñ stem to look; -asi participle)
 - zao g^a tadjugī'gañan the raven always sat upon it (zao [?]; g^a at or upon; ta probably a classifier; dju stem [?]; -gañ continuative; -an past inexperienced)
- 7. -dt a suffix that seems to define the action as having taken place at a certain particular place and moment. Its use is not so pronounced in the Masset dialect as in Skidegate.
 - q!al lgal k!a'tdala q!as gōxā'godiês some small black-skinned persons held burning pitchwood then (q!al skins; lgal black; k!at-short or small; -dala plural with adjectives [§39]; q!as pitchwood; go-burning; xa inanimate pl.; -go to be somewhere; -ês participle)
 - la Liñā'ñdigandi xan at the moment when she was striving to disentangle it (Li- with the hands [?]; ħañ probably stem; -di seems to be determinate suffix used twice; -gan continuative; xan thus, at that moment)

 $gu\ l_A\ ta'idiasi$ he lay right there ($gu\ there;\ tai\ to\ lie$) $l'\ gax\bar a'di$ at the time when he was a boy ($gax\bar a\ boy$)

This suffix is used very often before qa'odi.

l'sūdi qa'odi after he had cried 7.7

8. -ul or -ul to do a thing early in the morning.

Qlana'ñ tla'ga l qla'o-ulas I sit early in the morning at the mouth of Qlana'ñ river (Qlana'ñ river name; tla mouth of; -ga at; l I; qla to sit; -o auxiliary; -as participle)

gaña'ñ ge'itulas (the weather) becomes like this early in the morning (gaña'n like; geit stem ir was so; -as participle)

yä'naña ta'igiñulia'i țu when it was cloudy (or foggy) early in the morning (yä'nana clouds or fog; tai to lie [close to water]; gin on water; ai the; țu when)

l' lā'uliga it is fine weather so early this morning (lā good, fine)
n4ñ k!wai'yagas k!odaṛ'go-ulaiyañ one brother lay dead in the morning 77.33 (k!oda- dead; ţ- classifier; go to lie)

9. -lina' marks potentiality.

Vsiñ Lgao L! xadalîñā'ñgūda'nsi he thought he might restore them (i'sin again; Lgao new; L! he [plural because a great hero is speaking]; xada human being; -an continuative [i]; -gūd to think; -an continuative [contracted before s]; -si participle)

gī'na at l' lālîña' wa' ļuxan la'gi la 'i'sdas he gave him all things which might make him happy (gī'na things; at with; lā good or happy; wa' ļuxan all [wa + ļu + xan]; gi to; 'i'sda gave)

skañ, sta'iga zgua l sqasgā'itlîña' blockhead, I can knock out your labret (skañ blockhead; sta'i labret; -ga possessive; zgua a sort of adverbial interjection, whatever it is; l I; sqasgā'it to knock out)

gam gu *antdañ ga t!ala'ñ î'nalîñañus may we not leave fresh
water with you? (Masset) (gam not; gu interrogative particle;
*ant fresh water; dañ you; ga to; t!ala'ñ we; î'na stem; -an
continuative [?]; -us interrogative suffix)

lîña' may also be employed as the stem of an independent verb and as an adjective.

L! dō'na k!adañā'sis ū l' lña'yan she made it so that younger sisters are wise (Masset) (L! indefinite; dō'na younger sisters; k!adañā' wise; -s participle; -is probably contracted form of verb to be; ū general demonstrative; lña stem; -y perfect; -an past inexperienced)

Nañkî'lslas liña'i he who was going to become Nañkî'lslas, or the potential Nañkî'lslas (Nañ one; kil-voice; sl stem; -as participle [all meaning ONE-WHOSE-VOICE-IS-OBEYED]; ai the) a'hao qait liña'i hao īdja'ñ wansū'ga those were the future (or potential) trees, they say (a this; hao general demonstrative; qait trees; liña'i the potential; hao general demonstrative; īdja to be; -an past inexperienced; wansū'ga quotative)

It is also often used in the formation of names.

§ 21. Stems in Terminal Position, Fourth Group

All of these except two are nothing more than incorporated adjectives.

1. **yū'** BIG.

- la gā'ña yū'andayagan he had it very thick 33.9 (gā'ña thick;
 -da to cause [§18.2]; -y perfect [§23.2]; -agan past inexperienced [§23.2])
- la'gan sk!ūlyū'anas it was very crowded for her (gan for; sk!ūl a crowd; -as participle [§25.7])
- l' Lāi L! daoyū'AnAs they came near him on the opposite shore in a very great crowd (Lāi abreast of on shore; dao to go to get)
- l' qoanyū'anAn they were very many (l' they [sing. used for pl.]; qoan many; -An past inexperienced [§23.2])

2. djili' real.

- gā'lga-geildjili'gai iu when it became quite dark (gā'l night,
 dark; -ga [?]; geil to become; gai the; iu when)
- gī la gwaodjīlī'gasi he really did not care for (it) (gī for; gwao stem not to care for; -ga auxiliary [§18.5])
- dī sk!is_Ldjîlī'ga I am truly full (dī I; sk!is_L to be full [perhaps compounded of sk!i and s_L]; -ga auxiliary to BE)
- la'gi la dayî'nskîdjîlī'gas he was absolutely unable to find him (gi to or for; dayî'n to find; -ski in vain [§20.4]; -ga auxiliary TO BE [§18.5]; -s participle)

3. La'gAn the first.

- nañ la geligi galā gañas he finished a certain one first 33.2 (nañ one; gell to become; -gi completed action [\$20.6]; -ga auxiliary [\$18.5]; -as participle)
- gila kia'gañlāgañagan he asked for him first 33.26 (kia stem; -gañ continuative [§24.1]; -agan past inexperienced [§23.2])
- 1. go'da (Masset 'oda) THE LAST. Originally this appears to have been the word for BUTTOCKS. In the Masset dialect it is used as a connective meaning AFTER.
 - La ga tā'gagotslas the ones he ate last (La [?]; ga the ones; tā stem to eat; -ga auxiliary to be [?]; -got last; sl stem; -as participle)

- 5. sgoan forever, or for a long time. This is derived from the same stem as sgoa'nsiñ one, sgu'nxan only.
 - ga'igu hao l' tcī'ageîlsgoānañ wansū'ga he came to have a place there forever, they say (gai the or that; gu there; hao general demonstrative; tcīa a place; geîl to come to; -añ past inexperienced; wansū'ga quotative)
 - lā ga la da ñda' ostasgoā' na ñasi he pulled his [spear] out for good (-ga possessive; da ñ- by pulling; dao to go and get; sta to move from a place; -añ continuative [§24.1]). See also 69.9

The numerals from two up are suffixed to take the place of ordinals, numerals, and numeral adverbs.

- la gōtxia'tc!asta'nsaña'i tu after he had swallowed four times, or
 the fourth time (gotxia stem [?]; -tc!a motion into [§22.1];
 -sta'nsañ four; -ai the; tu when)
- atha'o la la tc!īga'stiañañ... he shot him twice with it (at with; hao general demonstrative; tc!ī- by shooting [§14.2]; ga stem; -stian = stin two; -añ past inexperienced [§23.2]) gutge'ista la la dandjîstale'îlas he pulled apart five times (gut together; gei into; sta from; dan- by pulling [§14.4]; djīsta stem [?]; -leîl five; -as participle)

§ 22. Fourth Group: Locative Suffixes 1

- 1. -tcla or -: cl? indicates motion or action into something, especially a house.
 - k!ia'lu au'ñ gi la k!ū'sltc!is he brought a cormorant in to his mother 27.27 (kiä'lu cormorant; au mother; -uħ his own; gi to; k!u- classifier [§15.15]; sz stem; -s participle [§25.7])
 - da'tc!î la L's Ltc!as he brought in a wren 27.31 (da'tc!î wren; L-classifier [§15.20]; sL stem; -s participle)
 - l' qatc!a'yas he came in (qa stem; -ya perfect; -s participle)
 ga'gei la qî'ntc!ayas he looked into some houses (ga some; gei
 into; qîn stem; -y perfect [§23.7]; -s participle)
- 2. -gua direction of action out of something, especially a house.
 la la da'oxaostagua'gawañ wansū'ga they ran out of the house to him quickly, they say (la they [with suffix -gaw =-go]; dao to

go to get; xao- quickly [§17.3]; sta stem; -añ past inexperienced; wansū'ga quotative)

la gi la qîñgua'gasî she looked out at him (gi at; qîn stem; -ga
auxiliary; -sî participle)

l' a'ndjîgoagai tu when he put his head out (andjî erect; gai the; tu when)

¹ See also § 19.2-4.

- k!iwa'i qa la giā'xagoasî he stood at the door outside (k!iw=k!iu door; ai the; ga at; giā stem; -xa suffix of unknown significance; -goa out; -sî participle)
- 3. -xul or xual (Masset -yul or -yual) has a meaning similar to the above, but in this case actual motion out is always meant.
 - la qaxuā'lañ wansū'ga he went out, they say 29.38 (qa stem; -aħ past inexperienced; wansū'ga quotative)
 - **studjā'gadañai î'sîñ da'ñat la qā'xuls he also went out with the woodpecker 29.46 (studjā'gadan woodpecker; -ai the; î'sîn also; da'nat with; qa stem; -s participle)
 - l' Lā'lga qaxuā'lasî her husband went out (Lāl husband; -qa possessive [§28]; qa stem; -asî participle)
 - l' qā'gualan he went out of doors (Masset) (qa stem; -an past inexperienced)
 - gam hawī'dan l' qagulā'añan he did not go out quickly (Masset) (gam not; hawī'dan quickly; ā' carries accent; -añ negative)
- 4. -tladj ACROSS A BODY OF WATER, especially an arm of the sea.
 - Sī'k!a kun 'a ō l' sa'int!adjan he went across to Sīk!a point to hunt (Masset) (Sī'k!a name of a point; kun point; 'a to; ō general demonstrative; sa'in stem; -an past inexperienced)
 - L! $L\bar{u}d\bar{o}'t!adjan$ they went across the harbor (Masset) ($L\bar{u}$ by canoe [§14.27]; $d\bar{o}$ to go to get; -an past inexperienced)
 - wa'a L! $L\bar{\imath}'t!adjan\hat{\imath}$ they brought them across to it (Masset) (wa it; 'a to; $L\bar{\imath}$ stem; -an past inexperienced; - $\hat{\imath}$ perfect) $q!\bar{a}'dat!adjasi$ (he) threw across 73.42
- 5. -sgiên ACROSS A STRIP OF LAND, such as a peninsula.
 - 'a l' qā'sgiênanî he went across to it (Masset) ('a to; qā stem; -an past inexperienced; -î perfect)
 - wagui' l' qā'sgiên∧n he went across to a distant point (Masset) (wa it; gui toward [with motion]; qā stem; -an past inexperienced [§ 23.2])
- 6. -t/Al or t/Al motion downward.
 - teī'wai u'ngei kîtt! Apha'ot! Alsî it stuck into the floor-planks from above (teīw = teu plank; ai the; un on top of; gei into; kît- by a stick [§ 14.13]; t! Apha'o stem [?]; -sî participle)
 - lnaga'i dala'ñga la kîtgū't!aldasañ I will tip over your town (lna = lana town; gai the; dala'ñ you [pl.]; -ga possessive; la I; kît- with a stick; gū stem; -da to cause; -asañ future [§ 23.5])
 - sîlgui'gañ la gazia't!alagan he descended to his home (sîl back; gui toward [with motion]; -gañ his own [§ 28]; gazia' stem [?]; -agan past inexperienced [§ 23.2])

la L! qā't!alzagandasi they let him off first (qā stem; La [?]; gan = gan continuative [§ 24.1]; -da to cause [§ 18.6])
L! dadjît!aldai'yagani they pushed (it) down 45.15

7. - MOTION UPWARD.

- l' qa'îldî qa'odî after he had gone up for a while (qa stem; -dî determinate suffix [§ 20.7]; qa'odî after a while)
- l' k!utLū'stAla he spits water upward (k!ut- with the lips [§ 14.16]; Lu- probably a classifier; stA stem; -la up)
- naga'i ga l_A qā'ilsi he went up to the house (na house; gai the; ga to; qā stem; -si participle)
- l' da'ñandjîlas he pulled it up out of the water (dan- by pulling; andjî erect; -as participle)
- L! qî'ngalasi they went up to see 12.4
- 8. -sqa (Masset s'a) motion toward an open place, particularly toward the open sea, toward the fire.
 - q!adaxuā' la sa'ana q!a'usga come down toward the sea and sit idle 29.4 (q!ada seaward; -xua toward [without motion]; la imperative particle; sa'ana idle; q!a to sit; -u auxiliary)
 - $t\bar{a}'djilsgas$ the wind blew out of the inlet ($t\bar{a}dji$ wind; l [\P])
 - l' xā'gatsgas she stretched her arm seaward to grasp (something) 31.22 (xā- by grasping; gat stem; -s participle)
 - $L\bar{a}'l_A\tilde{n}$ $d_A'\tilde{n}$ at $q!\bar{a}'w\bar{o}sga$ sit down by the fire with your husband ($L\bar{a}l$ husband; $-A\tilde{n}$ own; $d_A'\tilde{n}$ at with; $q!\bar{a}$ stem; -o auxiliary [§ 18.1])
- 9. -git or -gial motion toward a shut-in place.
 - l' ga'iszgîls it came in and floated (gai-floating; sz stem; -s participle)
 - l' qaxiagiā'lañ wansū'ga she started into the woods (qa stem; xia perhaps = xit to start; -aħ past inexperienced; wansū'ga quotative)
 - l' gōdā'lgialañ wʌnsū'ga she moved farther inland, in a sitting posture (gōdā buttocks; l [?]; -añ past inexperienced; wʌn-sū'ga quotative)
 - gwa'iyē 'a l' $L\bar{u}'qag_Al^eawan$ they went up to the island (Masset) (gwai island; $y\bar{e}=ai$ the; 'a to; l' they [with suffix -'aw =-'o]; Lu- by canoe [§ 14.27]; qa stem; $-g_Al$ landward; -an past inexperienced)
 - La squ'gagatgils he swam ashore 12.11
- 10. -L!xa (Masset -L!a) TOWARD ANYTHING.

 - l_{A} $L\bar{u}q\bar{a}'L!xagoas$ they approached by canoe 39.5 § 22

la gu la q!a'ol!xayañ wansū'ga it came and got on it, they say (gu on; q!a stem to sit; -o auxiliary; -i perfect [§ 23.7]; -añ past inexperienced; wansū'ga quotative)

la daña'ndjîr!xas he pulled it out head first 29.26 (dan-by

pulling [§ 14.4]; Andji erect; -s participle)

- au'ñ gi la zagal!agî'lgañasi he brought it up to his mother (Masset) (au'n=ao mother+-an his own; gi to; za- inanimate objects [§ 15.26]; ga stem; -gil shoreward; -gan continuative [§ 24.1])
- (l') ga-isll/xa's he came floating 7.8

11. -gia or $g\bar{\imath}$ under water.

l' ga'ogias it vanished under water (gao stem; -s participle)

Lua'i dagu'l gi gatgia'si (the arrow) fell into the water at the side of the canoe (Lu canoe; ai the; dagu'l side; gi at; gat stem; -si participle)

wa'gei la gī'halgiasî they poured it into (the ocean) (wa it [ocean]; gei into; la they [singular used for plural]; gīhal [?]; -si participle)

la la xī'dagias he let him down into the sea (xīda stem; -s participle)

12. -L INTO A CANOE.

gu'gei la qa L'gast he got into his canoe (gu there; gei into; qa stem; -ga auxiliary; -st participle)

l_A gū'gei l_A l's lgwas they got into the canoe with him (gu there; gei into; l_A they [with -gw = -go]; is stem; -s participle)

la la gë'tga idayagan he got him into the canoe (gët stem; -ga auxihary [?]; da to cause; -i perfect [§ 23.7]; -agan past indeterminate)

la la qar'dagwas they took her aboard 41.8

Syntactic Treatment of the Verbal Theme (§§ 23-26)

§ 23. Temporal Suffixes

- 1. -gAn, sometimes -An, indicates past events which the speaker has himself experienced.
 - la L! tc!înlgoā'ñgan they began shooting at them (that is, us) (la them [singular form used for plural]; tc!în stem; l probably euphonic; -goān about)

la nañ st'ldagan I borrowed one (la I; nañ one; sîl stem; -da auxiliary)

L/A L! tc!t'nlgoanxidAn they started shooting at them (l/A them; tc!in stem; l euphonic; -goan about [§ 20.5]; -xid inchoative [§ 18.6])

§ 23

dā'ñxua ag^'ñ l skia'ga rg^n I jumped into the stern (dā'nxua stern; ag^'n reflexive; lI; skia'ga stem [?]; -r aboard [§ 22.12])

See the use of this suffix in the text on pp. 105-109, Bulletin 29.

- -agAn (Masset -an or -gan) past events known to the speaker only by report.
 - l' $dj\bar{a}'ga$ l_A $g\bar{\imath}'a$ - $inxayag_An$ his wife left something for him $(dj\bar{a}$ wife; -ga possessive; $g\bar{\imath}'a$ -inxa [?]; -i perfect [§ 23.7])
 - la \dot{l}' $s\bar{a}'wagan$ she spoke to him $(s\bar{a}w = su$ to speak)
 - la la v'nagealagan he married her (ina stem; -geal to come to [§ 18.10])
 - nañ i'liña hao sqā'badax:idagan a man began to set deadfalls 95.1 (nañ a; i'liña man; sqā'ba deadfall; -da to make; -x:id to begin) zuē' tc'asta'nsañan the canoe had four men (Masset) (zu canoe;

ē the; tc!a- people in canoe; sta'nsañ four)

See the use of this suffix in the text on pp. 33-35, Bulletin 29.

- Before $w_{Ans\bar{u}'ga}$, the quotative in the Skidegate dialect, this suffix takes the form $-a\bar{n}$.
 - A'ñga la sqotskīdā'ñañ wansū'ga he struck his canoe with his hands, they say 29.22 (a'nga his own; sqot with arms [§14.29]; skīd contact; -ān continuative; wansū'ga quotative)
 - gītga'ñ gan la gagoyā'ñañ wansū'ga he was calling for his son, they say (gīt son; -gan his own [§ 28.3]; gan for; gago [?]; -i perfect; -an continuative; wansū'ga quotative)
 - la ê'siñ qa'idañ wansū'ga he also started off, they say (ê'siñ also; qa stem; -id inchoative [§ 18.6]; wansū'ga quotative)
 - la la qā'gandagañ wansū'ga she saved him, they say (qā'gan to save; -da to cause [§ 18.2]; wansū'ga quotative)
- 3. -gîn events that occur or occurred habitually, and usually those which the speaker himself has experienced or is experiencing.
 - ā'thao gam "Dā'gal" han L! sū'gañgañgîn therefore they were not in the habit of saying "to-morrow" 35.4 (ā'thao therefore; gam not; dā'gal to-morrow; han like it; sū stem; -qañ negation [§ 25.3]; -gañ continuative)
 - $g_A g a' n hao l_A w \bar{a}' g_A \tilde{n} g \bar{n} \hat{n}$ that is the reason why I do so (g a g a' n hao) that is why [=g a g a' n + hao]; l_A I; $w \bar{a}$ stem to do; $-g_A \bar{n}$ continuative; $-g \bar{n} = -g \hat{n}$ usitative; $-\hat{n}$ perfect [§ 25.6])
 - "A'nțē wa a l'sī l nîlgī'nî I used to drink the water that was in it (Masset) ('Anț water; ē the; wa it; 'a in; î'sī was; l I; nîl stem to drink; -î perfect [§ 25.6])
 - ga dī l'oa'gagīñî I used to be afraid of it (Masset) (ga something indefinite; dī I; l'oa stem; -ga auxiliary [§ 18.5]; -î perfect)

4. -sga simple futurity.

- sgā'na-qeda's da'ñga qea'xolgîlgā'nsga the supernatural beings will not become tired of looking at you 31.4 (sgā'na supernatural; qeda's probably those that are so born [from qe to be born, -da auxiliary, -s participle]; dañ you; ga at; qea by looking; xol stem; -gîl probably -gîl to become; -gān = -gañ continuative)
- dī gi siña'gasga no one is going to touch me 31.7 (dī me; gi to; siña stem; -ga auxiliary [§ 18.5])
- dañ l qîñqā'nsga I shall see you sometimes 31.13 (dan you;
 l I; qîn stem; -gān continuative)
- 5. -(a)san infallible future occurrence, similar to English you shall.

[In both these suffixes the future element is probably -s, while -sga contains also a declarative ending (-ga).—Ed.]

- Lua'i dAñ lA sî'ldadaasañ I will let you have the canoe (Lu canoe; ai the; dAñ you; lA I; sîlda stem [?]; -da auxiliary)
- djā'qañ dā da'ogasañ you shall go and get your wife (djā wife; -qañ your own; dā you; dao stem; -qa auxiliary)
- l' sqa'lqatgaasañ he will conceal you (sqal 1st verbal stem to conceal; gat 2d verbal stem it was like that; -ga auxiliary)
- gūsu L! ī'L!agidas ta'asañ what will the chiefs eat (gūsu what? L! indefinite demonstrative; ī'L!agidas chief; ta stem to EAT)
- 6. -qasan, -qasas, immediate or imminent future occurrence; evidently compounded from the above.
 - a'dal $d\bar{\imath}$ ι ! $t\bar{a}'nsanqasa\tilde{n}$ they will come to get me to-morrow (a'dal to-morrow; $d\bar{\imath}$ me; $t\bar{a}'nsan$ to come by sea)
 - gît qā' L!a'añqasañ her child was about to come (Masset) (gît child; qā stem; -L!a toward [§ 22.10]; -'añ [?])
 - n_Añ ya^ee'ts ū d_A'ñat î'n_L!axañqasañqua the princess is going to bring plenty of food (Masset) (n_Añ the [becomes definite with suffix -s]; ya^ee't chief's child; -s participle; ū general demonstrative; d_A'nat with; în stem; -L!a toward; -xañ continuative; -qua declarative)
 - L! laganā'ñqasas they were about to make a feast (lagan to make a feast; -ān continuative; -qasas imminent future followed by participle)
- 7. -1, in intervocalic position y, perfect time.
 - lgîtgu'n awā'ñ gi la Ļsltcla'yañ wansū'ga he had brought in a goose to his mother, they say (lgîtgu'n goose; aw = ao? mother; -ān his own; gi to; Ļ- classifier [§ 15.20]; sl stem; -tc!a motion into [§ 22.1]; -an past inexperienced; wansū'ga quotative)

dagalē'ga î'sîñ l' xetî't tc!î'nlgoañgayas next day he had again gone out shooting birds (dagal the next day; ē the; -ga on; i'sîn again; xetî't birds; tc!în to shoot; l euphonic [?]; -goan about [§ 20.5]; -ga auxiliary; -s participle)

la sudā'yaganî īla' îsda'sî he did differently from the way he had said (he would do) (su stem to say; dā to cause; -agan past inexperienced; -î perfect; īla' differently; îs stem; -da auxiliary; -sî participle)

gañā'xʌn lʌ sū'dayagʌnî so he had said (gañā'xʌn so [from gañā'n LIKE; xʌn JUST]; sū to say; -da auxiliary; -agʌn past inexperienced; -î perfect)

§ 24. Semi-Temporal Suffixes

Suffixes related to temporal suffixes, but defining the nature or time of the action more minutely.

- 1. -gan, -an, or -in. The common continuative or perhaps rather habitual suffix, similar to the English form of the verb ending in -ing.
 - au'ñ gi la xagar!xagî'lgañasi he was bringing up things to his mother (au'n [=ao mother+-an his own]; gi to; xa- by grasping [§ 14.24]; ga stem; -r!xa toward [§ 22.10]; -gîl shoreward [§ 22.9]; -si participle)
 - gī'na at la nā'ñgañas he was playing with something (gī'na something; at with; nāñ stem to PLAY; -as participle)
 - gitga'ñ la gagoyā'ñañ wansū'ga he called for his son, they say (git son; -gañ his own; gagoy = gagoe stem [?]; -añ past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; wansū'ga quotative)

Sometimes this suffix takes the form $-x_A\tilde{n}$ or x_An .

- ga q/a'oxañas the ones sitting there (ga the ones [indefinite]; q/a stem to sit; -o auxiliary [§ 18.1]; -as participle)
- L! naza'ndî qa'odî after they had lived there for a while (na stem TO LIVE; -di determinate suffix; qa'odî after a while)
- L! taixā'ndî qa'odî after they had remained in bed for a while (tai stem to LIE; -di determinate [§ 20.7]; qa'odî after a while)

The occasional reduplication of this process has been referred to in § 6.

§ 25. Modal Suffixes

The following have also a modal significance:

l or la indicating the imperative; placed before or after the verb.
 dī la q!ōsι let go of me with your mouth (dī me; la imperative;
 q!ō- with mouth; sι stem)

§§ 24, 25

- stī'lda la let us go back (stīl stem; -da auxiliary; la imperative) hai lgā'nai dī ga'nsta la kh'nda now, cousin, be my herald (hai now; lgān male cousin on father's side; ai the; dī me; ga'nsta for; la imperative; kî'n stem; -da auxiliary [§ 18.2])
- gin t/ēl s'u'nan l tc/ā'anu 'An îsta'ñ get only wet things for firewood (Masset) (gîn things; t/ēl wet; s'un only; -an just; tc/ā'anu firewood; 'An for; îsta stem [?]; -an continuative)
- With the auxiliary ga to go, however, instead of l, -la is suffixed to the verb.
 - han a l' sū'dagala go and speak to it like this (han like; a this; sū stem; -da auxiliary; -ga auxiliary)
 - tc!ā'anu da'ogala go and get firewood (tc!ā'anu firewood; dao stem to go and get; -ga auxiliary)
 - lkiā'gua na'galdjū'gala go and sit toward the door (lkiā side
 toward door; gua toward; na'gal [?]; -djū it is of that sort;
 -ga auxiliary)
 - Lgēt dala'ñ tciagā'nsa ga i'sgogala go to the place where you are going to settle (Lgēt where; dala'n you [pl.]; tcia stem to HAVE A PLACE; -gān continuative; -sa = san infallible future [§ 23.5]; ga to; is stem; -go plural [?]; -ga auxiliary)
- 2. -djan (Masset -tcin) is employed to indicate what is usually denominated the first person imperative, both singular and plural, LET ME, LET US.
 - ha'ls t!als'ñ tc!ā'anugadadjañ come and let us make a fire (ha'ls come! t!als'n we; tc!ā'anu fire; -ga -da auxiliaries [§ 18.5, 2])
 - hala' dañ gī l gĩ' ñgatdjañ come and let me adorn you 29.2 (hala' come! dan you; gī to or for; lI; gin-agent in general [§ 14.12]; gat stem)
 - ha'l_A t!al_A'ñ gaṇgā'ñi'ndjañ let us go over to look (ha'l_A come! t!al_A'n we; gaṇgā'nîn [?])
 - t!Al qasā'tc!în let us go away (Masset) (t!Al we; qa stem to go; -sa probably infallible future [§ 23.5])
- 3. gan (Masset 'An) negation, always preceded by the negative particle gam.
 - gam gī'na gut l qealga'ñgan I saw nothing upon it (gam not; gī'na thing; gut upon; l I; qea stem to see; l euphonic or possibly UP; -gan past inexperienced)
 - sgā'na-qeda's gam la gut gagā'dagañgansga the supernatural beings will never know it (sgā'na qeda's supernatural beings [see § 23.4]; gam not; gut upon; gagāda [?]; -gan = -gañ continuative [§ 24.1]; -sga future [§ 23.4])

- ... gam la sū'udagañasi (he) had not told him 27.6 (sū to say; -da auxiliary; -si participle)
- gam l' 'ā'ndañ'añanî he did not feel it (Masset) (gam not; 'āndan stem [?]; -an past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; -î perfect [§ 25.6])
- gam la ga L! gī'da añgañan they did not give him food (Masset) (gam not; ga indefinite things [food]; gīda stem to GIVE FOOD; -gan continuative; -an past înexperienced)
- 4. -udja, contracted sometimes to -us, marks interrogation, and, like the two suffixes last mentioned, is always preceded by a particle (qua or qu) or by an interrogative pronoun.
 - $dj\bar{a}$ ki'lszasi gasi'ñhao $d_A\tilde{n}$ qea'ga isū'udjañ say, chief, what has happened to your brother-in-law? ($dj\bar{a}$ say! ki'lszasi chief [whose voice is obeyed]; gasi'n what? hao general demonstrative; $d_A\tilde{n}$ your; qea brother-in-law; -ga possessive; is stem; $\bar{u}'udja = udja$ interrogative suffix; -a \bar{n} continuative)
 - axada'i gua ga galtlarsqā'udja were the meshes of the net pulled off? (axada'i the net; gua interrogative particle; ga indefinite plural subject of verb, and agent of pulling; gal- by pulling [§ 14.20]; t!a- classifier [§ 15.4]; t stem; -sgā seaward [§ 22.8])
 - gasî'nı!ao la dan î'sta-udjañ why did you tease her? (gasî'nı!ao why? dañ you; îsta stem [?]; -añ continuative)
 - gasî'nL!ao l la dañ qō'yadaLdjuudjîñ why do you love it so much? (gasî'nL!ao why? l [?]; dan you; qō'ya stem to love; -da auxiliary [§ 18.2]; Ldju [?]; -udjî interrogative; -n continuative)
 - Gua (Masset gu) or the pronoun may, however, be employed independently.
 - dā gua skiä'nadi are you awake? (dā you; skiä'na stem [?]; -di determinate suffix [§ 20.7])
 - gam gua q!eiga'ña gan dala'ñ u'nsaatgañ don't you know any stories? (gam not; q!eiga'ña stories; gan for [always precedes u'nsaat]; dala'ñ you (pl.); u'nsaat stem to know; -gañ continuative)
 - dañ gu L! î'n^eetūdja were you married i (Masset) (dañ you; L! they [used in lieu of passive]; īn to marry; eet principal stem)
 - dā gu sla'gu tī'a-udja did you kill a land-otter? (Masset) (dā you; sla'gu land-otter; tīa stem το κιιλ)
 - $g\bar{\imath}'st\bar{o}\ \bar{e}'dj\hat{\imath}n$ who are you? $(g\bar{\imath}'st\bar{o}\ \text{who}\ \hat{\imath}\ \bar{e}'dj\hat{\imath}\ \text{stem to BE})$
 - gasî'nı!ao dañ ī'djîñ what is the matter with you? (gasî'nı!ao what? dañ you; ī'djî stem to be; -n continuative)
 - gū'su L! ī'L!zagidas tā'asañ what will the chiefs eat ? (gū'su what ? L! indefinite demonstrative; ī'L!zagidas chiefs; tā stem to EAT; -asañ future infallible occurrence and continuative)

- 5. -gua suffixed in the Masset dialect to declarative sentences in direct discourse.
 - gam tao t/ala'ñ da'a'n' ñgañgua we have no food (gam not; tao food; t/ala'ñ we; da'a stem to have; -'an negation; -gañ continuative)
 - $d\bar{\imath} q!o'l\bar{u}$ ant $\bar{\imath}'dj\tilde{\imath}\tilde{n}gua$ I have fresh water $(d\bar{\imath} \text{ me}; q!o'l\bar{u} \text{ probably}$ means NEAR BY; ant fresh water; $\bar{\imath}dj\hat{\imath}$ to be; - $\bar{\imath}$ continuative)
 - $L\bar{u}$ $d\bar{i}$ $^{\epsilon}An$ $q\bar{a}'L!as^{\epsilon}igAngua$ a canoe came out for me (Masset) ($L\bar{u}$ canoe; $d\bar{i}$ me; $^{\epsilon}An$ for; $q\bar{a}$ stem to go; -L!a toward [§ 22.10]; $-s^{\epsilon}i = s^{\epsilon}a$ seaward [§ 22.8]; -gAn continuative)
 - dī 'An L! 'ā'yîñgīnigua they used to call me (dī me; 'An for; 'āyîñ stem [i]; -gīn usitative [i] 23.3]; -i perfect)
 - nañ i'L!adas 'a'-iyū tañā'gañgua the chief's blood is salt 22.14 (nañ with following -s definite article; 'a-i blood; tañ seawater)
- 6. is a final vowel used very frequently after the past and usitative suffixes. In most cases it may be employed or omitted indifferently; but the cases in which there is a choice seem to show that it closes the sentence, and so probably indicates the completion of the idea.
 - l' gīdatc!ia'i Ļu la'gî la îsdagā'waganî when she brought food, they gave them to her (gīda to bring food to give to people; tc!i into [§ 22.1]; -ai the; Ļu when; gî to; la they [with suffix -gaw = -go]; -gan past inexperienced)
 - k!iä'lhao Lua'i a'ñga la Lgolga'yaganî all that time he worked upon his canoe (k!iä'lhao all that time [=k!iäl+the general demonstrative hao]; Lu canoe; ai the; a'ñga his own; L- with hands [§ 14.26]; golga to make; -ya perfect [§ 23.7])
 - gaga'nhao l_A wā' g_A ñ $g\bar{n}n$ that is the reason why I do it (gaga'nhao that is the reason [=gaga'n+hao]; l_A I; wā stem to DO; $-g_A$ n continuative; $-g\bar{n}$ usitative [§ 23.3])
 - gam 'a l qa''añgīnīgua I did not go thither (Masset) (gam not; 'a to; l I; qa stem to go; 'an negation; -gīn usitative; -gua declarative)
 - Possibly the *t* after -s is the same in meaning; but I doubt whether it had the same origin.
 - lnaga'i gu L! $q!\bar{o}'dAlsi$ they were in a starving condition at the town (lnaga'i the town; gu at; $q!\bar{o}$ mouth [§ 14.23])
 - la qa'ñgasî he dreamed (qañ stem to dream; -ga auxiliary)
 - lā'ga hā'ilū st his (food) was gone (lā his; -ga possessive; hā'ilū gone or destroyed; -asi participle)

7. -s or -sî is properly used in forming infinitives and participles, but by some speakers it has come to be employed as the equivalent of the past-temporal suffix. It indicates that everything in the preceding clause or set of words is to be taken as a unit, and so occasionally appears to have a plural significance. It also has the force of Aforesaid, and, after a noun preceded by nañ, gives the indefinite article the force of a definite.

la la tc!ī'gas he shot it
la la q!ā'gadas he dried it
nañ sgoa'na l' qē'iñas he saw one
Łgā'xetgu lā'nas the Pebble-town people
nañ Łgā'xetgu lā'na a Pebble-town person
nañ la'oatawas one who was whittling, or the whittler
nañ sqadjā'sas the future brave man
nañ sqadjā'sa a future brave man
nañ gaxā'gas the child, or one who was a child

In the Masset dialect it generally concludes a subordinate clause.

l' i'Llagid'ēls Ļu Nastō' gu 'aq!ē'dadjan when he became a chief, his mother was drowned at Nasto (ī'Llagid chief; 'ēl to become [§ 18.10]; -s participle; Ļu when; Nastō' name of an island; gu at; 'aq!ē'dadj [१]; -an past inexperienced)

§ 26. Unclassified Suffixes

1. -u is suffixed to descriptive terms to form the names of instruments, manufactured and store articles.

nīdjā' ñu mask (for derivation compare la at l' nī'djañañ wansū'ga he made an image of it, they say)

 $s_L!an\bar{a}'\tilde{n}u$ that with which the hands are washed (=soap) ($s_L!a$ - with hands [§ 14.11]; $n\bar{a}\tilde{n}$ to play with or wash)

 $q!aix\hat{\imath}tag\bar{a}'\tilde{\imath}u$ round thing shaken (=rattle) (q!ai round-shaped object [§ 15.18]; $x\hat{\imath}t$ to shake; $g\bar{a}\tilde{\imath}$ continually)

2. -Al a suffix used in speaking condescendingly, as to a slave, or sometimes in a kindly manner, to one's equal. It is also employed sarcastically, or in belittling one's self, out of courtesy.

gaña'ñ hao la sū'ualdā'lgañ he spoke like that (as if speaking to a slave) (gaña'n like; hao that; sū stem to speak; dāl [1]; -gañ continuative)

ha'osk!iên dañ gia'ga qa'ganaa'ldas and yet yours will be safe (ha'osk!iên and yet [=hao+connective sk!iēn]; dañ your gia thing, or property; -ga possessive; qa'gana stem to be safe; -da auxiliary; -s participle)

- $d\Delta \tilde{n} g \tilde{o}' \tilde{n} g a \Delta' l dj i w a i$ your slave-father $(d\Delta \tilde{n} y o u r; g \tilde{o} \tilde{n} m a n's father; -g a possessive; <math>dj i w = dj u$ he is of that sort; a i the)
- daň nā'tga a'ldjiwai your slave-nephew (daň your; nāt nephew; -ga possessive; a'ldjiwai [as above])
- 3. -aanî astonishment or wonder.
 - gam gua la gei gī'na k!udjū's z! qîñgā'ñaanî I wonder that they do not see the object sticking into him (gam not; gua interrogative; gei into; gī'na something; k!u- classifier [§ 15.15]; dju it was of that sort; -s participle; qîñ stem to see; -gāñ continuative)
 - gīsi'sdo hao l! waga'anî I wonder whence the people came who did this (gīsi'sdo whence [contains sta from and o general demonstrative]; hao general demonstrative; wa stem to do; -ga auxiliary)
- 4. -algîñ appears to be identical in meaning with the above.
 - a'saga êst'ñ L! q!a'gaalgîñ I wonder if I slept here (a'sa this place; -ga in; êst'n also; L! I [literally THEY], often used for first person singular or plural; q!a'ga stem to sleep)
 - wa Lgu gī'na ge'ida l tagasā'alglā what a small thing I am going to eat! (wa that [thing]; Lgu how or what; gī'na thing; ge'ida it is so or it is like; l I; ta stem to Eat; -gasa probably -qasa about to [§ 23.6])
 - stlao hao gawaalgiñ I wonder if you have become witches (stlao witches; hao those; gawa stem)
- 5. da'ogō this is rather a particle than a suffix, but is usually placed after the verb. It may be best defined as a sort of dubitative, though its use is very varied. Sometimes its meaning is conditional.
 - n-n-n hit!AgA'n țā'sta ī'djîns at ța'staia da'ogo îsgwā'ñxAñ probably it is because she has been doing the same thing again (n-n-n exclamation; hit!AgA'n then; țā'sta [?]; īdjîns it is [including stem, continuative, and participle]; at with; îs stem; -gwan moving about [§ 20.5]; -xAn continuative [§ 24.1])
 - hadjadī'a gasî'nz!ao dī taigā'sa da'ogo alas! I wonder what is going to become of me (hadjadī'a alas! gasî'nz!ao what! dī me; taigā'sa contains the infallible future [§ 23.5])
 - l' i'ndaxuai gut gīdjīgī'da da'ogo la Lda'ñĻgaL!xas lo! when he pulled him out of the water, he only held together by the joints (î'ndaxuai the joints; gut together; gīdjî to hold; gī [?]; -da causative; L- by handling [§ 14.26]; da n- pulling [§ 14.4]; L- classifier [§ 15.20]; ga stem; -L!xa toward [§ 22.10]; -s participle)

i' liñ l qei k!wa'igai gao da'ogo the eldest son that I bore is as if he were non-existent (i'lin male person; lI; qei to bear; k!wai elder son; gai the; gao to be wanting or gone)

lgēt dā dā'ga da'ogo la l'sdañ if you own a bow, take it along (lgēt bow; dā you; dā'ga to own; la imperative; l'sdan stem and continuative suffix)

kî'ls Lai ha'l A dā îs da'ogo qā L chief, if it is you, get into the canoe (kî'ls Lai the chief; ha'l A come! dā you; îs it is; qā stem to go; -L aboard [§ 22.12])

gasî'nı!ao ga qē'gasa da'ogo I wonder how things are going to be (gasî'nı!ao how; ga things [indefinite]; gē probably for gēt stem to be like; -gasa = qasa imminent future)

t!ak!i'nga ha'ls dā is da'ogo dī gu qā'r!xa grandchild, if it is you, come to me (t!ak!i'n grandchild; -qa possessive; ha'ls come! dā you; is it is; dī me; gu at or there; qā to go; -r!xa toward)

l' Lga da'ogo gut aga'ñ la kutĻda'ldias becoming a weasel, he climbed up (Lga weasel; gut upon; aga'n reflexive; kut- probably an instrumental prefix; Ļ- classifier [§ 15.20]; da stem [?]; -l up [§ 22.7]; -di determinate suffix [§ 20.7]; -as participle)

dī djā'ga īnagai gī gudā'ña da'ogo l tia'gas l qî'ñgo look at the man I killed who wanted to marry my wife! (dī my; djā wife; -ga possessive; īna to marry; gai [?] the; gī to or for; gudā'na to think or want; l I; tia to kill; -ga auxiliary; -s participle; l imperative; qîn stem to look; -go plural)

§ 27. Personal Pronoun

I	7	me	$dar{\imath}$
thou (subj.)	da	thee	$d_{A}\tilde{n}$
he, she, it	la	him, her, it	la
he, she, it (indef.)	$n_{A}\tilde{n}$	him, her, it (indef.)	$n_A \tilde{n}$
we	t!al₄'ñ	us	$i_L!$
you (plural)	$dal_{A'}\tilde{n}$	you (plural)	$dal_{A'}\tilde{n}$
they	L!	them	L!
they (indef.)	ga	them (indef.)	ga

Another indefinite L might be added to these.

In the Masset dialect $d_A\tilde{n}$ is used both for the subjective and objective forms of the second person singular, while $d\bar{a}$ serves as an emphatic form.

The subjective series is used as subject of the transitive verb and of active verbs, even when there is no object expressed. Objective pronouns are used to express the subject of verbs expressing states and qualities. Following is a short list of neutral verbs.

k!ōt!a to die geal, gil to become stal to want lgoa to fear u'nsat to know gao to be absent, gone gao to lie (plural)
q!ai'xa to be far away
ī'dji to be
gaga(?) to be tired
gata(?) to fall into
gut to think

When pronominal subject and object accompany the verb, they are placed preceding the whole stem-complex, the object being placed before the subject. Only the third person plural L! always stands immediately before the stem-complex. The indirect object precedes the direct object and is characterized by connectives (see § 31).

§ 28. Possession

- -ga (Masset -^ea). Possession of an object by a person other than
 the subject of the sentence is expressed by the objective pronoun preceding the noun, and by the suffix -ga (Masset -^ea).
 In the Masset dialect this suffix is used only rarely. We find
 the noun either without suffix or with the suffix -gia.
 - (a) The possessive forms of terms of relationship are formed by the objective pronoun and the suffix -ga, which is attached to the noun.

l' djā'ga q!ā'gada'si his wife dried it 288.12 1 (dja wife)

- dī gō'nga dī gi giñge'idan my father put paint on me 290.8 (dī my; gōñ father of male; dī me; gi on; giñ- to cause [§ 14.12]) Wā'nagan gi'tga hao īdjā'gan that one was the son of Wā'nagan B 87.17
- Qā't-qons gūdjā'ñ'a l'tgas gī'd'a ina'ē'lan Qā't-qons' daughter married l'tgas' son (Masset) 394.10 (gūdjāñ daughter; g'it son; i'na to marry; -'ēt to become)
- (b) In terms expressing transferable possession the noun takes neither the pronominal element nor the suffix, but both are combined and precede or follow the noun. At the same time the noun takes the suffix -1.

	Skidegate	Masset
my	nā'ga	$dar{\imath}'$ na
thy	d ${\it A'}$ ${f ilde{n}} ga$	d a $' ilde{n}^{\epsilon} a$
his	$m{l}ar{a}'m{g}m{a}'$	ľã′ña
our	$ar{\imath}' \iota ar{ar{a}} g a$	ī'L!aña
your	$dal_{A}{}^{\prime}{}^{\prime}{}$ $ ilde{n}ga$	
their	Y	$_{L}!ar{a}' ilde{n}a$

References in this section indicate page and line in John R. Swanton, Haida Texts (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. x), except that references preceded by B indicate page and line in John R. Swanton, Haida Texts and Myths (Bulletin 29, Bureau of American Ethnology).

dā gua gatagā'-i nā'ga isdai'yañ? did you eat my food? B 45.4 (dā thou; gua question; ga-something; ta to eat; -ga-i it) ruā'-i lā'ga sta''gasi his canoe was full 288.10

ga'odjiwa-i lā'ga L! skī'dañasi they beat his drum B 13.16

la'gudjē l dīst' dī'na î'sdi take my mat from me! (Masset) 753.29 (lagus mat; l imperative; dī me; st' from; dī'na my)

l' kiē' 'adō' lā'ña L! gudʌgwā'ñan they thought about its name (Masset) 741.19 (kiē' name; 'adō about; gut mind)

tc!idalaña'-i îsîn ī'L!aña l' gī'eodjuwē . . . that he also take all our arrows (Masset) 660.19 (tc!î'dalañ arrow; -eōdja all)

 $lnag\bar{a}'-i \ xa'da-i \ d\bar{a}'\tilde{n}^\epsilon a \ h\bar{\imath}' lug_A\tilde{n}$ your town people are destroyed (Masset) 740.22 ($l\bar{a}na$ town; xa'da people; $h\bar{\imath}' lu$ to destroy)

tc!ī'dalaña-i L!ā'ña 'aga l L'gaL!atc!a'sañ I shall swim for their arrows (Masset) 663.3 (tc!î'dalañ arrow)

In some cases the pronoun precedes the noun.

- L! st!ā'sîl L!ā'ña L! qê'ñgañan they saw their footprints (Masset) 281.13 (st!ā'sîl footprint)
- (c) Terms expressing parts of the body do not take the suffix -ga; but either take only the objective pronoun indicating the possessor and a vocalic ending, or they repeat the pronominal possessive-like terms expressing transferable possession.
 - l' $k!\bar{u}'da$ $l\bar{a}'ga$ l_A $qa_Lai'y\bar{a}g_An$ he sharpened its bill for it B 59.25 l' $L!xadj\hat{i}$ $l\bar{a}'ga$ the crown of his head B 13.4
 - l' qā'dji q!eitq!ā'-iLxidia'-i Ļū when he cut its head off B 12.14 (qās head; q!ēit- with knife [§14.22]; -xid to begin)
 - l'sl!a-i l'lāl qä'ñan her husband saw her hands (Masset) 430.24 (sl!a hand; lāl husband; qäñ to see)
- 2. -E. A weak vocalic suffix is used with terms expressing parts of the body. Words ending in a vowel, n, \tilde{n} , l, do not take this suffix, while others seem to transform the surd terminal into a sonant; s becomes dj before it. The same forms are used in Masset with terms of relationship.
 - (a) Words ending in vowels, n, ñ, or l.

 *\bar{o}'d\bar{e} xi\bar{e}' \text{ the eagle's wing (Masset) 771.2}

 \bar{v'.ladas *ai \text{ the chief's blood (Masset) 779.14}

 l' qo'l\bar{u} \text{ his legs (Masset) 332.38}

 l' st.!ik!u'n \text{ her finger nails (Masset) 507.8}

 l' tc!\bar{e} a'^{\bar{e}} \text{ ada between his teeth (Masset) 331.19}

 l' xi\bar{e} \text{ its neck part B 79.37}

 l' xa\bar{n} \text{ his face B 10.4}

 tc\bar{e}' na-i qal \text{ the salmon skin B 13.5}

dī gī'da l ī'nañ marry my daughter! (Masset) 514.8

l' nan l' sudai'an said his grandmother to him (Masset) 670.4

(b) Words ending in consonants other than n, \tilde{n} , l.

l' k!ū'gi ya opposite its heart (Masset) 294.25

dī k!ōg' my heart (Masset) 298.24

dañ qā'djî thy head (Masset) 301.5

l' k!ō'ta its beak (Masset) 498.4

 $l' k!\bar{u}'da$ its beak B 59.25

 $l' q\bar{a}'dji$ his head 12.14

l' skū'djî its bones B 8.13

- 3. -gia means originally PROPERTY, but in Masset is now sometimes used as equivalent of ga.
 - l' 'oñ gia gī'naga-i hī'lawan his father's property was destroyed 689.18
 - $x_{A}ns\bar{u}'l\bar{o}t$ gia $Lu\bar{e}'$ sea-anemone's canoe ($x_{A}ns\bar{u}'lot$ sea-anemone; Lu canoe)
 - d'aigia lnaga'i xada'i your town-people (lnaga'i the town; xada'i people)
 - nañ ī'liñas gia tā'wē the man's food (nañ ī'liñas the man; tao food)
 - Sometimes it appears instead of $d\bar{v}'na$, signifying my, mine; as
 - dals'ñ ltanogi's Ļū l gia'gsñ na-i 'ñ îsdā'lgala'wan dals'ñ wa'-Ļuwan a after you have eaten let all go up to my house
 - gia'gañ na-i al tclā'nu yū'an la'ola make a big fire in my house giagañ 'adō' llao l! 'ê'sgaga'n but they were unsuccessful with mine
- 4. -gAn or -an (Masset -An) expresses possession of an object by the subject of the sentence.
 - (a) The possessive forms of terms expressing relationship and parts of the body are formed by suffixing $-g_A\tilde{n}$ or $-a\tilde{n}$ (Masset $-A\tilde{n}$) to the noun possessed.
 - djā'gañ gi xagwa'-i la zgua'si he carried the halibut toward the woods to his wife 288.12 (djā wife; gi to; xagu halibut; L- with hands [§14.26])
 - gī'tgañ î'sîñ l qîñgā'nsga I shall see my son also 291.1 (git child; î'sîñ also; l I; -sga future)
 - a-u'ñ at la kiä'nañas he asked his mother 289.9 (as mother; at with; kiä'n to question)
 - k!ō'lañ ṛū la dañgī'stalia'-i she had it even with her knees 291.7 (ṭū even; dañ- by pulling [§14.4]; gī- flat thing; sta- to move away from; -l up).

- x_Aña'ñ *l Lîsku'nagul* clean your eyes (Masset) 649.23 (x_Añ face, eye; *l* imperative; *L* by touching [§ 14.26])
- (b) Separable possession is expressed by the pronoun $a'\tilde{n}ga$ (Masset $a'\tilde{n}^{\epsilon}a$).
 - Lua'-i djī'na A'ñga lA sqotskidā'ñañ he struck the edges of his canoe with his hands 288.4
 - q!al da'ñat a'ñga la qaxuā'lañ wansū'ga he went out with his skin 289.7
 - ^εΛ'nμē ^εai gī'wē λñ^εa' l' îsdai'yan he put his fish trap into the creek (Masset) 518.15 (^εΛ'nμē creek; ^εai in; gī'u fish trap) gī'wē λ'ñ^εa l' qeā'ñan he looked at his fish trap (Masset) 518.20

§ 29. Plurality and Distribution

Plural Suffixes with Nouns

1. -lAħ is used principally with terms of relationship. It is also contained in the pronouns $t!al_{A'}\tilde{n}$ we, $dal_{A'}\tilde{n}$ ye.

 $q\bar{a}'gal_{\lambda}\tilde{n}$ uncles B 27.13 ($q\bar{a}'[ga]$ uncle) $n\bar{a}'tgal_{\lambda}\tilde{n}$ nephews B 63.24 ($n\bar{a}'t[ga]$ nephew) $sq\bar{a}'ngal_{\lambda}\tilde{n}$ aunts ($sq\bar{a}'n[ga]$ aunt) $y\bar{a}'gal_{\lambda}\tilde{n}$ parents B 45.31 $a'ogal_{\lambda}\tilde{n}$ parents B 59.1 $k!wai'gal_{\lambda}\tilde{n}$ elder brothers B 37.10

2. -djît occurs with some words indicating human beings.

ī'liña a male human being
īla'ndjidai male human beings
xa'ldañ slave
xaldā'ndjidai slaves
git a servant or low caste person
gī'djidai low caste persons

The Distributive Suffix

3. -xa is used after numerals, connectives, and nouns.

sti'ñxa two apiece (stiñ two)

Le'îlxa five apiece (Le'îl five)

gadō'xa round about (gadō' around)

djî'nxa in the neighborhood of (djîn near)

tcaga'nxa around under the ocean-water (tcaga'n the oceanwater)

lk!î'nxa about in the woods (lk!iê'n woods)

l' st!exgia'lagan he became angry B 95.3

§ 30. Demonstrative and Interrogative Pronouns

The essential demonstrative elements are a and wa, which are often used alone; but there are also several demonstrative adverbs compounded from these, such as the following:

ā'djxua over here (near by)
wā'djxua over there (at some distance)
ā'gusa here
wā'gusa there
ā'sī, aldjī', alsī' this thing

wā'nañ farther off! ā'nîs this region, etc. wā'nîs that region ā'lgui this way wa'gui that way ā' Lgan right here.

Interrogative pronouns are all built upon three stems by means of suffixes. These stems are $g\bar{\imath}$ or $g\bar{\imath}s$ where? $g\bar{\imath}s$ what? and $gast'\bar{\imath}s$ why? or how is it? and the two former may be related to the connectives $g\bar{\imath}s$ and $g\bar{\imath}s$ (§ 31). Who? appears to be formed by adding the connectives st_A and has to $g\bar{\imath}s$, making $g\bar{\imath}'st\bar{s}s$ (literally from where ARE YOU?).

Other variant interrogative pronouns are built upon the stems in a similar manner: $g\bar{\imath}'sg\bar{e}t$, $g\bar{\imath}si'stahao$, $g\bar{\imath}'LgAn$, where; $g\bar{u}'su$, $g\bar{u}'sgiao$, what?; $gasi'\bar{n}\bar{o}$, $gasi'\bar{n}hao$, gasi'nLlao, why or how? $G\bar{u}s$ is often duplicated into $g\bar{u}'gus$. The s which occurs throughout most of these forms very much suggests the interrogative particle (sa) in Tlingit, and is one of the features which suggest community of origin for the two languages. These interrogatives and the indefinite pronouns are also used in place of our relatives; the indefinite z in conjunction with gu (zgu) being frequently so employed.

Modifying Stems (§§31-33)

As already stated, this group of stems includes post-positions, conjunctions, adverbs, and interjections. They may be most conveniently classed as—

- (1) Connectives
- (2) Adverbs
- (3) Interjections and expletives

§ 31. Connectives

These are a series of words used to bind together the various parts of a sentence and also to connect sentences, and they thus perform the functions of our prepositions and conjunctions. It is evident, from the manner in which they are employed, that they depend very closely upon the verb, and in some cases they are quite essential

portions of it. The following is a fairly complete list of the connectives:

at or al with, of a'thao for that reason $atqu L \bar{u}'$ as soon as atxa'nhao as soon as $\bar{a}'x_Ana$ near A'la because, for $al\bar{u}$ therefore *∧ldjī'∧lū* therefore uiêd now uiê'dhao now u'ngu on top of u'ngut on top of (motion thither) i'naat at the same time as *i'sgiên* and (connects nouns) ya straight opposite hao that (very general meaning) ha'ohao for that reason diî'ngî alongside djī'qiqui behind da to (Masset dialect) daqu'llu alongside of $d_{A'}\tilde{n}at$ with (close company) $d\bar{\imath}'tgi$ back toward the woods *t!a'gî* opposite t!a'ga on account of *t!ā'lga* while t!ē'sta towing or dragging *sa* above, up sū'uga among sī'agei above sīla'iga after sta from, after sk!iä'xan although *gā'wan* without gai the or that ga'istA after that, from that place gañā'ñ like $ga\tilde{n}\bar{a}'x_An$ as soon as $g\bar{\imath}$ (Masset ga) to or for gia'ogi at the end or edge of $gi\hat{e}n$ and (usually when) gu at, there qua toward

gui toward (with motion) gut with, together with gutsta apart, from each other gu'tgi together gu'tga together gwa'di seeking $ku'ng_Ast_A$ ahead of kwa'gi above k!ia'oga for k!iäl every time ga in or to *gā'atga* between $g\bar{a}'atg\bar{e}i$ between (with motion) gadō' around $g_{A}n$ for (purpose) $g_A'nst_A$ to gaga'n on account of go'da behind gō'tgadō around behind $g\bar{o}'$ raga after (compare rga and go'da) *gei* into ge'ista out of ga'odi after a while ga'sdihao after that $q\bar{a}'li$ inside of $q\bar{a}ligu't$ upon the inside of qalī'gei into the inside of *q!ō'lga* near by $q!\bar{o}'lg_Ast_A'$ from near $q!e\bar{u}'qi$ in front of $q!e\bar{u}'xa$ around in front of $x\bar{e}'daxua$ below (toward below) *xē'tgu* down $x\bar{e}'tqi$ down $x\bar{e}'li$ in the mouth of $L\bar{u}$ when *Lga* after $L\bar{a}'gu$ on the shore opposite Lā'guda as soon as $L\bar{a}'xa$ near $Lg\bar{\imath}'x_An$ as soon as *lgēt* against

A large number of these, it will be seen, are compounded from the simpler connectives, for example:

```
s\bar{\imath}la'iga'(s\bar{\imath}la'i \text{ the place} + ga)
a'thao(at+hao)
atgu \, L\bar{u}' \, (at + gu + Lu)
                                                          ga'ist_A (gai + st_A)
atx_A'nhao (at + the adverb x_An
                                                          ga\tilde{n}a'x_{A}n (ga\tilde{n}a'\tilde{n} + x_{A}n)
                                                          gu'tst_A (gut + st_A)
A'la (Al + a \text{ in place of a verb})
                                                         gu'tgi (gut + gi)
    or clause)
                                                         gu'tga (gut + ga)
\Delta l\bar{u}' (\Delta l + hao)
                                                          g\bar{o}'tgad\bar{o} (go'da + gad\bar{o}')
                                                         ge'ist_A (gei + st_A)
Aldj\bar{\imath}'Al\bar{u}(Aldj\bar{\imath}' \text{this} + Al + hao)
u\hat{i}\hat{e}'dhao (u\hat{i}\hat{e}d + hao)
                                                          qa'odihao (qa'odi + hao)
                                                          q\bar{a}ligu't (q\bar{a}'li+gut)
ha'ohao (hao + hao)
                                                          qalige'i (q\bar{a}'li+gei)
d\vec{\imath}'tg\vec{\imath} (d\vec{\imath}'da+g\vec{\imath})
                                                         q!\bar{o}lg_{A}st_{A} (q!\bar{o}'lga + st_{A})
s\bar{i}'agei~(sa+gei)
```

Still other connectives are evidently compound, although one of the elements may be rarely or not at all used alone. Thus:

 $\bar{a}'x_Ana$ perhaps contains the demonstrative a and the adverb x_An u'ngu is evidently compounded of a connective un, not used independently, and guu'ngut is compounded of un and gut inaat contains at l'sgiên contains giên diî'ngî contains gî dħ'gigui contains gui and probably gi dagu'l Lū contains Lū d'ai contains at t/a'gî contains gî and probably a non-independent connective t/a tla'ga contains ga and tla t!ā'lga contains ga tle'sta contains sta - sū'uga contains ga sk!iä'xan contains xan gia'ogi contains gi ku'ngasta contains sta and probably ga and kun point kwa'gi contains gi k!ia'oga contains ga gā'atga contains ga gā'atgei contains gei ga'nsta contains gan and sta q!ō'lga contains ga q!eū'gi contains gi q!eū'xa contains the distributive suffix xa zē'dazua, zē'tgu, and zē'tgi contain gua, gu, and gi, respectively, with a connective xēt

 $L\bar{a}'gu$ contains gu and a connective $L\bar{a}$ $L\bar{a}'guda$ contains $L\bar{a}$ and gut $L\bar{a}'xa$ contains $L\bar{a}$ and xa $Lg\bar{v}'x_An$ contains x_An and perhaps $L\bar{a}$ and gi

Still another non-independent connective seems to be used with the reflexive suffix in $q/\bar{e}'n_A\tilde{n}$ for themselves. $G\bar{a}'wan$ in the above list is simply the past tense of the verb gao to be wanting, and go'da is the word for buttocks. Gua and gui are probably compounded of ga and gei or gi respectively, with gu; and gut is perhaps from gu and at, or else the suffix indicating motion (see below). $Q\bar{a}'li$ insides, and $x\bar{e}'li$ in the mouth of, are also used as nouns, meaning the insides of a man or animal, or a sound (body of water), and the inside of the mouth, respectively. $Ga\tilde{n}\bar{a}'\tilde{n}$ is perhaps simply the continuative verbal suffix duplicated.

Leaving out these affixes, therefore, along with a few others which occur rarely, it seems as if the following list represented the stems of the original connectives:

at or at	$m{s}ar{u}$	$g_{A}n$
$oldsymbol{ui\hat{e}d}$	8ta	gei
un	gai	qa'odi
ya	gu	$q!ar{o}l$
hao	gi	q!eu
djî n or dj ī	$gi\hat{e}n$	$oldsymbol{x}ar{e}t$
da	gia	Ļu
$d\bar{\imath}t$	k!ia	Ļga
t!a	ga	ьā
$t!\bar{a}i$	gāat	lgēt
8a	$gadar{o}'$	•
	•	

-t is suffixed to connectives to indicate motion of an object in the situation specified by the connective.

sī'geît la xî'tlgaldas he flew about above (sīge above; -ît in that place; xît to fly; lgal moving about; -da to cause)

gam l' nā'dalañ da îsî'n l! dō'añgañan l' k!otā'lan sîle't a after he died, they did not call his nephews (Masset) (gam not; nāda nephew; -lañ plural; da [?]; îsî'n also; dō to go and get; -¹añ negation; -gañ continuative; -an past inexperienced; k!otāl stem to die; -an past inexperienced; sîle after; a stands for dō'angañan)

L! xetî't L! î'steîdanî they put these before them (xet before; îste stem [?]; -îd inchoative [?]; -an past inexperienced; -î perfect) *A'nṛē djînē't alongside of the stream (they went) (Masset) (*Anṛ fresh water or stream; ē the; djîn along by)

§ 32. Adverbs

The position which adverbs take in the sentence, and their use in general, connect them closely with connectives. Both are subordinated to the verb in the same way, and the only difference lies in the fact that an adverb does not refer to a substantival modifier of the verb so directly as does a connective. The fact that adverbial modifiers sometimes do refer to such a substantive (ila', sa, etc.) shows how close the relationship is. The simpler adverbs are the following:

i'siñ (Masset i'sin) again, also ila' differently yen truly yê'nk!iên very much hawi'dan quickly hayî'ñ instead han (Masset hîn) like, as follows halgunañ closer hit!aga'n (Masset hit!a'n) then hiña'n only

dī'da landward
q!ā'da seaward
sa up, above
sī'nañ snuffling
gua (interrogation)
gam not
xan (Masset han) still, yet
xañgiañ answering, in reply
Lan complete, ended
L!a however
la (imperative adverb)
lñan a little

A second set of adverbs is formed by means of x_{An} , which has very much the force and function of the English adverbial ending -LY. Such are:

wa'lañxan really
ha'oxan still
de'ixan carefully
ku'nxan still more
kia'xan outside
Lgua'nixan aimlessly, traveling at random

Many ideas expressed in English by adverbs are rendered in Haida by a noun, or its equivalent, and connective:

q!a'gui northward or to the north djaxui' seaward, toward the mouth of the inlet qalgui' up-inletward, or toward the head of the inlet tadjxua' toward the rear of the house lkia'gua toward the door of the house sqō'lagi to the right stā'angi to the left or leftward

§ 33. Interjections

The following is a list of interjections, or words of interjectional nature:

a-i ah! or oh my!

āya no!

 $\bar{a}'digua$ just hear! (an angry exclamation used by old people)

aña yes!

î don't!

ī (disgust) dirty! etc.

īt/e'i indeed! or is that so? or why! don't you know?

wa or lengthened into $w\bar{a}$ - \bar{a} - \bar{a} pretty, nice!

 $y\bar{u}'ya$ a feminine exclamation of terror

yūla'dal an exclamation used by the Ninstints people when they hear news, regardless of its quality

hai now!

hawī't quick!

hā'maya horrors! (a very strong expression)

hadjadī'a alas!

ha'ku now!

hala' come! The Ninstints sometimes use Liñ instead of this.

 $h\bar{u}k$ or lengthened into $h\bar{u}'kukukuk$ look out! also the cry raised when rushing on an enemy. It always indicates danger.

djā say! well!

t!aganē' lo! surprising!

ga'o ano or gō'ano no!

gū'gus t!aganē' wonderful! or surprising!

k!wai pray! wait! hold on!

q!a pretty or nice (a Kaigani exclamation particularly)

q!ā'la ūljā'xʌn an obsolete expression, used only by chiefs, and indicative of intense anger

ña here! say!

Lan or ha'os Lan enough! stop! (identical with the adverb Lan)

L!na would that!

§ 34. Syntax

The verb almost always stands at the end of the sentence or clause; but where the speaker wishes to supplement some thought to what he has just said, he may do so by introducing the essential part of it, and adding a, which stands for the verb and modifiers just given.

wagañā'xan la îsda'yagan nañ djā'adas a she did it that way, the woman (did it that way) (wagañā'xan that way [=wa+ gaña'\nana+xan]; îsda stem; -ya perfect; -agan past inexperienced; nañ the [with -s]; djā'da woman; a for îsda'yagan)

l' qā'idagan tadā'oagai sî'tga a she started off, while those who were after salmon were away (she started) ($q\bar{a}$ to go; -id inchoative; -gan past inexperienced; tadā'oagai they were after salmon; sî'lqa while [literally, IN THE PLACE]; a for qā'idagan)

l' gar!za'yagan tā'ñai djî'ngi a she came out of the woods, near the sea-water (she came out) (qa stem; -L!xa toward; -ya perfect; -agan past inexperienced; tā' nai the sea; djîn near; gi at; a for $qa_L!xa'yag_An$)

la gan 1! ā'xanagiā'lagani la 19a da'ogai a they came near her, those that came after her (came near her) $(g_A n \text{ for}; \bar{a}' x_A n a \text{ stem})$ TO COME NEAR; -giāl to come to be; -agan past inexperienced; -i perfect; Lga after; dao to come to get; gai the or those; a for ā'xʌnagiā'lagani)

Occasionally a is omitted.

giên la gā'itq!ā'isgîtlasi sîn Lgu lā'na ê'sîñ and he threw it up hard into the air, the sun also (giên and; gāit hard or quickly; q!āiclassifier; sgît stem; -l up; -asi participle; sîn sun; zgu indeed; lā'na that one; ê'sîñ also)

ga'i Luhao L! laga'yañ wansū'ga gā'lai Lā'alge'îlsi Lu at that time they went off in a crowd, at the end of ten days (literally, NIGHTS) (ga'i tuhao at that time; laga stem [?]; -ya perfect; -añ continuative; wansū'ga quotative; gāl night; ai the; Lā'al ten; ge'îl to become; -si participle; Lu when)

When the subject and object of the verb are nouns, the former precedes; when they are pronouns, the order is reversed. pronominal object is followed by one of the connectives, and is placed before the other personal pronouns. When nouns and pronouns are both used as subjects or objects, the pronouns usually stand nearest to the verb, and exceptions to this are usually for emphasis:

Lan $d_{\tilde{A}}\tilde{n}$ l $q\hat{n}'\tilde{n}ga$ I cease to see thee 31.5 (Lan to stop; $d_{\tilde{A}}\tilde{n}$ thee; l I; qîñ to see; -ga declarative or auxiliary [?])

la î'sîn la'ga qā'gas he, too, went to him (î'sîn too; ga to; qā stem TO GO; -ga auxiliary; -s participle)

dala'ñ L!a L! ta'lgi lā'gasga you, however, will be better than the others $(dal_{A}'\tilde{n} \text{ you [pl.]}; L!a \text{ however}; L_{A}'lgi \text{ more than}; l\bar{a}$ good; -ga auxiliary; -sga future)

I have noted above, that a connective depending upon a verb may stand at the very beginning of the sentence, the noun to which it refers being either understood or expressed in the preceding clause.

Adjectives, connectives, and possessives used like connectives, always follow the nouns to which they refer. When several adjectives depend upon one noun, they are apt to occur in an order exactly the reverse of that observed in English:

 $g\bar{o}'djai\ t/\bar{e}l\ x_A'tdju$ the wolf, wet, small (the small wet wolf) $g\bar{v}'na\ g\bar{o}'lgal\ s_{LA'}pdj\bar{u}$ a thing, blue, slim (a slim blue thing)

Subordinate clauses almost always precede those on which they depend, though occasionally they may be inserted into the major clause itself:

l' lta'xui xū'adji l' tia'gan la gan gūdā'ñagan his friends (that) a grizzly bear killed him thought about him (his friends thought a grizzly bear had killed him) (lta'xui friends or clansmen; xū'adji grizzly bear; tia stem to kill; -agan past inexperienced; gan for [here about]; gudā'ña stem to think; -qan past inexperienced)

In the Masset dialect the subordinate clause usually ends in -s (§ 25.7) and is followed by giên, tu, or some other connective. This is also found in the Skidegate dialect; but more often the subordinate clause ends in gai. Masset sentences are usually introduced by wa'giên; and Skidegate sentences, by giê'nhao, wa'giênhao, tū'hao, etc. It is often more convenient, however, to regard the sentence they introduce as a clause coordinate with that which precedes. This uncertainty always renders it difficult to divide Haida discourse into sentences.

VOCABULARY (§§ 35-39)

§ 35. General Remarks

Haida stems may be most conveniently divided into two classes—principal stems and modifying stems. The former class includes those which we should call in English, verbs, adjectives, nouns, and pronouns; the latter, post-positions, conjunctions, adverbs, and interjections.

§ 36. Verb-Stems

The greater number of these consist of one syllable, and, in many cases where more than one occur, it seems probable that they are really compound. The following list includes all of those most commonly employed, along with a few rarely found. They are arranged in the following order: (1) stems consisting of a single vowel; (2) those of a single consonant; (3) a consonant and following vowel or vowel-combination; (4) two consonants; (5) two consonants and

following vowel; (6) a consonant, vowel, and consonant; (7) two consonants, a vowel, and a consonant; (8) stems of two syllables.

- 1. \bar{u} to remain in one place or to sit
- 2. z to touch
- 3. wa to do or make

dju to be of a certain sort or kind

dao to go and get

ta to eat

tai to lie

tia to kill (one person)

su to say

gao to be absent or wanting

gia to stand

guē to come

kwa to strike

kiu to tie

k!wi to mention

xia to follow

xiao to hang up

go to lie

go(xa) to burn

qa to go (one person)

qē to give birth

q!a to sit (usually followed

by auxiliary \bar{u})

qla to sleep qla to laugh

q!ol to hide or secrete from

the eyes

xao to fish

Llū to sit (plural)

- 4. sz a stem of very general application, meaning to place in a certain direction
- 5. sta to remove from a certain place
 st/ē to be sick, angry, sad
 tgī to swim

Lxu to creep

L!da to kill (many people)

tta to spit

6. nan to grind or rub nial or nīl to drink

 $g\hat{i}\tilde{n}$ to go by sea

kiän to ask

kîn to make a noise, as a

bird

k!êl to be extinguished

xā to howl

xit to fly

xīt to pick up

gāt to run, to act quickly

geîl to become

gēt to be like

xut to drink

xoal to steam

xon falling of a heavy ob-

ject, like a tree

sîl to borrow

liñ to start anything

lil to surround

7. stīl to return

skît to move so as to result

in contact skît to club

skîn to wake up

sgail to weep

sgol to hide

lgal and $lg\bar{u}l$ to move around

8. āba to chew up food, for a

child

īdjî or îs to be

hailu to destroy

djapat to sink suddenly

daga to own

gīdjî to seize

gīsu to wipe

 $k!\bar{o}'t_{A}l$ to be dead

gāxa to be weak

golga to make

gaido to go to war

lā'nō to swear

Adjectives may always be used as verb-stems and so belong to this category. The following are the principal:

 $\begin{array}{lll} \bar{a}da \ \text{different} & g\bar{o}t \ \text{last}; \ \text{also a noun meaning} \\ yaku \ \text{middle} & \text{buttocks} \\ y\bar{u}' \land n \ \text{big (incorporated } y\bar{u}) & qoan \ \text{much} \\ ta \not td \bar{j}\bar{u}' \ \text{half} & q\bar{o}' na \ \text{great}, \ \text{mighty} \\ t!\bar{e}t \ \text{wet} & l\bar{a} \ \text{good} \\ s\bar{q}\bar{e}t \ \text{red} & l\bar{q}at \ \text{black} \\ nao(da) \ \text{many} & g\bar{o}' l\bar{q}at \ \text{blue} \\ g\bar{a}' da \ \text{white} & . \end{array}$

Nouns like the following may also be used as the stems of verbs:

 $y\bar{a}'n_A\tilde{n}$ clouds $g\bar{\imath}da$ chief's son $tc!\bar{a}'ano$ fire or firewood $t\bar{a}'\tilde{n}a$ sea-water na house

More often the noun is followed by an auxiliary, and these auxiliaries are used after verb-stems as well, though a few of them may occur as entirely independent stems (see § 18).

§ 37. Numerals

The numeral system has become decimal since the advent of the whites, and the word HUNDRED has replaced the original expression that covered that figure; but the old blanket-count ran as follows:

```
1 sgoā'nsîñ
   2 stîñ
   3 lgu'nul
   4 sta'nsîñ
   5 Lē'îl
   6 Lga'nul
   7 djīguagā'
   8 sta'ns Añxa
   9 Laslî'ñgisgoansî'ñgo
  10 Lā'Al
  11 Lā' Al wai'gî sgoa'nsî ñ
  12 Lā'Al wai'gî stîñ
  20 la'guat sgoa'nsîñ
  30 la'guat sgoansî'ñgo wai'gî lā'al
  40 la'guat stîñ
  50 la'guat stî ñ wai'gî lā'al
  60 la'guat lgu'nul
 100 la'guat Lē'îl
 200 la'guat Lā'al
 300 la'guat lā'al wai'gî la'guat lē'll
 400 la'guat lā'alē stîñ
1000 la'guat Lā'alē Lē'îł
2000 la'guat lā'alē lā'al
```

etc.

It will be seen that the term for FOUR is derived from that for TWO; the term for SIX, from the term for THREE; the term for EIGHT, from the terms for FOUR and TWO; and the term for TEN, from that for FIVE; while NINE is simply TEN minus ONE.

§ 38. Nominal Stems

Following is a list of the simpler nominal stems, arranged in the same order as the verbal stems given above. Since stems of two syllables with a weak final vowel differ but slightly from those of one syllable, I have given them before other two-syllable stems:

1. ao mother 2. āl paddle 3. tcīa place tc!ū cedar sū lake na house qwai island k!iu trail x_Ai sunshine gai blood qa uncle q!a harpoon q!a north k!āo salmon eggs xao juice Lū canoe lai cranberries 5. st!a foot st!ao wizard

Lga land
lga rock
6. djat woman
tein grandfather
te!ñ teeth
t/ēs rock, ledge
djil bait
sil place
siñ day or sky
git son
kun point
k!ial leg
gāl night

ſ.,

sku back

qait tree qoñ moon q!ās pitch q!an grass q!ān hemlock q!al clay q!Al swamp $x\bar{a}t$ woman's father, also grave-post x_A ñ face *xêl* neck $x\bar{e}l$ hole lēn certain Tsimshian songs *līñ* root 7. sqot armpit lgan male cousin

gan p fresh water

8. tā' ña sea-water

sgā'na supernatural being
k!a'-ila tray
k!a'-ilda star
gī'na something
kī'ga meat, flesh
k!ū'da beak
gō'da buttocks
go'da box

go'da box
qā'djî head
qā' ta or qāt reef
qō'na father-in-law and sonin-law
xa'ida human beings
lā'na town
txadjî middle of top of head

§ 38

lqea'ma kelp; also tall rough grass along shore lta'nga feathers i'nagwa one side or half i'lgas chief i'lgas chief i'liñ male tc!ā'ano fire dā'gal to-morrow dadji'ñ hat tā'ñal tongue stagu'n branch-tips gia'at blanket gīnī't smoke-hole gī'gao salmon-trap

gū'dañ mind and throat
kt'lga language
k!ā'ñal color
k!iä'lu cormorant
k!ona'ñ a crazy person
gā'yao the sea
gā'yu smoke
gō'dañ a white variety of
rock
qā'woda bag
qē'gu water basket or bucket
q!anā's comrade (in address)
q!a'ndal a mass of trees
fallen in one place
lā'laga house-screens

Some of these last are undoubtedly compound. Thus $g\bar{u}'dA\tilde{n}$, $k!on_A'\tilde{n}$, and $g\bar{o}'d_A\tilde{n}$ seem to have the continuative ending $(A\tilde{n})$; $b\bar{a}'na$ is probably compounded from na house, and perhaps la he or his; dā'gal probably contains gal NIGHT; ī'L!xagidas is very likely from $\bar{\imath}'$ Lgas and $g\bar{\imath}'da$ CHIEF's son (a $g\bar{\imath}'da$ being so high that he was practically certain to be a chief himself); while kî'lga probably has the possessive suffix. Other nouns which are certainly compound are: sî'ñxî evening (sîñ day or daylight-sky); ku'ngida corner (perhaps from kun point); q!a'ixida woman's cloak; ga'ndjilga'gi dancingblanket; xā'tgi dancing-leggings; ga'ixāt ashes; gagwā'ñqē cradle; th'ngoan ocean. The two last probably contain the verbal suffix $goa\tilde{n}$ about, around, and the last seems to be compounded of this and $t\bar{a}'\bar{n}a$ SEA-WATER. The word for SALT, $t\bar{a}\tilde{n}$ $q/\bar{a}'ga$, means simply DRIED SEA-WATER. The word for BEANS and PEAS is $x\bar{o}'ya$ - $L\bar{u}'ga$ RAVEN'S CANOE, and refers to one of Raven's adventures. called î'nlñ-tc!îñ english teeth. Gāza child seems to be derived from the stem of the verb meaning WEAK.

A study of animal names is usually interesting; but in Haida most of the names of land and sea animals, along with those of the most common birds and fishes, are simple, and yield nothing to investigation. Such are the following:

 $tc\bar{\imath}n$ salmon (general term) $tc!i\tilde{\imath}n$ beaver $t\bar{\imath}ai$ silver-salmon tan black-bear

tāṭ loon t/în robin sī'ga snake st!ao screech-owl sqao grouse and big variety
of clam
sqol porpoise
sq!ên gull
szgu land-otter
nao devil-fish
kiu clam
k!āt deer
k!āl sculpin
k!aga'n mouse
kun whale

gōt eagle
qai sea-lion
qō sea-otter
xa dog
xā'gu halibut
xō'ya raven
xot hair-seal
Lga weasel
lk!ia saw-bill
lgo heron

The word for BEAVER seems to be the same as that for TEETH, from which it may have been derived. Most of the other animal, bird, and insect names are evidently derived from descriptive terms. Such are the following:

y*∧'ñidj∧ñ* spider djaga'ldaxuañ fly; also snipe djī'gul-a'oga shrew (probably literally, FERN-MOTHER) djîda'n humpback-salmon dogā'tıxagaña chicken-hawk $t\bar{a}'\hat{i}\tilde{n}a$ steelhead-salmon tā'gun spring-salmon taxe't small salmon found on the Queen Charlotte islands tā' Lat trout tā' ĻAt-gā'dala swallow tialgun swan sīx is id a'lgāña small bird statsk!u'n fish-hawk stāq!ā'djîtga brant skā'gî dog-salmon skāxia'o swamp-robin sqa_1'm star-fish $s_L!\bar{u}'djagad_A\tilde{n}$ red-headed woodpecker kalgai'agañ butterfly, grasshopper $ku'ndagua\tilde{n}$ (Masset $sL_Aq_A'm$) sand-flea k!ā'ldjîda crow qadjî'ñq!algê'ksLē green-headed duck qōtgadAgA'mlgal bat qotqalū' sparrow q!a'isgut butter-ball $q!\bar{o}y\bar{a}'\tilde{n}$ mouse *lgîtgu'n* goose lk!iê'nq!ōstan frog (lk!īê'n forest; q!ōsta'n crab) tāļat-gā'dala fast trout 44877-Bull. 40, pt 1-10-18

Another set of names appears to be onomatopoetic either in fact or in idea:

hī'xodada or īa'xodada grebe wīt salmon-berry bird mā'matc!êgî dragon-fly djīdja't small hawk djîdjîgā'ga small bird tc!a'tc!a song-sparrow da'tc!î wren dī'dañ blue-fly
swī'lawīt small bird
skā'skas small owl
gū'tgunîs (Masset gū'tgunîst)
horned owl
L!ai' L!ai bluejay

I know of but two story-names of animals, $k!\bar{u}'xuginagits$ marten (instead of $k!\bar{u}'xu$) and sqo'lginagits porpose (instead of sqol); but it is possible that the same suffixes may have occurred after other animal-names as well. $g\bar{v}'na$ means something, and git son; but whether those are the words included in the suffix is uncertain.

Several animal-names are almost identical with those found in Tlingit:

tc!ī'tga skate
tc!īsgu moose
tco'lgī ground-squirrel
nā'gadjē fox
nūsg wolverene
k!ū'xu marten

gōdj wolf
q!ā'zada dog-fish
q!ō'An fur-seal
xū'adjî grizzly-bear
lAguā'djî sea-bird

lgo HERON, and k! aga'n (Keene's) MOUSE, also resemble the Tlingit terms; and the Tlingit word for RAVEN, $y\bar{e}l$, is the same as that used by the Masset Haida. This similarity between the two vocabularies extends to a few words other than names of animals, of which the following are the principal:

yage't or ya'ê't chief's son hīgayê'djî iron gaodja'o drum gu'lga abalone

Nā'gadjê rox is also found in Tsimshian, and the following names are also from that language:

 $a'od^a$ porcupine $m_A t$ mountain-goat

skiä'msm blue-hawk gū'tgunîs horned owl

Names of implements and various utensils are formed from verbs by means of a noun-forming suffix o(u):

squnxola'o perfume (from squn, skūn to smell) sL!anā'ñu soap (from sL!a hand; nañ to play) nidjā'ñu mask (from nidjā'ñ to imitate) kî'tao spear handle (from kît to spear)

Of a similar character are the following, although their derivation is not clear:

daqu'nlao matches kitsgalā'ño poker zalgadja'o tin pan g!aizītagā'ño rattle q!ā'sgudjao lamp rqalda'o baking-powder r!no milk

Probably the Masset word for FOOD, tao, should be added to this list. The Skidegate word for FOOD is formed in a peculiar way—by prefixing the plural indefinite pronoun ga to the stem of the verb EAT (ga ta FOOD).

Proper names are often formed from nouns or descriptive terms by means of the suffix s, already referred to. The following are examples:

Djī'lindjaos a man named Devil-club (djī'lindjao devil-club)

Gao gons the name of an inlet (gao gon mighty inlet)

Q!ēts name for the Kaigani country (q!ēt narrow strait)

Gu'lgas a man named Abalone (gu'lga abalone)

Nanki'lslas the Person-who-accomplished-things-by-his-word; that is, the Creator, Raven (nan ki'lsla a person who accomplishes things by his word)

Qai al lā'nas a family called the people of Qai (Qai al lā'na a man of the town of Qai)

Nañ-stî'ns The-one-who-is-(equal-to)-two (nañ one person; stîñ two)

Na q!ā'las a family called Clay-house People (na q!ā'la a clayey house)

Tcān lā'nas Mud-town

This, however, is not essential to the formation of proper names, as the following examples will show:

Xō'ya ga'n ka Raven creek

Qa'itgaogao Inlet-from-which-the-trees-have-been-swept-away (a camp between Kaisun and Tc!a'at)

ıdjîñ xa'id Agai Far People (the Kwakiutl)

Gidā'nsta From-his-daughter (name of a chief)

Tc!ānu al q!ola'i Master-of-the-Fire (name of a chief)

Sgā'na yū'an Great Supernatural Power (name of a chief)

Qena-ga'is L Floating-heavily-in-his-canoe (name of a chief)

The following nouns are nothing more than verb-stems:

wā'lgal potlatch st!ē sickness

 $g\bar{u}'s\bar{u}$ speech

k!ō'da dead body xiäl dance

'e'da shame (Masset)

As already noted, there are a few other stems difficult to classify as absolutely nominal or verbal; such as na HOUSE, xa'ida PERSON.

§ 39. Plural Stems

By substitution of one stem for another, plurality is sometimes indicated in the verb itself; but a close examination shows that this phenomenon is not as common as at first appears. A large number of plural stems of this kind prove to be nothing more than adjectives with the plural suffix -d_Ala or -da, and still others really have the same stem in the singular and plural; but the Haida mind requires some additional affix in one number to satisfy its conception fully. In the other cases there seems to be an alteration in idea from the Haida point of view, such as would impel in all languages the choice of a different verb. The only verbs which show conspicuous changes in stem in the plural are the following four:

Singular	Plural	
qa	îs, dal, or isdal	to go
q!ao	$_{m{L}} ! ar{m{u}}$	to sit
$\bar{x}\bar{\imath}t$	$\tilde{n}a(lg_Al)$	to fly
tia	$\mathbf{L}!d\mathbf{a}$	to kill

In the first three cases the plurality refers to the subject; in the last case, to the object.

The plural of adjectives expressing shape and size is expressed by the syllables -dAla and -da. These may be plural equivalents of the stem dju.

```
t!a'gao \ k!A'mdAla fine snow (kA'mdju a small or fine object) q\bar{e}'gu \ y\bar{u}'dAla big buckets (y\bar{u}'An big)

*a xA'dAla small children (xA'tdju small thing) (Masset)
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-da is sometimes used instead of the preceding.

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yua'nda big things (yu'an big)
djî'nda long things (djîñ long)
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HAIDA TEXT (SKIDEGATE DIALECT)

A RAID ON THE BELLA COOLA BY THE PEOPLE OF NINSTINTS AND KAISUN

gu Ģa'ñxēt xa'idagai¹ Lū gasta'nsîñ² gu gada'ñ * Kaisun Ninstints people canoes four at in company with themselves gasta'nsîñ qa'idōxalgañ 4 Lüî'sL!xagan. Giê'nhao 6 Lū they to ask to go to fight came by cance. And then canoes four at t!a'ogañ L! i'djînî. Ga'iLuhao L! Lūda'oganî 10 sta Lîlgī'mî 11 went At that time went across after Bentinck arm they together gei L! Lüîsdā'lte!îgan.12 Lā'xa 15 Giê'nhao gā'lxua 13 t!a'odjîgai 14 went in by canoe. during the And then opposite sL!îñ 16 Lüîsdā'ltc!îganî. Giê'nhao ga naxandā'yagan 17 ga. And then the inlet 'n they went in by canoe. some had been camping xa'ngusta 18 L! tc!îtxī'danî. 10 Gü'hao 20 Amai'kuns k!ō'dageidan.*1 from in front them started to fire on. Amaikuns was killed. Right there Gayî'ns î'sîñ L! tc!îtL!'dagan.22 telîtı!'dagan. î'sîñ Qōya' L they wounded. Beloved too they wounded. Floating too La/hao 20 sqā'djîgan. Ga'igu 21 L! süga ga. stîñ T.I them among was a brave man. There some

³gs- prefix indicating shape; sta'nsti FOUR.

 $^{{}^{1}}G_{A}$ 'Azë was the name of a cape close to the southern end of the Queen Charlotte islands, though, according to Dr. C. F. Newcombe, it is not identical with the Cape St. James of the charts. The Haida on this part of the islands received their name from it. -ggi is the connective.

³ gado' Around + the possessive suffix -A \$\tilde{n}\$ (\$\frac{1}{2}\)28.4) (literally, around themselves).

^{*} qu'idō to go to WAR; -zal the auxiliary to ASK (§ 18.7); -gañ the continuative suffix (§ 24.1).

⁶ Lel Canoe, and so motion by canoe; is stem of verb to be; -L/28 motion toward any object mentioned (§ 22.10); -gAn suffix indicating past event experienced by the person speaking (§ 23.1).

⁶ gien and + hao.

^{?-}ga n is the suffix denoting intimate possession (§ 28.4).

³ Although the story-teller himself went along, he speaks of his party in the third person throughout much of the narrative. -in is the same suffix as -g.in, spoken of above (§ 23.1). The -i is a suffix of doubtful significance, probably giving a very vague impression of the completion of an action (§ 25.6).

^{*} gai + Lu + hao.

¹⁰ LE- BY CANOE; dao stem; -qua past-temporal suffix experienced (\$ 23.1); -4 see note 8.

[&]quot; Lugi'mt is applied to interior Indians generally by the Bella Bella at the mouth of Bentinck arm and Dean canal.

[&]quot;Lif- by canoe; is stem; ddl several going; -tc/1 motion into a shut-in place, such as a harbor of inlet (§ 22.1); -gan temporal suffix (§ 23.1).

[&]quot;gal NIGHT; rue (qua) TOWARD, without motion, and thus derivatively DURING (§ 31).

[&]quot; i /a' odji FORT; gai THE OF THAT.

¹⁵ Lt in the neighborhood of or opposite something on shore; -ze distributive suffix (§ 29.3).

No. 1.75 means anything that is WELL BACK, such as the rear row of several lines of houses, and thus it is applied to an injet running back into the land.

Fig. 70 LIVE, temporarily or permanently; $-xan = -gA\hbar$ the continuative suffix (§ 24.1); -da auxiliary indicating cause (§ 18.2); -ya perfect time (§ 23.7); -gAn past-experienced-temporal suffix (§ 23.1).

EZAÑ FACE; gu at or there; sta from (§ 31).

⁼ teRt to shoot with Guns; -rid the inchoative auxiliary (§ 18.6); - $text{-4}$ the past-experienced-temporal suffix, which drops q after d; -t as above.

P gu AT OF THERE + hao.

[#] k!6'de DEAD BODY; -geit TO BE IN THAT CONDITION; -An temporal suffix.

xaldā'ñgatdā'ganî.22 Ga'ista 23 L! Lūî'sdaxîtgoa'ganî.24 Giên enslaved. After that they started out. ku'ngasta 25 ga qaîtlā'gañgan 36 xūtguigî'ngan " ga'iatsgagan." ga. started first some coming sailing went out to. before those WA gu 81 sq!a'stîñ 30 q!ada'ogaganî.82 Sta Lua'i q!āl was the noise of. Afterthe at empty ward canoe xūtgîndā'lganî 33 djā'ada stîñ xaldā'ñgadayagan.24 giên ga. drifted along and some women two were enslaved. LüîsL!xā'ganî 36 ga'nsta 85 giên wa gu tagī'djîgidai 37 Giên L And they and it at persons captured at Lga sgu'ngî 38 aga'ñ L! xa'ñalgîñgandî 30 xan 30 L! q!ō'lga with land close to them- they rejoiced that having while them gadō' kundjū'gan 40 ga xūtgī'djî-L!xagai 41 L!A gei qē'xagai 42 them (into) around some came sailing q!aL!t!A'lganî.43 daot!A'lganî.45 Giê'nhao gō'Laga 44 L! Giê'nhao jumped off. And then after [them] they landed. And then aga'ñ l L'gōlgagîñ 46 qa'odîhao 46 l qat!a'lgan.47 Giê'nhao gā'yawai 48 after a while got off. prepared I And then the sea nañ Lxiêndā'lsî la xîtxī'danî.50 Łk!î'nxet 51 la ł xîtgî'ndal one was running I started to pursue. About in the him I chased about woods

²² tc/U-instrumental prefix meaning by Shooting (§ 14.2); L/ds stem of verb to kill when used with plural objects, probably used here because two are spoken of in close connection (§ 39).

²² gai THE + stA FROM, both being connectives.

^{**} Lu-by cance; is stem; -da contraction of -dal (§ 14.5); rit to begin to (§ 18.6); -gog motion out of doors (§ 22.2).

⁵ Probably means literally FROM IN A POINT (kun POINT; ga IN; sta FROM).

[≈] qu to go; -l(probably originally contracted from \$\tau ii) to start(\$18.6);-L\dga\text{first time (\$21.3).}

[&]quot; tut- instrumental prefix meaning with the wind (§ 14.19); -qui stem; -qth on the sea (§ 19.2).

[≥] gai Floating; -sga motion seaward (§ 22.8).

[&]quot;dji'gu + gai, the g being dropped after u.

[≈] sq/a- classifier indicating objects like sticks (§ 15.11).

⁸¹ wA demonstrative pronoun + gu AT.

²² ga probably auxiliary meaning to BE.

^{* 741-} WITH THE WIND (§ 14.19); -gin drifting on the sea; -dal, auxiliary indicating motion (§ 14.5).

[™] zaldā'āgat SLAVE; -ya perfect time (§ 23.7).

 $^{^{28}}$ Probably from gAn For + stA FROM, the idea being motion FROM a certain place with a definite object in view, and thus to something else.

[#] Lu-By Cance; is stem; -L/za motion toward; -gan temporal suffix.

[&]quot; ta- a noun-forming prefix; gi'dji stem of verb to seize.

[≈] gi the connective meaning TO or FOR.

 $⁼ aqA'\bar{n}$ the reflexive pronoun; L' pronominal subject; $LA\bar{n}al$ to rejoice; $-qi\bar{n}$ on the real suffix indicating that the action is held suspended in a certain position pending some further developments; $LA\bar{n}$ the adverb STILL or YET.

^{**} kun POINT; dju sort of thing; -gan past-experienced-temporal suffix.

⁴ ga plural indefinite pronoun; τdi -motion by means of the wind; gldft to seize of carry along, seized; -L/za-motion toward; gal the of those.

a që za to see; gai connective turning the verb into an infinitive.

^{44-4/}Al MOTION DOWNWARD; -gan temporal suffix.

⁴ go is evidently from go'ds or got posteriors, and secondarily Afterwards; -tags is the same as -t.ps.

^{*}dao is probably the stem to go and get; -t!al motion downward, out of the canoe.

[&]quot;aga'\"a the reflexive pronoun; l subjective pronoun of the first person singular; L to accomplish by touching with the hands; $g\ddot{o}lga$ stem of verb meaning to MAKE; -gi\"a UPON THE OCEAN; qa'odihao the connective before which a verb loses its temporal suffix, and which is itself compounded of qa'odi + hao.

a qa singular stem meaning to Go; -t/Al motion downward.

[#] ga'yao SEA + (g)ai the connective.

^{*} t- shape of a human being; dal auxiliary; -st the infinitive suffix.

at lk/in woods; -ra distributive suffix; -t motion in that place.

qa'odîhao 52 gā'yawai gei la gā'tgīganî. 53 Giên l' qā'djî 54 da'ñat 55 l' the sea into he jumped. And his hair ā'xinai 56 la' sta la gīlgî'lganî.57 Giên l' L'telîL!xaga'n 58 q!ā'da yellow cedar him from I bark blanker toward took. And the sea Lq!agîldā'ñgAn.60 Giê'nhao giên dī XAñã'ga 59 la dī ga

held up his hands at. And then and face he ŧο he Ļgīgî'lgan.61 l' ā'xanagea'lgai 62 Ļu 62 î'sîñ l' ga'igīagan 68 Dĩ gan swam shoreward. Me for he came to be near when again he giên q!ā'da l' idjîL!xaga'n 4 giên la gî 55 l tc!îdjūxī'dan. 66 Giên l' and him at I began to shoot. and seaward he came to the surface igīgî'lgan giên nañ stala' xa'ñgî o aga'ñ la gīdjîgī'ldai.skī'dan. o swam landward and cliff on the face himself he held tight against. 8. Ga'igu î'sîñ la la te!ī'gastiā'ñgai 60 Lu 60 Lan la la gē'îldaganî.70

Ga'igu î'sîñ la la te!ī'gastiā'ñgai 69 Ļu 69 Lan la la gē'îldaganî. 70 There too him I shot twice when ended him I caused to become. Giê'nhao sta'lai xa'ñgî qaît 71 giagā'ñaganî 72 gut la qaxia'lganî. 78

And then the cliff on the face tree was standing upon he climbed up.

Giên l' qā'djî stala'i sta djī'ñaganî. 74 Sk!ia'xan 75 wa'gui 76 la

And its top the cliff from was some distance. But still toward it he t!askîtgaoga'ndî 77 qa'odî stala'i xa'ngî aga'n la gidjîgi'ldalgaski'danî. 78

bent it after the cliff on the himself he got hold of.
a while face

Giên gu ga xē'lganî 79 gei la qā'tc!îgan. 80 Gam sta L'gut 81 xē'tgî 83 And therein was a hole into he went in. Not from either downward

 $^{^{23}}$ rM = stem above referred to (50); -gin probably the continuative -gan; -dal the auxiliary.

sight to move rapidly; of motion down into the water; -qan temporal suffix.

Med'dit is used both for HAIR and for HEAD.

^{**} da' net contains the connective at. It means very much the same thing as at, but is a stronger form.

[≥] ai is the contracted form of gai.

⁵⁷ gi-classifier indicating shape of blanket; -gil MOTION LANDWARD.

^{# 4-} shape of human being; -L/za MOTION TOWARD.

di objective personal pronoun of the first person, used as the possessive; zAñ FACE; -ga possessive suffix.

[.] L/- action with HANDS; -gil TOWARD THE LAND; -da auxiliary to CAUSE; -an continuative suffix.

⁴ t- shape of man; of swimming on water; -oil motion landward.

[&]quot;&'LARS NEAR, is also used independently as a connective; -peal the auxiliary meaning to become or to come to be; gai the infinitive-forming connective.

gai- FLOATING ON the water; -gia motion down into the water.

[■] L- HUMAN SHAPE; -L/ZG MOTION TOWARD.

La personal pronoun of the third person singular; gi the connective To.

[■] tc/lt to shoot; -pit to begin to do.

[#] ZAR FACE; gi to of At.

a gldji to grasp, srize; -gil to become; -da the auxiliary to cause; i- human shape; skil contact, -as temporal suffix.

[●] teft = teft to shoot; -ga the auxiliary to BE; -stid'n = stin two; gai the connective.

[&]quot;La objective pronoun of the third person singular; is subjective pronoun of the first person singular and to become; do to cause.

n Also the word for SPRUCE.

[&]quot;gia TO STAND; -gaf the continuative suffix.

[&]quot; qu to go (one person); -ria QUICKLY; -i MOTION UPWARD.

[&]quot;dff' na also an adjective meaning a long distance, PAR.

[&]quot; IAR - the adverb STILL, YET.

^{* ##} the demonstrative pronoun THAT; gui TOWARD (with motion).

 $[\]pi t!a$ - shape of CURVING TREE; skit to PUT; $-g_A n = -g_A \hat{n}$ the continuative suffix.

¹³ of dif to seize; -oil to become; -da to cause; loa-shape assumed by a branching object, referring here, either to the top of the tree or to the shape assumed by the man as he climbs off from it.

[&]quot;gu connective THERE, referring to the cliff which is understood; ga connective IN; zel Hole; -gan pastexperienced-temporal suffix.

[■] qu to go (singular); -tc/ MOTION INSIDE of something.

^{*1} L an indefinite pronoun or adverb; gut the connective with or together.

zet down; gi to.

at sī'gî 83 qala'lîñai 84 gaoga'ñganî.85 Ga xa'nhao 86 ľ k!ōtulî'ñ 87 would die or upward (he) could go was wanting. In right he tlala'ñ xuntla'ganî.88 said to each other. Lū'hao L! te!ā'anugadaga'n 80 Giê'nhao ga'ista L! Lūîsdaxī'danî. When from that they started by canoe. they had a fire And then L! dā'vîñxidan. Giên ga'ista L! L!daxidai Lū'hao 91 giên gut at each they started to give to eat. And from that they started by canoe Ļū'hao gu īL! gētgadagē'danî. 93 tla'odjî-gai î'sîñ L! xîtgīda'ñganî.92 too they started to fight. Then there we could not get away from. Ga'iLuhao IL! getgada'gedan giên ga'ista īL! L! gētgaĻ'dag∧n.™ could not get away when from that us they got back in.

nā'gai 🤒 u'ngu 🤒 Giên L'xuqā'göndigan,97 la'hao nañ L! haa the house on top of one crept around, him they Giên qlā'da Ll ga'iLgî'ngîn 99 qa'odî nan ī'hîna 100 telîtqat!a'lgan.98 seaward they made fall by shooting. lay after a while a gandjîlgā'giada 101 dañgīdā'lL!xasgagan,103 łta'nłgia-qa'ldada ¹⁰² Lū dancing blanket cedar-bark rings canoe dragged down, qā'L!xasgagan 104 giên î'sîñ gō'LAga djā'da

also him after and woman came to qaxia'sgaganî. 106 kî'lgülgan. 107 Giên Ldö'gwañ gū'ga Lla ga And Ldogwafi therein them talked. came out.

sa sī (from sa) UP; gi TO.

^{**} qa TO GO (singular); -la motion upward; -lia potential suffix; at the connective gai, which turns this all into an infinitive.

^{**}gao to BE WANTING; -gAfi negative modal suffix after the adverb gAm not which stands at the very beginning of the sentence.

se ga IN; zan the adverb meaning RIGHT THERE; hao, the connective.

of l=la the personal pronoun of the third person singular, subject of the verb; $k!\delta'tul$ to die; -ii a potential suffix

[#] l/ala' n subjective personal pronoun of the first person plural; -gan the temporal suffix.

^{*} icla'anu fire of firewood; -qa auxiliary to be; -da auxiliary to cause; -qan temporal suffix.

[&]quot;ddi to give food; -in the continuative suffix; -rid to start to give.

If LI- used of travel by cance, several going together; da-dal to GO; -rid to start to GO; si the connective gai.

m-Añ the continuative suffix; -gAn temporal suffix.

^{**}IL! personal pronoun of the first person plural; getga to be unable (perhaps compounded of get to be like or in that condition + ga to be); da probably the auxiliary to cause; ged to be in that condition; -an past-inexperienced-temporal suffix.

^M gg² tgc TO BE IN SUCH AND SUCH A CONDITION; -t motion of boarding a canoe; -de the auxiliary meaning TO CAUSE.

na House; gai the connective.

[₩] u'ngu contains gu AT, THERE.

[&]quot;Lṛu- BY CREEPING; qa to 60 (singular); $-q\bar{o}\bar{n}$ rather aimless motion on land; -di presents the action as just taking place; -qan temporal suffix.

²² Ago is a connective placed after is for emphasis; te!te-by shooting; qs motion; -t!Al motion downward.

agai FLOATING; -giñ on the SEA; qa'odi the connective before which temporal suffixes are dropped.

¹⁰⁰ l'Año a male being.

¹⁰¹ gAndjiiqā'gi DANCING-BLANKET; -da the auxiliary meaning to CAUSE, and here to have been put on by somebody else.

¹⁰⁰ Eta'nigia the RING itself; qal alder; -da the auxiliary to CAUSE, the whole evidently meaning CEDAR-BARK RING DYED WITH ALDER or upon which alder has been placed. The last-da means that it had been put upon this man by somebody else.

¹⁶⁰ LG CANOE is object of following verb; dañ-to accomplish by PULLING; gi-shape of canoe; dal motion;
-L/za motion toward; -sga motion toward the sea; -gan temporal suffix.

¹⁰⁴ ga motion of one person; -L/za motion toward; -sga motion toward the sea; -gan temporal suffix.

^{100 £}L! objective pronoun of first person plural; -ga connective To.

¹⁰⁶ qa motion (singular); -sga motion toward the sea.

¹⁰⁰ kil- action with the VOICE; lgul verb-stem indicating an action lasting some time, covering consider able ground, different phases of a question, etc.

Giế'nhao ha'lgunañ 108 la L! gā'yîñxalgan, 109 giê'nhao nañ I'lfiñas 110 and then closer her they told to come, and then the man L! tc!îtgā'tgisî'ñgan. 111 Ldō'gwañ gī gwa'ogan 112 giên L!a sta 113 they wished to make him fall into the water by shooting.

q**a**'id**an**î. 114 gaitgwa'giagan. 115 ā'nigai 116 Lū'hao sta L! L!a'hao started. Then from they fled in terror. They Giê'nhao t!ala'ñ î'sîñ sta Lūîsdaxī'danî. wa'ga hailā'waganî. 117 was gone. And then too from started by canoe. we

Giê'nhao Diī'dao-kun sta L Lüîsdaxī'dan giên gāl sta'nsîñ nights And then Dil'dao-Point from they started by canoe and sī'gai 118 gut L! Lgaga'i 119 Ļū Ģa'ñxet-kun' ga L! LūîsL!xagî'lgan. 120 the ocean upon they spent when Cape St. James to they came shoreward by canoe. Ga'ista gāl stîn L! Lūîsdala'i Ļū'hao Qa'isun gu L! Lūî'sL!xagan. From that nights two they traveled by when Kaisun at they came by canoe.

Hayî'ñ 121 djîlī' 122 hao Lga djī'ña 123 sta L! ī'djîn. 124 Hao Lan ā'sgai at Instead really country far from they were. Here end this of gīalgala'ndagai 125 gē'da.

the story comes to an.

[Translation]

The Ninstints people came to Kaisun in four canoes to ask the people to go to war in company with them. Then they went along in four canoes. After they had crossed (to the mainland), they entered Bentinck arm. And they went in opposite the fort during the night. Then some people who had been camping in the inlet began firing from in front. There Amai'kuns was killed. They also wounded Floating. They also wounded Beloved. He was a brave man among them. There they also enslaved two persons. After that they started out. And those who started first went out to some people who were coming along under sail. The noise of two guns was heard there. Afterwards the canoe drifted away empty, and

The stem of this is probably hold, which is also used as an interjection.

¹⁰⁰ gai Floating; -iñ = -giñ on the sea; -zal the suxiliary to tell.

¹²⁰ Compare with \$4.6 i'life in the fourth line from the bottom on p. 280. The suffix -s makes the indefinite form definite.

¹¹¹ tefit- by shooting; gat to move quickly; gi motion under water; -sifi the auxiliary to wish.

¹¹² gwao verb-stem.

¹² L/s the objective personal pronoun of the third person plural; sta the connective FROM.

¹¹⁴ qu to Go (singular); -id is probably contracted from the auxiliary -rid to BEGIN.

¹¹⁵⁻gia probably the suffix indicating motion straight through to the object; -gan temporal suffix.

¹¹⁴ gai the connective THE.

 u_1 hailaw = haila to DESTROY; perhaps related to the name for the being that brings pestilence, Haili'las.

¹¹⁸ sis means the open expanse of sea; in taking the connective gai the final s is dropped.

me gai the connective THE.

[™] LE- BY CANOE; is stem; -L/xx motion toward anything; -gil motion landward.

m hays's an adverb always used when something falls out differently from what was expected. In this case the rest of the clause, which naturally belongs with it, is omitted and its sense left to the hearer.

[&]quot; diff." REALLY, ACTUALLY; is strengthened and emphasis placed upon it by the connective Aco.

in diffice far, an adjective depending upon the preceding noun tgs COUNTRY.

124 4s the past-experienced-temporal suffix.

is Hao refers to all of the story preceding, which it connects with this sentence; Lan an adverb depending upon $g\hat{c}'da$; d'egai (— de or d'djl + gai) a demonstrative referring also to the preceding story; at connective with, or, etc. Glalgala'ndagai probably has the same stem as the verb treated of under note 107; gai the connective.

they enslaved two women. (The others) came thither, and while they lay close to the land, rejoicing over the persons captured, some people came sailing around a point in a canoe, saw them and jumped off. Then (we) landed in pursuit of them. And after I had spent some little time preparing myself, I got off. And I started to pursue one person who was running about near the sea. After I had chased him about in the woods for a while, he jumped into the ocean. I took his hair, along with his yellow-cedar bark blanket, away from him. And he came up out at sea and held up his hands in front of my face (in token of surrender). Then he swam shoreward toward me. When he got near me, he dove again and came to the surface out at sea, and I began to shoot at him. Then he swam landward and held himself tightly against the face of a certain cliff. After I had shot at him twice there, I stopped. Then he climbed up upon a tree standing upon the face of the cliff. And although its top was some distance from the cliff, he bent it toward it, and after a while got hold of the face of the cliff. And he went into a hole in it. could not go from it either downward or upward. We said to one another that he would die right in it.

Then they started from that place in their canoes. Then they had a fire and began to give each other food. And after they again started off, they again began fighting with the fort. Then we got into a position from which we could not get away. Then, although we could not get away at first, they finally got us into (the canoes). And a certain person crept around on top of the house. They shot him so that he fell down. And after they had lain out to sea for some time, a man wearing a dancing-blanket and cedar-bark rings dragged down a canoe and came out to us, accompanied by a woman. And those in Ldō'gwañ's canoe talked to them. Then they told the woman to come closer, and said that they should shoot the man so that he would fall into the water. Ldō'gwañ refused and started away from them. Then they fled away in terror. Their ammunition was all gone. Then we also started off.

Then they started from Point-Djī'dao, and, after they had spent four nights upon the sea, they came to Cape St. James. After they had traveled two more nights, they came to Kaisun. Instead of accomplishing what they had hoped, they returned from a far country almost empty-handed. Here this story comes to an end.

TSIMSHIAN

BY

FRANZ BOAS



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TSIMSHIAN

By Franz Boas

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS

The Tsimshian (Chimmesyan) is spoken on the coast of northern British Columbia and in the region adjacent to Nass and Skeena rivers. On the islands off the coast the Tsimshian occupy the region southward as far as Milbank sound.

Three principal dialects may be distinguished: The Tsimshian proper, which is spoken on Skeena river and on the islands farther to the south; the Nîsqa', which is spoken on Nass river, and the Gitkcan (Gyitkshan), which is spoken on the upper course of Skeena river. The first and second of these dialects form the subject of the following discussion. The description of the Tsimshian proper is set off by a vertical rule down the left-hand margin of the pages.

The Tsimshian dialect has been discussed by the writer and by Count von der Schulenburg. I have also briefly discussed the dialect of Nass river, and have published a collection of texts in the same dialect. References accompanying examples (like 290.2) refer to page and line in this publication; those preceded by ZE refer to a Tsimshian text with notes published by me. 5

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. System of Sounds

The phonetic system of the Tsimshian dialects is in many respects similar to that of other languages of the North Pacific coast. It abounds particularly in k-sounds and l-sounds. The informants from

¹ Fifth Report of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada (Report of the 59th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1889, 877-889).

Dr. A. C. Graf von der Schulenburg, Die Sprache der Zimshian-Indianer (Brunswick, 1894).

^{*}Tenth and Eleventh Reports of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada (Reports of the 65th and 66th Meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1895, 583-586; 1896 566-591).

^{*}Taimshian Texts (Bulletin 27 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1902).

^{*} Eine Sonnensage der Tsimschian, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908, 776-797.

whom my material in the Nass river dialect has been gathered used the hiatus frequently, without, however, giving the preceding stop enough strength to justify the introduction of a fortis. A few people from other villages, whom I heard occasionally, seemed to use greater strength of articulation; and there is little doubt that the older mode of pronunciation had a distinct series of strong stops. In the Tsimshian dialect the fortis survives clearly in the t and p; while the tsand k fortis have come to be very weak. I have also observed in this dialect a distinct fortis of the y, w, m, n, and l. In these sounds the increased stress of articulation brings about a tension of the vocal chords and epiglottis, the release of which gives the sound a strongly sonant character, and produces a glottal stop preceding the sound when it appears after a vowel. Thus the fortes of these continued sounds are analogous to the Kwakiutl 'y, 'w, 'm, 'n, and 'l. sumably the same sounds occur in the Nass dialect, although they escaped my attention. Differentiation between surd and sonant is difficult, particularly in the velar k series.

The phonetics of Tsimshian take an exceptional position among the languages of the North Pacific coast, in that the series of l stops are missing. Besides the sound corresponding to our l, we find only the l, a voiceless continued sound produced by the escape of air from the space behind the canine teeth; the whole front part of the mouth being filled by the tip of the tongue, which is pressed against the palate. The Tsimshian dialect has a continued sonant k sound, which is exceedingly weak and resembles the weak medial r, which has almost no trill and is pronounced a little in front of the border of the hard palate. It corresponds to the sound in Tlingit which Swanton (see p. 165) writes y, but which I have heard among the older generation of Tlingit distinctly as the same sound as the Tsimshian sound here discussed. With the assumption that it was originally the continued sonant corresponding to x of other Pacific Coast languages agrees its prevalent u tinge. feel, however, a weak trill in pronouncing the sound, and for this reason I have used the symbol r for denoting this sound. In some cases a velar trill appears, which I have written r.

In the Nass dialect, liquids (m, n, l) that occur at the ends of words are suppressed. Tongue and lips are placed in position for these sounds, but there is no emission of air, and hence no sound, unless a following word with its outgoing breath makes the terminal sound audible.

The vocalic system of Tsimshian is similar to that of other Northwest Coast languages, with which it has in common the strong tendency to a weakening of vowels. The Tsimshian dialect has no clear a, but all its a's are intermediate between a and \ddot{a} . Only after w does this vowel assume a purer a tinge. A peculiarity of the language is the doubling of almost every long vowel by the addition of a parasitic vowel of the same timbre as the principal vowel, but pronounced with relaxation of all muscles.

Following is a tabular statement of the sounds observed in the Nass dialect.

. The series of vowels may be rendered as follows:1

										E				
Short							u	0	Ô	\boldsymbol{a}	è	e	٤	i
Long					•		-	ō	â	$ar{a}$	ä	ē	_	ī
With pa	ırasit	tic	vov	wel	•		_	ōи	âô	$\bar{a}a$	äê	ēê	٠ _	īî

This series begins with the u-vowel with rounded lips and open posterior part of mouth-opening, and proceeds with less protrusion of lips and wider opening of the anterior portion of the mouth to a; then, with gradual flattening of the middle part of the mouth-opening, through e to i.

The system of consonants is contained in the following table:

		Stops			ffrica	tlives	Con	Continued		
	Sonant	Sard	Burd followed	Sonant	Surd	Surd followed	Sonant	Surd		
Labial	Ъ	\boldsymbol{p}	(p')	_	_	_	_	-	m	
Dental	ď	t	(t')	dz	ts	(ts)	z	s,(c)	n	
Anterior palatal	g.	k·	$(k\cdot)$	_	_	_	_	\boldsymbol{x}^{\star}	-	
Middle palatal	g	\boldsymbol{k}	(k')	-	_	_	_	x	-	
Velar	g	q	(q')	-	_	-	(?)	\boldsymbol{x}	-	
Lateral, voiced contin	nued			•					l	
voiceless stop	p (१)	•					•	•	L	
Breathing .	•		• •			•	•	•	h	
Semi-vowels .		•				•	•	•	y hw	

It is doubtful whether c (English sh) occurs as a separate sound; s seems rather to be pronounced with somewhat open teeth. The sounds g and k take very often a u-tinge. The semi-vowel w is almost always aspirated.

¹ Notwithstanding its defects, I have adhered for the Nass dialect to the spelling used in previous publications.

§ 3. Grouping of Sounds and Laws of Euphony

Clustering of consonants is almost unrestricted, and a number of extended consonantic clusters may occur; as, for instance, -ltkutg, ppt, qsL, xtg, and many others.

Examples are:

```
a'qLk^udet they reached 111.11 \bar{a}'d'\bar{i}k \cdot sk^uL came 35.1 xsk \cdot \bar{a}k \cdot eagle 178.10
```

There are, however, a number of restrictions regulating the use of consonants before vowels. Terminal surd stops and the affricative ts are transformed into sonants whenever a vowel is added to the word.

g·at man	$g \cdot a' d Em 90.6$
gwalku dry	gwa'lgwa 176.2
$n E - b \bar{e}' p$ uncle	dep-bē'ebē my uncles 157.9
n-ts'ē'êts grandmother	ts'ē' Edzē my grandmother 157.10

It seems that single surd stops do not occur in intervocalic position. A number of apparent exceptions, like $k'\bar{o}p\varepsilon$ - small, were heard by me often with sonant, and contain probably in reality sonants.

There are a number of additional intervocalic changes:

```
Intervocalic x changes into y.

"
x changes into w, \bar{o}.
```

44

x changes into g. This last change is not quite regular.

∂x to throw		$\hat{o}'y\hat{\imath}n$ you throw 139.3
hwîlā'x• to know	<i>,</i> *	hwîlā'yi I know
hâx: to use		ha'ya = m use of -55.3
<i>xbetsā'</i> x afraid		<i>xbetsā'wē</i> I am afraid
k·sax to go out		k'sa'wun I go out! 171.4
vá'ôxku to eat		vû'ôa'an to feed

In a few cases l is assimilated by preceding n.

an-hwî'n instead of an-hwî'l 40.6, 7

§ 4. The Phonetic Systems of Nass and Tsimshian

The system of vowels of Tsimshian is nearly the same as that of the Nass dialect, except that the pure a and \bar{a} do not occur. The vowels o \bar{o} , and e \bar{e} appear decidedly as variants of u \bar{u} and i \bar{i} respectively, their timbre being modified by adjoining consonants.

¹ Figures refer to page and line of F. Boas, Tsimshian Texts (Bulletin 27 of the Bureau of American Ethnology); figures preceded by E S, to F. Boas, Tsimshian Texts, New Series (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. 111, 1910).

I have been able to observe the system of consonants of Tsimshian more fully than that of the Nass dialect. It may be represented as follows:

20200 00 20				Sto	pe	Aff	ricati	ves	Contin	nned	N	asals
			Bonant	Burd	Fortis	Sonant	Burd	Fortis	Sonant (trill?)	Burd	Sonant	Fortis
Labial			Ъ	p	p!	_	_	-	-	_	m	m!
Dental			\boldsymbol{d}	t	t!	dz	ts	ts!	_	8	n	n!
Anterior pa	latal .		g^*	k·	k:!	_	_	_	_	_	_	_
Middle pala			g	\boldsymbol{k}	k!	_	_	_	r	_	_	
Velar Glottal		•	g	q	<i>q!</i>	_	- -	_	(<u>r</u>)	x -	- -	-
Lateral, con	tinued	. v	oiced				•	•	•			l
′	"	,	44		rtis							<i>l!</i>
66	"	VC	oicele	88,	poste	rior						ł
Breathing	•			•	•							h
Semi-vowels	3	•	•			•					у,	\boldsymbol{w}
6.6	fortis	}	•		•	•	•	•	•		y!	', $w!$

The terminal surd is much weaker than in the Nass dialect, and I have recorded many cases in which the terminal stop is without doubt a sonant:

wālb house

g'ad people

Before g and k, terminal sonants become surds:

wī-ts! Em-lâ'opgE great cave ES 96.30 nE-gā'itga' his hat ES 90.1

Before t and vowels, the sound remains a sonant:

 $g \cdot a'bE$. . . to draw water . . . ES 96.10 $h\bar{e}'\circ ldEt$. . . many . . . ES 96.14

The fact that some terminal sounds always remain surd shows that in the cases of alternation of surd and sonant the latter must be considered the stem consonant.

Some of the sounds require fuller discussion. It has been stated before that the fortes, as pronounced by the present generation, are not as strong as they used to be and as they are among more southern tribes. The t-series is alveolar, the tip of the tongue touching behind the teeth. The affricatives have a clear continued s-sound, the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth; while s has a decided tinge of the English sh. It is pronounced with tip of tongue turned back (cerebral) and touching the palate. The teeth are closed. The sound is entirely surd. The nasals m and n are

long continued and sonant, even in terminal positions; m! and n! have great tension of oral closure with accompanying tension of glottis and epiglottis. The sound r has been described before. It is entirely absent in the Nass dialect. Bishop Ridley, who prepared the translation of the gospel on which Count von der Schulenburg's grammar is based, has rendered this sound, which often follows a very obscure $\hat{\imath}$ or $\bar{\imath}$, but I hear distinctly r. Thus, in place of Bishop Ridley's $n\bar{u}y\bar{u}$ (I), I hear $n!\bar{\nu}'ryu$; instead of $g\bar{u}el$, $g\bar{\nu}'rel$; instead of $shg\bar{u}$, $sg\bar{\nu}r$. In the Nass dialect, \bar{e} or $\bar{\imath}$ takes the place of this sound:

Tsimshian	Nass	English
8g Er	$sg\cdot ar{\imath}$	to lie
n!E'rEn	$nar{e}'$ en	th ou
g E $'$ rel	$g \cdot ar{e}'$ e l	to pick
se'rel	sē'el	middle
k! e'rel	$k\cdot \dot{ar{e}}'$ e l	one
ge' r e dax	$k \cdot ar{e}' dax$	to ask
ge'retks	ge tks	to reach
ql' E'r Eng'axs	qı'ē'ng·îxs	to crush with foot
E'renx	ēnx	box
E'rEml	$ar{e}m$ L	bucket
r'rla	$ar{e}lx$	seal

The sound has, however, a close affinity to u, before which it tends to disappear.

pliä'r to tell; pliä'u I tell.

It is suggestive that many u-sounds of Tsimshian are $\bar{\imath}$ or \bar{e} in Nass. This may indicate that the u and r in Tsimshian are either a later differentiation of one sound or that a loss of r has occurred in many forms. On the whole, the latter theory appears more plausible.

Examples of this substitution are the following:

Tsimshian	Nass	English
$dar{u}ls$	$dar{e}ls$	t o live
$t.'ar{u}^{o}s$	$t.\!'ar{e}s$	to push
$dar{u}'$ o la	$dar{e}'l\hat{n}x$	tongue
$har{u}^os$	wis	root
$iar u'^o t k$	$ie'tk^u$	to have around neck
$dar{u}^{o}lk$:	$dar{e}_L k^u$	cedar-bark basket
$m{h}ar{m{u}}^{m{o}}m{t}m{k}$	$ar{e}tk^{m{u}}$	to call
$m{l}ar{u}'$ o nti	$oldsymbol{\hat{l}ntx}$	angry
$lar{u}'alg\cdot at$	lē' Elg∙it	feast
หนื⁰กลั	eîns ์	blind
$lar{u}t$	$m{l}ar{e}t$	wedge
$gar{u}'^op!_{ extit{ iny E}l}$	k·'î' lb 'e l	two

In terminal position Tsimshian -xr corresponds to Nass -ax, and after long vowels r to x.

Tsimshian	Nass	English
der	dax	to die, plural
kser	ksax	to go out, plural
yer	yax	to hide
ts!Er	ts!ax	much
8E7*	sax	mouth of river
ler	La x	under

Examples of r following a long vowel are—

lār	$lar{a}x$	trout
ts!är	ts!äx	inside
$dzar{\imath}r$	dzī x	porpoise

Combined with change of vowels are—

Tsimshlan	Nass	English
pliä'r	p Le $yar{o}'oldsymbol{x}$	to tell
$x l \hat{i} r$	xLux	to burst

The sound r, the continued sonant corresponding to g, is heard very often in the middle and at the end of words, as ganra'n trees; but it disappears invariably when the word is pronounced slowly, and g takes its place.

The sounds x and x of the Nass dialect do not occur in the Tsimshian dialect.

The ending x of the Nass dialect is generally replaced by i in Tsimshian.

Tsimshian	Nass	English
wila' i	$hwular{a}'x^{m{\cdot}}$	to know
hoi	$h dx^{\cdot}$	to use
gai	$qar{a}'ix^{f \cdot}$	wing
ivai	$war{a}x^*$	to paddle

This change is evidently related to the substitution of y for x before vowels.

Terminal x of the Nass dialect tends to be displaced by a terminal a.

Taimshian	Nass	English
$dar{u}'$ o la	$dar{e}'l\hat{n}m{x}$	tongue
E'rla	$ar{e}lx$	\mathbf{seal}
$nar{a}'$ o la	$m{n}ar{m{a}}_{m{L}m{x}}$	jejune
gaina	qar e nx	trail
gô'ep!a	g∂'ep!ax	light
nāº ¯	nax	bait
$t.'ar{a}^o$	d' ax	lake

Here belong also-

Tsimshian	Nass	English
$mar{e}$	$m{m}\ddot{m{a}}m{x}$	sour
$bar{u}^o$	$b\partial x$	to wait

Vocalic changes, besides those referred to before in connection with the sound r, occur.

In place of au in Tsimshian we find \bar{e} in Nass.

Tsimshian	Nass	English
hau	$har{e}$	to say
gil-hau'li	$g \cdot i l ar{e}' l ar{i} m{x} \cdot$	inland
$g \cdot itxau'tk$	g · $itx\bar{e}'tk$	some time ago
t!Em-ga'us	t' E m - $qar{e}'$ 8	head
ma'ulkst (målkst)	$mar{e}lk\cdot st$	crab-apple

Tsimshian $\bar{a}u$ is replaced in Nass by $\partial \delta$.

Tsimshian	Nass	English
$yar{a}'uxk$	yâ'ôxku	to eat, singular
$y\bar{a}'uk$	$y \hat{a} \hat{o} k^u$	to follow
$q!\bar{a}'watsx$	$q!\hat{a}'\hat{o}tsx$	gills

Initial wa of Tsimshian is sometimes replaced by \bar{o} in Nass.

Tsimshian	Nass	English
wapx	$ar{o}px$	forehead

Another very frequent change is that from \bar{a} following w to \hat{i} .

Tsimshian	Nass	English
$war{a}lp$	$hw \hat{\imath} l p$	house
$war{a}ar{l}$	hwîl	to do
$war{a}tk$	hwîtk u	from
$ts!uwar{a}'n$	$ts!uv\hat{\imath}'n$	top
łgwā'lks El k	łgu-wî'lksizku	prince
างลิธ	$(hai)woldsymbol{\hat{n}'s}$	rain

The substitution is, however, not regular, for we find-

	,		63	,	
Tsimshian		Nass			English
$war{a}i$		$hwar{a}x^*$			to paddle
ากลิก		hman			to sit, plural

Related to this is probably—

Tsimshlan	Nass	English
hā'yets	h∂ts	to send
$har{a}'y\hat{\imath}tk^{u}$	hētk u	to stand
gai'na	$qar{e}nx$	trail
sgā'yiks	sqêksku	to wound

Tsimshian n/ is replaced by Nass m.

simisman p . is rep	placed by Mass III.	
Tsimshian	Nass	English
p.'a'lg'î xs	$ma'lg \cdot \hat{\imath} x$	heavy
p.'as	mas	to grow
$p!\bar{e}'yan$	$miyar{a}'n$	\mathbf{smoke}
p!al	mal	button
gan-sp!a	qan- sma	baton

§ 5. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The most characteristic trait of Tsimshian grammar is the use of a superabundance of particles that modify the following word. Phonetically these particles are strong enough to form a syllabic unit, and they remain always separated by a hiatus from the following word. Most of them, however, have no accent, and must therefore be designated either as proclitics or as prefixes. These appear particularly with verbal stems, but their use with nominal stems is not by any means rare. They do not undergo any modifications, except in a few cases, and for this reason a large part of the grammatical processes relate to the use of these particles. On the whole, their position in the sentence or word-complex is fairly free. Suffixes are rather few in number. They differ fundamentally from the proclitic particles in being phonetically weaker and in forming with the preceding stem a firm unit. Some pronouns which belong to the proclitic series are also phonetically weak and share with the suffixes the inclination to amalgamate with the preceding elements. Thus the proclitic pronouns sometimes become apparently suffixes of the preceding words, whatever these may be.

Incorporation of the nominal object occurs principally in terms expressing habitual activities. In these it is well developed.

The Tsimshian uses stem modifications extensively for expressing grammatical processes. Most important among these is reduplication, which is very frequent, and which follows, on the whole, fixed laws. Change of stem-vowel is not so common, and seems sometimes to have developed from reduplication. It occurs also in compound words, which form a peculiar trait of the language. Not many instances of this type of composition have been observed, but they play undoubtedly an important part in the history of the language. Many elements used in word-composition have come to be so weak in meaning that they are at present more or less formal elements. This is true particularly of suffixes, but also, to a certain extent, of prefixes, though, on the whole, they have preserved a distinct meaning.

The grammatical processes of Tsimshian have assumed a much more formal character than those of many other Indian languages. It is not possible to lay down general rules of composition or reduplication, which would cover by far the greatest part of the field of grammar.

Instead of this, we find peculiar forms that belong to certain definite stems—peculiar plurals, passives, causatives, etc., that must be treated in the form of lists of types. In this respect Tsimshian resembles the Athapascan with its groups of verbal stems, the Salish and Takelma with their modes of reduplication, and the Iroquois with its classes of verbs. The freedom of the language lies particularly in the extended free use of proclitics.

§ 6. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The use of the same stems as nouns and as verbs is common in Tsimshian, although the occurrence of nominalizing and verbalizing elements shows that the distinction between the two classes is clearly felt. The proclitic particles mentioned in the last section may also be used with both verbs and nouns. While many of these particles, particularly the numerous class of local adverbs, always precede the stem from which they can not be separated, there are a considerable number of modal elements which have a greater freedom of position, and which merge into the group of independent adverbs. These elements are so numerous and diverse in meaning, that it is difficult to give a satisfactory classification. The group of local proclitics occupies a prominent place on account of its numbers and the nicety of local distinctions. It is, however, impossible to separate it strictly from the group of modal proclitics.

The use of these proclitics is so general, that the total number of common verbal stems is rather restricted.

The proclitics are used-

- (1) As local adverbial and adnominal terms;
- (2) As modal adverbial and adnominal terms;
- (3) To transform verbs into nouns;
- (4) To transform nouns into verbs.

Almost all the proclitics belonging to these groups form a syntactic unit with the following stem, so that in the sentence they can not be separated from it. The pronominal subject of the transitive verb precedes the whole complex.

Another series of proclitics differs from the last, only in that they do not form so firm a unit with the stem. The pronominal subject of the transitive verb may separate them from the following stem. To this group belong all strictly temporal particles. The transition from this class to true adverbs is quite gradual.

In the group of inseparable modal proclitics must also be classed the plural prefixes qa- and l-, which will be discussed in §§ 43-45.

The pronominal subjects of some forms of the transitive verb—and of some forms of the intransitive verb as well—are also proclitics. They consist each of a single consonant, and have the tendency to amalgamate with the preceding word.

Suffixes are few in number. They are partly modal in character, signifying ideas like passive, elimination of object of the transitive verb, causative. A second group expresses certainty and uncertainty and the source of information. By a peculiar treatment, consisting partly in the use of suffixes, the modes of the verb are differentiated. Still another group indicates presence and absence; these take the place to a great extent of demonstrative pronouns. The objective and possessive pronouns are also formed by means of suffixes. Most remarkable among the suffixes are the connectives which express the relations between adjective and noun, adverb and verb, subject and object, predicate and object, preposition and object, and conjunction and the following word. There are only a few classes of these connectives, by means of which practically all syntactic relations are expressed that are not expressed by means of particles.

Reduplication serves primarily the purpose of forming the plural. A number of particles require reduplicated forms of the following verb. Among these are the particles indicating imitation, genuine, action done while in motion. The progressive is indicated by a different kind of reduplication.

Nouns are classified from two points of view, according to form, and as special human individuals and common nouns. The selection of verbal stems and of numerals accompanying the noun is determined by a classification according to form, while there is no grammatical differentiation in the noun itself. The classes of the numeral are formed partly by independent stems, but largely by suffixes or by contraction of the numeral and a classifying noun. In syntactic construction a sharp division is made between special human individuals—including personal and personal demonstrative pronouns, some terms of relationship, and proper names—and other nouns.

Plurality is ordinarily expressed both in the noun and in the verb. It would seem that the primary idea of these forms is that of distribution, but at present this idea is clearly implied in only one of the many methods of forming the plural. The multiplicity of the methods

used for forming the plural is one of the striking characteristics of the Tsimshian language.

It has been mentioned before that most forms of the transitive verb are treated differently from intransitive verbs. While the subject of these forms of the transitive verb precedes the verb, that of the intransitive verb, which is identical with the object of the transitive verb and with the possessive pronoun, follows the verb. This relation is obscured by a peculiar use of intransitive constructions that seem to have gained a wider application, and by the use of the transitive pronoun in some forms of the intransitive verb. The independent personal pronoun, both in its absolute case (subject and object) and in its oblique case, is derived from the intransitive pronoun.

All oblique syntactic relations of noun and verb are expressed by a single preposition, a, which also serves frequently to introduce subordinate clauses which are nominalized by means of particles.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§7-67)

Proclitic Particles (§§ 7-16)

§7. General Remarks

The Tsimshian language possesses a very large number of particles which qualify the verb or noun that follows them, each particle modifying the whole following complex, which consists of particles and a verbal or nominal stem. All these particles are closely connected with the following stem, which carries the accent. Nevertheless they retain their phonetic independence. When the terminal sound of the particle is a consonant, and the first sound of the following stem is a vowel, there always remains a hiatus between the two. Lack of cohesion is also shown in the formation of the plural. In a very few cases only is the stem with its particles treated as a unit. Usually the particles remain unmodified, while the stem takes its peculiar plural form, as though no particles were present. There are very few exceptions to this rule.

The freedom of use of these particles is very great, and the ideas expressed by them are quite varied. There is not even a rigid distinction between adverbial and adnominal particles, and for this reason a satisfactory grouping is very difficult. Neither is the order of the particles sufficiently definitely fixed to afford a satisfactory basis for their classification.

As will be shown later (§ 22), nouns, verbs, and adverbs may be transformed into elements analogous to the particles here discussed by the addition of the suffix -em. Since a number of particles have the same ending -em (haldem- no. 77; pelem- no. 80; belasem- no. 81; mesem- no. 83; nôôm- no. 96; tsagam- no. 9; ts'elem- no. 7; xpîlyîm- no. 126; legem- no. 5; and the monosyllabic particles am- no. 136; ham- no. 156; t'em- no. 140; t'em- no. 13; ts'em- no. 152; k'sem- no. 146; q'am- no. 118; xlem- no. 56; lem- no. 134; sem- no. 168; dem- no. 170), it seems justifiable to suggest that at least some of these may either have or have had an independent existence as stems that may take pronominal endings, and that their present form is due to contractions (see § 33). At least one particle (q'ai- no. 122) seems to occur both with and without the connective -em.

The particles may be classified according to the fixity of their connection with the following stem. In a large number the connection is so firm that the pronoun can not be placed between particle and stem, so that the two form a syntactic unit. A much smaller number may be so separated. Since only the subject of the transitive verb appears in this position (see § 48), it is impossible to tell definitely in every case to which group a particle belongs. Furthermore, the particles of the second group may in some cases be joined to the verb more firmly, so that the pronominal subject precedes them, while this freedom does not exist in the former group.

The most distinct group among the particles is formed by the local adverbs. Many of these occur in pairs; as up and down, in and out, etc. All of these express motion. In many cases in which we should use an adverb expressing position, the Tsimshian use adverbs expressing motion, the position being indicated as a result of motion. For instance, instead of HE STANDS NEAR BY, the Tsimshian will say HE IS PLACED TOWARD A PLACE NEAR BY. These particles are generally adverbial. This seems to be due, however, more to their significance than to a prevalent adverbial character. We find instances of their use with nouns; as,

gali-a'k's river (gali- up river; ak's water)

A second group might be distinguished, consisting of local adverbs, which, however, show a gradual transition into modal adverbs. Here belong terms like in, on, over, lengthwise, all over, sideways, etc. In composition this group precedes the first group; but no fixed

rules can be given in regard to the order in which particles of this group are arranged among themselves. The use of some of these particles with nouns is quite frequent.

The second series leads us to the extensive group of modal adverbs, many of which occur both with nouns and verbs. These gradually lead us to others, the prevailing function of which is a nominal one.

I have combined in a small group those that have a decidedly denominative character.

There is another small group that is used to transform nouns into verbs, and expresses ideas like to MAKE, TO PARTAKE OF, TO SAY.

It will be recognized from these remarks that a classification necessarily will be quite arbitrary and can serve only the purpose of a convenient grouping.

§ 8. Local Particles appearing in Pairs

1. bax- up along the ground (Tsimshian: bax-).

bax-iä' to go up, singular 142.8
bax-qâ'ôd'ɛn to finish taking up 209.2
bax-sg'ë' trail leads upward (literally, to lie up)
bax-dô'q to take up several 208.8

We find also-

bax-iä'L ak's water rises (literally, goes up)

Tsimshian:

bax-wa'lxs to go up hill bax-qE'owa to haul up

2. iaga- down along the ground (Tsimshian: y!aga-).

iaga-sg·ē' trail leads downward (literally, to lie downward)
iaga-ië' to go down 137.5
iaga-sa'k'sku to go down (plural) 29.9

Tsimshian:

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| y!aga-gâ'o to go down to ----
| y!aga-dô'x to take down
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3. mEn- up through the air (Tsimshian: man-).

men-g'a'ask* to look up 214.2

men-dā'ult he went up through the air 95.4

men-g'ibā'yuk to fly up 126.9

men-lô'ô to go up, plural 42.8

lō-men-hwan to sit in something high up, plural 34.1 (lō-in; hwan to sit, plural)

 $mEn-d\hat{o}'x$ to be piled up; (to lie up, plural) 164.13 $mEn-q\hat{o}'\hat{o}d$ to finish taking up 95.10

Tsimshian:

man-iā'o to go up ZE¹ 790¹ss
di-man-hô'ksg to go up with some one
mɛla-man-wālxs both go up
man-lī' plume (literally, upward feather)

4. d'Ep- down through the air (Tsimshian: tgi-).

d'ep-iē' to go down (from a tree) 9.14
d'ep-hē'th" to stand downward, a tree inclines downward 201.8
dē-gulîk's-d'ep-ma'qs to throw one's self down also (dē also;
gulîk's self [obj.]; maqs to throw)
lō-d'ep-gal to drop down inside (lō in; gal to drop) 181.13
lō-d'ep-dā'ul lôqs the sun sets

Tsimshian:

| tgi-në'otsg to look down | lu-tgi-lôo to stretch down in something | tgi-iä'o to go straight down through the air

5. legem-, lôgôm- into, from the top (Tsimshian: lôgôm-).

lôgôm-ba'x to go aboard (literally, to run into [canoe]) 111.11 lɛgɛm-qâ't'ɛn to finish (putting) into 215.12 lôgôm-ô'x to throw into from the top

Tsimshian:

 $sa-l\partial g\partial m-g\partial s$ to jump into (canoe) suddenly $l\partial g\partial m-b\bar{a}'^{o}$ to run in $l\partial g\partial m-t.\bar{a}^{o}$ to sit on edge of water

6. t'uks- out of, from top (Tsimshian: uks-, t'uks-).

t'uks-tô'ô to stretch down out of canoe 181.3 t'uks-iä'ê to go out of (here, to boil over) 132.5 t'uks-ba'x to run out of dish (over the rim) t'uks-ô'x' to throw (meat out of skin of game 150.12

Tsimshian:

uks-halhô'lt they are full all the way out
uks-dô'g to take out of (bucket)
adat uks-sa'k'.'a n-ts!a'ltgao then he stretched out his face

7. ts'ElEm- into, from the side (Tsimshian: ts!ElEm-).

ts'elem-ba'x to run in 204.9
ts'elem-hē'th' to rush in (literally, to place one's self into) 209.11
ts'elem-a'quh' to get into 129.12
ts!elem-dē-ba'x to run in with something 140.15

Tsimshian:

ts! elem-wi-ha'utg to cry into (house)
ts! elem-t'.ā'd to put into

¹ References preceded by ZE refer to the Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908.

8. k·si- out of, from the side (Tsimshian: ksE-).

 $k \cdot si \cdot g\bar{o}'u$ to take out 129.12

 $k \cdot si \cdot q \cdot \bar{o}ts$ to cut out 121.6

k'si-hä'tk" to rush out (literally, to place one's self outside) 30.7

Tsimshian:

 $ksE-l\partial'^{\circ}$ to shove out $ksE-h\bar{u}'^{\circ}tk$ to call out sEm-ksE-ya'dz to cut right out ZE 784^{73} ksE-gwa'ntg to rise (sun), (literally, to touch out)

9. tsagam- from on the water toward the shore (Tsimshian: dzagam-).

tsagam-ha'k's to scold from the water toward the shore 16.4
tsagam-hō'u to escape to the shore 51.14
tsagam-dē-g·ibā'yuk to fly ashore with it (dē- with) 178.12
t lep-tsagam-q'äê'xqt he himself dragged it ashore (t he; lepself [subj.]; q'ä'êxqt to drag; -t it) 175.14
tsagam-g'ē'n to give food shoreward 175.3

Tsimshian:

 $| dzagam - d\bar{a}'ul |$ to go ashore | dzagam - lu - yilya'ltg | to return to the shore, plural

 uks- from the land to a place on the water (Tsimshian: uks-, t'uks).

uks- $i\bar{e}'$ to go out to a place on the water near the shore 150.14 uks- $a'q\iota k^u$ to reach a point out on the water 74.13 $d\bar{e}$ -uks-ba'xt he also ran down to the beach 104.13

Sometimes this prefix is used apparently in place of iaga- (no. 2), signifying motion from inland down to the beach, although it seems to express properly the motion out to a point on the water.

Tsimshian:

uks-hë'otk to stand near the water uks-ha'u to say turned seaward uks-da'ul to go out to sea

In Tsimshian this prefix occurs also with nouns:

uks-a'pda-q!amē'otg one canoe after another being out seaward wagait-uks-G'ideganē'idzet the Tlingit way out at sea

11. qaldîx.- to the woods in rear of the houses; corresponding nouns, gilē'lîx; qaq'alā'n 65.13 (Tsimshian: qaldîk-; corresponding noun, gîl-hau'li).

qaldîx:-ië' to go back into the woods 8.4 qaldix:-ma'ga to put behind the houses into the woods 65.13

Tsimshian:

qaldîk-sgr'r to lie aside qaldîk-iā'o to go into woods

12. na- out of the woods in rear of the houses to the houses; corresponding noun, g- $\ddot{a}u$ (Tsimshian: na-).

na-ba'x to run out of woods 147.11 na-hē'ts to send out of woods 213.13 na-de-iä to go out of woods with something 214.8

Tsimshian:

 $| na-g\hat{o}l |$ to run out of woods, plural $| na-b\bar{a}'^a |$ to run out of woods, singular

13. t'Em- from rear to middle of house (Tsimshian: t!Em-).

t'Em-ië' to go to the middle of the house 130.12 t'Em-d'ā'L to put into the middle of the house 193.14 t'Em-q'ā'qL to drag into the middle of the house 62.11

Tsimshian:

Tsimshian:

 $t! Em-st\bar{u}'^{o}l$ to accompany to the fire $t! Em-di-i\bar{a}'^{o}$ to go also to the fire

14. asē-from the middle to the front of the house (Tsimshian: asdi-).

asē-ô'x to throw from the middle of the house to the door

| asdi-qā'o to take back from fire

The same prefix is used in Tsimshian to express the idea of mistake:

l asdi-ha'u to make a mistake in speaking

Tsimshian synonyms of t'Em- (no. 13) and asdi- (no. 14) are-

15. lagauk- from the side of the house to the fire.

lagauk-iā'o to go to the fire lagauk-hū'otg to call to fire

16. ts!Ek-!al- from the fire to the side of the house.

| ts!zk:!al-ma'g to put away from fire

17. gali- up river; corresponding noun, magan 117.6 (Tsimshian: q/ala-).

lō-gali-sg·ī (trail) lies up in the river 146.10 gali-iē' to go up river 117.6

This prefix occurs with nominal significance in *gali-a'k's* river (literally, up river water).

Tsimshian:

wī-q!ala-a'ks large river lu-q!ala-yä'ok to follow behind

18. g·isi- down river; corresponding noun, sax 23.6 (Tsimshian: gisi-; corresponding noun, ser).

g-îsi-ba'x to run down river 18.11

g îsi-a'qık" to arrive down river 23.6

k'ul-g'îsi-lâk's they float about down the river 16.10

In one case it seems to mean down at the bank of the river.

 $g \cdot \hat{\imath} si - \bar{lo} - w \hat{a}' w \hat{o} q'$ it was dug down in it down the river 197.8 Tsimshian:

stz-gisi-iā'o to continue to go down river gisi-ksiā'n down Skeena river

19. g·îdi- right there, just at the right place or in the right manner (Tsimshian: g·îdi-).

 $sem-g \cdot \hat{i}di-l\bar{o}-h\bar{e}'tk^u$ exactly just there in it it stood 88.8 $g \cdot \hat{i}di-q\bar{a}k \cdot sk^ut$ just there he was dragged 51.5 $g \cdot \hat{i}di-q\bar{o}'u$ to catch (literally, to take in the right manner) 147.8

Tsimshian:

 $g \cdot \hat{i} di - g \bar{a}'$ to catch ZE 787¹³⁷ $g \cdot \hat{i} di - w \bar{a}' l$ to stop $s E - g \cdot \hat{i} di - h \bar{c}'$ ot stand still suddenly $g \cdot \hat{i} di - t \cdot |\bar{a}'|$ to stop ZE 788¹⁵⁵

20. *lîy·i-* at some indefinite place, not in the right manner; i. e., almost (Tsimshian: *lîgi-*).

lîg·i-k'uL-dq' to sit about somewhere 54.10

lîg·i-tsagam-dē'lpku it was a short distance to the shore somewhere 104.8

lîg·i-metmē'thu full in some place (i. e., almost full) 159.10

This particle is often used with numerals in the sense of about:

lîg·i-txa'lpx about four 14.1

It is also used as a nominal prefix:

lîg·i-lax-ts'ä' L somewhere on the edge 104.8 lîg·î-nda' somewhere 87.1

lîg'i-hwî'l goods (i. e., being something) 164.8

Tsimshian:

ligi-ndz' somewhere ZE 782^{20} ligi-gâ' something $ligi-la-n\bar{\imath}'zdz$ to see bad luck coming ligi-ga'n any tree

A few others appear probably in pairs like the preceding, but only one of the pair has been recorded.

21. spī- out of water.

 $sp\bar{\imath}-i\bar{e}'$ to go out of water 52.2 $sp\bar{\imath}-g\bar{o}'u$ to take out of water

22. wul'am- out of water (Tsimshian: wul'am-).

Tsimshian:

wullam-bax-dô'g to take up from water wullam-a'xly to get ashore wullam- $i\bar{a}'^{o}$ to go ashore

§ 9. Local Particles—Continued

The following series of local particles do not appear clearly in pairs, or—according to their meaning—do not form pairs:

23. tsaga- across (Tsimshian: dzaga-).

tsaga-sg·ī to lay across 40.12 lep-tsaga-yôxk* he went across 40.13 tsaga-dê'êntk* to lead across 79.11 tsaga-hō'ksaan to fasten across an opening 217.5 tsaga-hîs'ia'ts to chop across 201.7 yun-tsaga-iē' to order to go across 40.13

Tsimshian:

dzaga-iā'o to go across dzaga-di-lû'o staying also across (a name). g'ap-k!a-dzaga-alu-bā'o to run really very openly across ZE 786¹²¹

24. qalk·si- through a hole (Tsimshian: galksE-).

qalk·si-yô'xku to go through 149.12 qalk·si-g·a'asku to look through 127.8 qalk·si-libā'yuk to fly through, plural 14.9 lō-qalk·si-ha'q'oax to squeeze through inside 149.15

This prefix occurs also before nouns:

qalk'si-nô'ô a hole through 11.9 qalk'si-sqä'êxk" through the darkness

Tsimshian:

galkse-në'otsg to look through
galkse-k!ī'ots!el to poke through
galkse-a'xlg to get through (literally, to finish through)

25. g-îme- probably far into, way in (Tsimshian: gami-).

g'îme-ië to walk to the rear of the house, through the space between people sitting on the sides 132.14, 189.13 g'îme-qa'ts to pour through a pipe, along the bottom of a canoe g'îme-yô'xk" to go through a pipe 183.1

Tsimshian:

| lu-gami-t/ā'o it goes way in

26. lôgôl- under (corresponding noun, Lax).

lôgôl-dep-d'a, to sit under (a tree) 8.4

27. lukL- under (Tsimshian: lukli-).

lukr-g·ibā'yuk to fly under

Tsimshian:

| lukli-da'ul to go under

28. le-gan- over. (In Tsimshian q'an- occurs alone, but also l/ī-q'an-, which is more frequent. This prefix is a compound of l/ī-on, and q'an over.)

lē-gan-ôx' to throw over lē-gan-g'a'ask" to look over

Tsimshian:

 $l.'\bar{\imath}-q.'an-b\partial'l$ to be spread over $l.'\bar{\imath}-q.'an-s\bar{u}'$ to swing over $sa-q.'an-t.'\bar{a}'^{\circ}$ to put over

29. 15- in; the corresponding noun has the prefix ts' Em- INSIDE; independent noun, ts' äwu (Tsimshian: lu-; the corresponding noun has the prefix ts/Em- INSIDE).

 $l\bar{o}$ -d'a to be in 118.10

 $d\bar{e}$ - $l\bar{o}$ -a'lg- $\hat{v}x_L$ $q\hat{o}'ot$ he also speaks in his mind (i. e., he thinks) 49.14

lō-d'ep-iaxia'q to hang down inside 65.10 (d'ep-down [no. 4])
 lō-sqa-ma'qsaan to put in sideways 150.3 (sqa-sideways [no. 36])
 lō-wusen-mē'tku it is full inside all along 29.10 (wusen-along [no. 51])

hasp'a-lō-yô'xhu to go in the same road 202.15 (hasp'a-, hasba-upside down [no. 74])

lē-lō-d'zp-yu'k to move on the surface in something downward 104.11 (lē- on [no. 30]; d'zp- down [no. 4])

This prefix occurs in a few fixed compositions:

 $l\bar{o}$ -ya'ltk'' to return $l\bar{o}$ - $d\bar{a}'ltk''$ to meet

It occurs also in a few cases as a nominal prefix:

lō-ts'ä'wu inside 102.10

 $l\bar{o}$ -k's-g' \bar{e} 'wît in the lowest one 53.11 (k's- extreme [no. 143])

lō-k·s-g·ī'êks at the extreme outside 219.1

lō-μîρμα'ρ deep inside 197.8

lō-sē'luk in the middle 184.13

Tsimshian:

lu-sgr'r to lie inside ZE 78227

lu-t! \bar{a} 'o to sit in

sa-lu-haldem-bā'o suddenly to rise in something

lu-tgi-lô'o to stretch down in

lagax-lu-dâ'° to put in on both sides (lagax- on both sides [no. 38])

30. $l\bar{e}$ - on; the corresponding noun has the prefix lax-; independent noun, $lax^{\prime}\bar{o}^{\prime}$ (Tsimshian: $l.'\bar{e}$ -; the corresponding noun has the prefix lax-; independent noun, $lax^{\prime}\hat{o}^{\prime}$).

lē-d'a' to sit on 202.4

le-men-pta'ltk to rise up to the top of (see no. 3)

 $l\bar{e}$ -ia'q to hang on 89.10

txa-le-bal to spread over entirely (see no. 93)

lē-sqa-sg·i to put on sideways 184.13 (see no. 36)

Tsimshian:

sa-l/\(\bar{\cap}\)-g-\(d'\) ks to drift suddenly on something (see no. 98)

l!ī-be'ts'en to put on

sem-l/ī-t'ālb to cover well (see no. 168)

l!ī-se-gu'lg to make fire on something (see no. 164)

 $ha-l.'\bar{\imath}-g\hat{\alpha}'$ to think (see no. 160)

31. tgo- around (Tsimshian: tgu-).

lō-tgo-ba'x to run around inside 77.11

k'wa'ts'ik's-tgo-ma'ga to turn over and over much 52.10 (see no. 176)

tgo-ya'ltku to turn around 47.9

k'ul-lō-tgo-lāx-lē'lb'en to roll about around inside to and fro 13.14 (k'ul-about [no. 33] · lō- inside [no. 29]; tgo- around; lāx-to and fro [no. 38])

Tsimshian:

| k'ul-tgu-nē'otsg to look around (see no. 33) | tgu-wa'n to sit around, plural | tgu-iā'o to go around

tgu-da'p to measure around ZE 78480

32. k'utgo- around; corresponding noun, dax' circumference.
sā-k'utgo-dā'uz to go suddenly around (the trunk of a tree) 211.9
k'utgo-ië'etk' to go around (the house) 218.1

33. k'uL- about (Tsimshian: k!ul-).

k'uL-ba'x to run about 94.10

 $k'uL-l\bar{e}-L\partial'\partial tk^u$ he puts about on it 218.7

g'asba-k'ul-hwa'ax' he paddled about astray 17.2

k'uL- $l\hat{i}x$ ·la'k· to scatter about

Tsimshian:

alu-k'ul-iā'o to go about plainly ZE 78348

k!ul-yu-ha'oksg to carry bucket about (see no. 159)

k!ul-da'msax to be downcast here and there (i. e., always)

34. k-'îlq'al- round on the outside.

k''îlq'al-ma'n to rub over the outside 103.12 k''îlgal-axts'ā'xk'' scabby all around

35. tq'al- against (Tsimshian: txal-).

tq'al-gwalks to dry against (i. e., so that it can not come off) 104.2 tq'al-d'āt to put against (i. e., on) face 195.12

tq'al-da'k'L to tie on 68.12

This prefix is often used to express the idea of MEETING:

tq'al-hwa' to meet and find 31.6

hwagait-lō-tq'al-gō'usk" to reach up to inside against (i. e., meeting) (hwagait- up to [no. 71]; lo- in [no. 29])

tq'al-qd'ô to go to meet (to go against) 158.11

Sometimes it expresses the idea of with:

tq'al-a'k's to drink something with water 21.9 tq'al-hu'ksaan to place with something 36.8

In still other cases it signifies FOREVER, in so far as the object remains fastened against something:

lō-tq'al-gwâ'tk" to be lost forever in something (lō- in; tq'alagainst 166.1

It also may express the idea for a PURPOSE:

tq'al-ā'm good for a purpose 80.14
sem-tq'al-sīep'en to like much for a purpose 45.1
tq'al-wē'lemlk* female servant

Tsimshian:

 $sa-txal-g \cdot \hat{a}'sg$ to float suddenly against (i. e., so that it reaches) $txal-h\hat{o}'ltg$ full all over txal-a'xlg to arrive at

36. sqa- across the way (Tsimshian: sqa-).

sqa-d'a' to be in the way 183.10 lō-sqa-hē't'ɛn to place inside in the way 129.10 sqa-sg·ī' to lie across 148.11

Tsimshian:

 $l\bar{u}$ -sga-yêdz to strike in and across the face lep-sga-dald (he) himself ties across (see no. 129) sga-g- \bar{i}' otg to swell lying across $sga-b\bar{a}'$ o to run across (i. e., to assist) sga-na'k some time (literally, across long) ZE 791²⁰⁴ $sga-b\bar{o}'$ a few

37. g·ilwul- past, beyond (Tsimshian: g·îlwul-).

g·ilwul- $d\bar{a}m$ to hold beyond a certain point 61.8

Tsimshian:

```
g\cdot \hat{\imath}lvul-b\bar{a}'^{\circ} to run past g\cdot \hat{\imath}lvul-ax'a'xlg to get ahead l!\bar{\imath}-q!an-g\cdot \hat{\imath}lvul-d\bar{u}'^{\circ}lxk not to be able to pass over (see no. 28)
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38. Lax- to and fro, at both ends (Tsimshian: lagax-).

(a) to and fro:

 $l\bar{a}x$ -ba'x to run to and fro

(b) at both ends, on both sides:

lax-g·iLg·a'Lkus carved at both ends

lāx-lō-līô'xk" to move in it on both sides 34.4

lāx-lē'ık' to watch both ends 136.10

lāx-aa'lg'ix to talk both ways (i. e., to interpret)

lāx-hwā'nzmlk* seated on both sides (two wives of the same man) 194.7

This prefix occurs also with nouns:

 $L\bar{a}x$ -wase, Was (a monster) at each end 106.14 Lax-mak sku white at each end (name of a man)

Tsimshian:

lagax-lu-dâ'o to put in on both sides lagax-ne-sta'o both sides

39. **sa-** off (Tsimshian: **sa-**).

 $sa-\partial x$ to throw off 145.2

 $sa-bzsb\bar{e}'s$ to tear off 25.4 sa-hëtka to stand off 137.9

 $sa-t'\partial'q$ to scratch off

sa-uks-ts'Ens-x'k''ä'xk" to escape going off, leaving out to sea (uks: toward water [no. 10]; ts'ens- leaving [no. 104])

Taimshian:

 $\beta a - q\bar{a}'^{o}$ to take off sa-ts!å'ot to pull off

40. gis- away to another place.

gîs-d'a' (plural gîs-hwa'n) to transplant (d'a [plural hwan] to sit) gîs-ië to move away to another place gi's-hë'tk*sen! move away to another place!

41. wud'En- away forward (Tsimshian: wud'En-).

wud'en-ië to step forward wud'en-k sla'qs to kick away

Tsimshian:

| wud'en-gwa'o away here along the middle

42. lūks- along a valley (Tsimshian).

| lūks-g·ig·ā'onit down along the river

43. wil-away, probably in some special direction (Tsimshian: awul-). $wil-q\bar{o}'$ to take away

Tsimshian:

| awul-ma'g to put aside, to sidetrack

44. hagun- toward, near; corresponding noun, awa'a (Tsimshian: gun-; corresponding noun, awa'o).

hagun-ië' to go toward 129.14

aqı-hagun-yô'xku unable to get near 201.6 (see no. 137)

hagun-hë/tku to stand near 125.4

hagun-dē'lpk" a short distance near by 147.5

Tsimshian:

 $gun-i\bar{a}'^o$ to go toward $gun-g\hat{a}'^o$ to go toward something $gun-t/\bar{a}'^o$ to sit near

45. hēla- near by.

hēla-d'a' to sit near by

46. *lōsa*- in front.

losa-ië to walk in front of losa-d'a' to sit in front of

47. txas- along the surface of a long thing (Tsimshian: txas-).

txas-ië' to walk on a long thing txas-la'agul to wrap up a long thing txas-ia'ts to chop along a long thing

Tsimshian:

lu-txas-sge'r to put in edgewise sa-lu-txas-lû'ot to shove in suddenly edgewise txas-k!û'ot through the year ZE 792³³²

48. hadix:- lengthwise along the middle line (Tsimshian: hat/Ek-).

 $had\hat{\imath}x\cdot -q\bar{o}'ts$ to cut (a salmon) lengthwise 55.3

Tsimshian:

| lu-hat!Ek-lat to push in endwise

49. stEx-lengthwise, on either side of middle line.

stex-t'ōtsku one side lengthwise is black

stex-sg·īl qē'nex lax-ts'ē'l ak's the trail lies along (the water) on the beach-side; (sg·ī to lie; qē'nex trail; lax- on [no. 151]; ts'ē'l beach; ak's water)

- 50. hal- along the edge, edgewise (Tsimshian: hal-).
 - (a) Along the edge:

 $k'uL-haL-i\ddot{a}'$ to walk about along the edge (of the water) 122.4 $d\bar{e}t-haL-d\partial'qt$ he held it also along the edge (of the fire) 47.8 ($d\bar{e}$ also [no. 167]; t he [subj.]; $d\partial q$ to place; -t it)

Not quite clear is the following:

 $q'am-l\bar{o}-hal-t'uxt'a'k^udet$ they only twisted off (their necks) inside along the edge 115.5 (q'am- only [no. 118]; $l\bar{o}$ - in [no. 29]; -det they)

(b) Edgewise:

hal-g'd'ôt'en to put (the paddle into the water) edgewise

Tsimshian:

| k!ul-hal-hë'tg to stand about alongside of ZE 796207 | hal-k:'a'n to go along beach in canoe | hal-gwa'o along here

51. wusEn- along the inside (Tsimshian: wusEn-).

wusen-hē'tk" to rush along inside (the canoe) 57.5 lō-wusen-mē'tk" full along inside (the canoe) 29.10 wusen-bîsbē's to tear lengthwise (to split) 99.13 (or wuden-see no. 41)

wusen-yîs'ia'ts to chop lengthwise (into wedges) 148.4

Tsimshian:

lax-wusen- $i\bar{a}'$ on the flat top of a mountain (literally, on along going)

52. wits En-, hūts' En- along through the middle (Tsimshian: wuts! En-).

wīts'en-iä' to go back through the house 125.3 hūts'en-d'āl to put from fire back to the rear of the house 207.2

Tsimshian:

| wuts! En-iā'o to go along through the house

53. xLîp- at end (Tsimshian: xlEp-).

xxîp-gu'x to hit at end 88.11 xxîp-t'êst'ō'tsk" black at the ends 31.5

Tsimshian:

| xlep-hô'ksen to put on at end | sem-xlep-ts'uwā'n the very end of the top

54. $xts\bar{e}$ - in the middle of a long thing (Tsimshian: xts/E-). $xts\bar{e}$ -ia'ts to chop across the middle 133.9 sa-xtse-q' \bar{o} 'ts to cut quickly across the middle 100.6

Tsimshian:

| xts/E-gai' to bite through in the middle

55. kuLe- all over (Tsimshian: kull-).

k^ulē-hasha'ts to bite all over 84.15 k^ulē-bisbē's to tear to pieces 71.6 k^ulē-ia'ts to hit all over 58.2

Tsimshian:

| k^ulī-iā'^om laxha' going across the sky ZE 783⁵⁰ | k^ulī-gaigai' to bite all over | k^ulī-galgô'l split all over 56. **xLEm**- around an obstacle, making a curve around something (Tsimshian: **xlEm**-).

wlem $i\bar{e}'$ to go overland, cutting off a point wlem-ma'gal to put a rope over something wlem-hē'tel to send around something wlem-da'ga to choke some one, hang some one

Here belongs also-

xLEm-galgai's'êt to kneel down

This prefix occurs also with nouns.

xLEm-që'nEx trail going around in a circle

Tsimshian:

| xlem-iā'ok to embrace | xlem-da'kl to tie around

57. k.'edō- sideways.

k.'èdō-q'a'ask to look sideways

58. k''āL- aside.

 $q'am-k''\bar{a}_L-L\hat{o}'\hat{o}t$ she only pushes aside 191.11 $k''\bar{a}_L-h\bar{e}'tgum$ $q'\bar{e}'semq$ labret standing on one side 191.13

59. qana- inclined against (Tsimshian)

qana-t'ā'o to sit leaning against something qana-hë'otg to stand leaning against something qana-ba'tsg to stand leaning against something

60. maxl E- through a narrow channel (Tsimshian).

maxle-bā'o to go through a channel
maxle-ha'd'eks to swim through a channel
maxle-g'ā'p a narrow channel
Maxle-qā'la Metlakahtla, narrow channel of sea (compare
G'it-qā'la people of the sea)

- 61. g·ik·si- out of; undoubtedly a compound of k·si out of (no. 8). g·ik·si-hwî'tku to come out of 10.1
- 62. $l\bar{u}ila$ near the end; perhaps a compound of $l\bar{o}$ in (no. 29), and $h\bar{e}la$ near (no. 45).

lū'ila-d'ē'lîks cut off smooth at end (name of a dog), from
d'ē'lîk's smooth

lū'ila-a'lg'îx to speak close to some one

§10. Modal Particles

There is no strict distinction between this group and the preceding one. Many of the particles classed here are used with equal frequency as adverbial and as adnominal elements. Thus we find $w\bar{\imath}$, which means at the same time GREATLY, MUCH, and LARGE; Lgo, which sig-

nifies both a LITTLE and SMALL. The attempt has been made to relegate all elements which may be separated from the stem by a pronoun into a group by themselves (§ 15); but since such separation occurs only in transitive verbs, and not all particles have been found with transitive verbs, it seems likely that the grouping may have to be changed when the language comes to be better known. While in some cases the composition of particles and stems is quite firm, others convey the impression of being almost independent adverbs.

63. awus- ready to move; not free (Tsimshian).

awus- t/\bar{a}'^{o} ready to stand up, singular awus-wa'n ready to stand up, plural awus- $h\bar{e}'^{o}tk$ ready to move

63a. a- easily (Tsimshian).

a-sonā'l easily tired

a-kati' easily hungry

a-bā'g'ask worried (literally, easily tasted)

64. anb'El- in an unusual frame of mind. This prefix is not entirely free (Tsimshian: p!El-).

anb'el-hē' to say crying 220.5

anb'el-a'lg'îx to speak while angry, to talk behind one's back anb'el-ia'alk' to strike, break, in a state of anger

anb'El-qalā'q to play

Tsimshian:

 $p! \ell l - qa - m\bar{\imath}'^{o}lk$ to play with something

65. ank's- opening up (Tsimshian: aks-).

ank's-ksla'qst to kick apart 134.3

ank's-ie' to increase

ank's-t' Emē'st paint-pot

wī-anksî-sgan large rotten (open) tree 106.12

Tsimshian:

sa-hagul-aks-iā'o to open suddenly slowly (see no. 76)
aks-iā'og to increase
aks-t!ū'os to push open
sɛ-aks-q!a'g to open up

66. agwi- outside, beyond (Tsimshian: agwi-).

agwi-tq'al-d'a' it is outside close against it

agwi-an- $d\bar{a}'x$ the outside

agivi-mā'l boat (literally, beyond a canoe)

agwi-huxdā'ek''n great-grandchild (lit., beyond grandchild)

Tsimshian:

I agroi-ba'tsg to stand outside

- 67. alo-(a-easily, lu-in?) plainly; alone (Tsimshian: alu-).
 - (a) Plainly, real:

alō-d'a' there was plainly 106.13

 $al\bar{o}$ - $b\bar{a}'n$ run quickly! 93.4

sem-k'a-ale-ba'x to run really exceedingly quick 107.10

As a nominal prefix we find it in-

alō-g·ig·a't real persons (i. e., Indians) 170.13

Here belongs probably—

szm-alo-gôl to run quite suddenly, plural 141.8

(b) Alone; always with reduplication:

alō-hehē thu to stand alone 44.15 alō-sîsgī' to lie alone alō-d'ɛd'a' to sit alone

Tsimshian:

 $alu-k'uL-i\bar{a}'^o$ to go about plainly ZE 783⁴⁸ $alu-t'.\bar{a}^o$ to be in evidence $alu-b\bar{a}'^o$ to run really

68. aLax- in bad health (Tsimshian: la-).

alax-hag'â'ôtku having a crippled back

Tsimshian:

 $| la-g\cdot a'tk$ in bad health

69. aLda- in the dark.

 $aLda-w\bar{a}'x$ to paddle in the night $aLda-i\bar{e}'$ to walk in the dark

70. I- with reduplication; action done while in motion.

i-g·ig·Ebā'yuk flying while being moved i-aa'lg·înē I talk while moving, while at work i-hahā'dîk's swimming while carrying

71. hwagait- completing a motion entirely (Tsimshian: wagait-).

This prefix belongs to the series bagait- (lebagait-) (no. 82), sagait- (no. 99), spagait- (no. 103), q'amgait- (no. 119).

hwagait-qalk:si-dā'uL to pass through entirely 143.14 (see no. 24) hwagait-sg- $\bar{\imath}$ ' to lie way over 134.3

hwagait-ma'q to put away

This is also a nominal prefix:

hwagait-g-ī'iks way off shore 146.14 hwagait-gō'st over there 134.4

Tsimshian:

sem-sa-wagait-uks-da'ul to go right out to sea very suddenly (see nos. 168, 98, 10)
wagait-y iā'ks way off shore

72. walen- former.

walen-ga'n an old (rotten) tree 25.4
walen-na'k'st his former wife 135.14
walen-g'ig'a't the people of former times 191.1
walen-wī-gêsgâ'ôt the same size as before 23.4

- 73. w 7- great, greatly; singular (Tsimshian: w 7-). This prefix is commonly used as an attribute, but also as an adverb, expressing, however, rather a quality of the subject. See also Lqo- no. 135.
 - (a) Adverbial:

wī-sz-mē'z to make burn much 89.8 wī-sa'gat it splits much 148.8

It is also found in fixed combinations:

 $w\bar{\imath}$ - $y\bar{e}'t\bar{k}^{\mu}$ to cry 90.3 $w\bar{\imath}$ -am- $h\bar{e}'t$ to shout 89.12. Here it is apparently connected with the adverbial $-\epsilon m$ (§ 22)

(b) Adjectival:

wī-g·a't big (awkward) man 196.9 wī-lig·'ē' ɛnsk great grizzly bear 118.4 Wī-xbā'la Great West-wind (a name)

Tsimshian:

- (a) Adverbial: wi-ha'utk to cry
- (b) Adjectival:

 wī-gô'ep.'a great light ZE 785³⁸

 wī-medī'ek great grizzly bear

 g'ap-k.'a-wī-naxnô'g really exceedingly great supernatural
 being (see nos. 117, 106)

73a. wud'ax- great, plural (Tsimshian: wut!a-).

wī-sem'agit great chief

wud'ax-qa-wē'n large teeth 84.3 wud'ax-ax-qa-gd'ôdzt great fools 33.10

74. hasba- upside down (Tsimshian: hasba-). This prefix is related to q'asba- no. 121.

haspa-bë's to tear out so that it is upside down 127.13 sem-hasba-sg'ī' to lay exactly face up 214.11 hasba'-sg'ī to lay upside down (a hat) 17.2

Peculiar is-

hasba-lō-yô'xku to go in the same trail 202.15

Tsimshian:

| hasba-p!ë zgal to tear out so that it is upside down

75. hats'Eks-terribly, causing feeling of uneasiness. hats'Eks-hwî'l to act so that people get afraid hats'Eks-a'lg'îx to talk roughly

76. hagul- slowly (Tsimshian: hagul-). hagul-hwî'l to do slowly 54.4 hagul-gwâ'ôtku to disappear slowly

Tsimshian:

hagul-bā'o to run slowly ZE 786124 hagul-dzaga-iā'o to go slowly across Zl. 787125 hagul-kuda'xs to leave slowly hagul-iā'ox to go slowly

77. haldEm- (Tsimshian: haldEm-) occurs only with the verbs bax, plural $g\partial l$, to RUN, with the meaning to RISE 124.9, 114.7.

In Tsimshian the same composition with $b\bar{a}^o$, plural $g\delta l$, to bun, occurs with the same meaning; but the prefix seems to be a little freer with the meaning rising from the ground.

haldem-nī°dz to look up

78. hī- to begin (Tsimshian: hī-).

 $h\bar{e}'$ -yuk to begin 138.14 g'ai-hē-lē'duxdet they just began to shoot 20.4

This prefix is much more common with nouns:

 $h\bar{\imath} \cdot mEs\bar{a}'x$ beginning of day hē'-Luk morning

Tsimshian:

 $\hbar \bar{\imath}_{-8E}$ -t/ $\bar{a}'^{o}t$ it just began to be ZE 781° $h\bar{\imath}$ - $ts/\bar{\imath}'^o n$ just to enter $h\bar{\imath}$ -set/a-demt p/a'egant he began to break it down

79. his- to do apparently, to pretend to (Tsimshian: sis-); always with medial suffix (see § 17.3-5).

hîs'-a'k'sk" to pretend to drink 18.7 $h\hat{\imath}s$ - $huw\hat{a}'qs$ to pretend to sleep 219.10 hîs-huwî'ltkus to pretend to do 23.1 $h\hat{\imath}s - n\hat{o}'\hat{o}tk^{u}$ to pretend to be dead 65.11 $h\hat{\imath}s$ - $wiy\bar{e}'tk^{u}s$ to pretend to cry 217.10 hîs-Lî'ntk's to pretend to be angry hîs-xda'k's to pretend to be hungry

Tsimshian:

sîs-kutī'onu I pretend to be hungry $s\hat{\imath}s-\bar{a}'xs$ to laugh (literally, to play with the mouth) sîs-yu-ha-kuda'ks to play having (i. e., with) a bow (see nos. 159, 160)

80. **pElEm**- to act as though one was performing an action (Tsim-shian: **bEnEm**-).

pelem-gō' to act as though taking 38.8

pelem-iē' to go and turn back again at once

pelem-g'a'p to act as though eating something

Tsimshian:

| benem-xsi'otk to act as though vomiting | benem-t'ū'os to act as though about to strike

81. **b**ElxsEm- in front of body, forward; similar in meaning to xina- no. 127 (Tsimshian: xbEsEm-).

t $l\bar{o}$ -belweem-qaq' $\bar{a}'q'$ ant he opened it in front of his body 26.14 Tsimshian:

1 xbssem-sger to lie prone ZE 789171

82. bagait- just in the right place or manner (Tsimshian: lebagait-). Compare hwagait- (no. 71), sagait- (no. 99), spagait- (no. 103), g'amgait- (no. 119).

bagait-kroa'st it is cracked right in the middle bagait-gō' to hit just in the right place q'am-bagait-bebesba'tsku only to be lifted just in the right way 62.13

Like the other prefixes ending in -gait, this prefix is also nominal: sem-bagait-sē luk just right in the middle 73.4.

Tsimshian:

lebagait-sga-ba'tsg to stand across just there ZE 793240 lebagait-det/ā'o sitting alone lebagait-bā'o to be lost

83. mEsEm- separate.

mesem-hod'n to sit separately mesem-lô' to walk separately

84. ma- like (Tsimshian: mE-).

ma-wa'tsx crazy (literally, like a land-otter)
ma-o'l having epileptic fits (literally, like a bear)

Tsimshian:

| me-wa'ts/a crazy (literally, like a land-otter)

85. wadi- like (Tsimshian).

wadi-hats!iā'on innumerable (literally, like fly-blows)
wadi-ksz-le'atx like fluid slime
wadi-wā'lb like a house

86. max- only, entirely, all.

max-hāna'q (they are) all women 184.5 max-ĕ'uxt a woman having only sons; (they are) all men max-hē'x it is only fat 42.3

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87. mEL(a)- to each, distributive (Tsimshian: mEla-).
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mela-gulā'nt three to each meli-k''â'l one man in each (corner) 33.12

Tsimshian:

mela-k/rel one to each

88: mEla- both (Tsimshian).

 $mE'la-mEn-w\bar{a}'lxs$ both go up (see no. 3) $mEla-l/\bar{i}-d\hat{a}'$ to put on both (see no. 30)

mela-hakhë'ldem g'at both (villages had) many people

89. sen-firmly (Tsimshian).

| sen-nā'o to bait | sen-dô'xs to hold fast | sen-wô'x to admonish

90. dFx-, dîx-- firmly; not free (Tsimshian: dax-).

 $d\hat{\imath}x\cdot -yu'k^u$ to hold fast

Tsimshian:

 $| dax-y\bar{a}'^{o}gwa$ to hold fast

91. dE-, $d\bar{e}$ - with (Tsimshian: dE-).

 $dE-d\bar{a}'uL$ to carry away (literally, to go away with) $tsaum-de-a \dot{b}a'yuk$ to fly ashore with something 178.12

Tsimshian:

 $dE-b\bar{a}'^{o}$ to run away with $bax-dE-g\partial'it!Eks$ to come up with $t\ dE-ts'\bar{i}^{o}nt$ he entered with it

92. dūla- improperly.

 $d\bar{u}la$ -a'lg- $\hat{i}x$ to talk improperly, to grumble $d\bar{u}la$ - $d\bar{u}'d$ eL $\bar{a}qt$ to put mouth on one side $d\bar{u}la$ - $y\bar{e}'\hat{e}tk^u$ s to walk improperly, to wabble $w\bar{v}$ - $d\bar{u}la$ -g- $a'tk^u$ being a great improper man (i. e., cowardly) 195.3

93. txa- entirely, all (Tsimshian: txa-).

 $txa-q\bar{o}'lts$ egat he carried all on his shoulder 116.4 $txa-w\hat{o}'\hat{o}$ to invite all 186.15 $txa-l\bar{o}-ts'\hat{a}'\hat{o}t$ to skin inside entirely 150.10 txa-be $l\bar{a}'da$ it was all abalone 45.3

This prefix is contained also in-

tranë'tku all

Tsimshian:

txa-ga'ntg stiff (literally, woody) all over txa-wā'ontg to have teeth to the end (of life) txa-y2lg all slippery txa-l'ī-gai'nat all fall on

94. nā- to complete an action (Tsimshian: na-).

 $n\bar{a}$ -da'q ι to strike with a hammer so that it breaks

 $n\bar{a}$ -ha'ts to bite through 127.8

 $na-\delta'x$ to hit so that it breaks 48.8

na-gapgā'bet they fastened it so that it staid 178.3 nā-d'îsd'ē's to knock with the hand 8.12

Tsimshian:

| na-g'a'lk to punch through

95. na- each other, one another (Tsimshian: na-).

k''ax-na-al'a'lg'îxdet they talked to each other for a while 19.8 (see no. 107)

na-xsē'nqdet they disbelieved each other 28.2

k'uz-na-gaq'ē'det they howled about to one another 96.4

Tsimshian:

| lu-na-la'ol to put into each other

96. $n\hat{o}'\hat{o}m$ - to desire. This may possibly be the verb $n\hat{o}'\hat{o}$ to die.

nô'ôm-ië' to desire to go nô'ôm-a'k's to desire to drink 21.8

If this element is an adverbial form of $n\partial'\partial$, it corresponds to Tsimshian:

i dza'gem æst'd'ganu I am dead asleep

97. sEl-fellow, companion (Tsimshian: sEl-).

sîlhāna'q fellow-woman 208.12

sîl-q'aima'qsit fellow-youths 195.13

This prefix is also used with verbs:

sîl-hwa'n to sit together sîl-qas-qâ'ôt'en to be of the same size 89.7

Tsimshian:

 $| n_E - s_E l - w\bar{a}' lt \text{ his companions} |$

98. $s\bar{a}$ - suddenly (Tsimshian: sa-).

sā-hē'tk" to stand suddenly 99.14

sā-gē'sxk" to stop crying suddenly 22.5

Tsimshian:

sa-ha'u to say suddenly

sa-l!i-g'toks to float suddenly on something

sa-lu-haldem-bā'o to arise suddenly on something sa-lu-nâ'ok to lie on something suddenly

99. sagaīt- together (Tsimshian: sagaīt-) (see nos. 71, 82, 103, 119).

sagaīt-da'k'z to fasten together 68.10

sagait-ië to go together 51.8

sagait-wi'lgat to carry all together 70.10

sagait-wa'n to sit together ZE 786 118

sagait-hety to stand together

sagait-lu-am'ā'm gagâ'od they were all glad (literally, good in their hearts)

sagait-wā'lxsem we walk together

100. sag'ap- without purpose (Tsimshian: sag'ap-).

k'ul-sag'ap-ië' to walk about without purpose 96.10 sag'ap-le'mîx' to sing without purpose

Tsimshian:

| k!ul-sag'ap-iā'o to go about without purpose ZE 796300

101. sī- new (Tsimshian: su-).

 $s\bar{\imath}$ na'k:st his new wife 135.15 $s\bar{\imath}$ - $h\imath o\hat{\imath}l$ new

Tsimshian:

su-p!a's young, singular (literally, newly grown) su-ma'xs young, plural (literally, newly standing) su-sa'mi fresh meat su-sE-n-dzô'g to make a new village (see no. 164)

102. six - steadily (Tsimshian: sta-).

siw-g-a'a to look steadily, to watch 156.1 siw- $i\ddot{e}$ ' to walk steadily siw- $w\ddot{a}$ 'x to paddle steadily

Tsimshian:

 $|sta-i\bar{a}'^{o}nu|$ I walk steadily $|sta-gisi-i\bar{a}'^{o}|$ to go down river steadily

103. spagait- among (Tsimshian: spagait-). This prefix belongs to the series hwagait-, bagait-, sagait-, q'amgait- (nos. 71, 82, 99, 119); -spa seems to belong to haspa- inverted, q'aspa-astray, which have spa in common with spagait-.

dē-lō-spagait-hōksku also to be inside among 42.4

This prefix occurs also with nouns:

spagait-ganga'n among trees 31.14 spagait-sq'ë' Exk" in the darkness 11.9 spagait-lôga lō'leq [among] in a rotten corpse 217.9

Tsimshian:

| spagait-sqē'otg in the darkness ZE 78233 | spagait-g'a't among people | spagait-ganga'n among trees

104. ts'Ens- to desert, deserted (Tsimshian: ts!Ens-).

ts'Ens-lu'k to desert by moving 159.15

ts'Ens-dza'k* widow (literally, deserted by dying)

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Tsimshian:
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ts! Ens-lâ'yîk to desert by moving
ts! Ens-dza'k widow (literally, deserted by dying)

105. ts'Ent- a short way (Tsimshian).

ts!enl-dzô'x to move canoe back a short way ts!enl-iā'o to go a short way off

106. $k^{-1}\bar{a}$ - to a higher degree, exceedingly (Tsimshian: k!a-).

sem-k.'ā-ale-ba'x to run really exceedingly fast 107.10 (see nos. 168, 67)

k"a- $w\bar{\imath}$ - $h\bar{e}'ldzL$ $\bar{e}lx$ there were exceedingly many seals 107.6 (see no 73; $\bar{e}lx$ seal)

k''a-wē-t'ē'sı hwîlpt as nē'z his house is larger than mine (literally, his house is exceedingly large to me) (see no. 73; hwîlp house; as to; nēz me)

k ''a- $w\bar{\imath}$ -t' \bar{e} 's ι $\hbar w\hat{\imath}lp$ (this) house is the largest $\iota q\bar{o}$ -k '' \bar{a} - $w\bar{\imath}$ -t' \bar{e} 's ι he was a little larger 103.15 (see no. 135)

Tsimshian:

g'ap-k!a-dzaga-alu-bā'o to run really very openly across ZE
786 121
g'ap-k!a-wī-nawnô'g really a greater supernatural being
k!a-na'q exceedingly long ZE 786 126

107. $k^{-1}ax$ - for a while (Tsimshian: k/a-).

k''ax- $h\bar{a}'\hat{o}t$ it stops for a while 218.3

k'ax-hâx' to use for a while 34.6

k"ax-gun-g'a'a to show for a while 26.6 (gun- to cause; g'a'a to see)

k 'ax-na-al'a'lg 'lx to talk to each other for a while 19.8 k 'ax-sa- $q\bar{e}'t$ to make a string for a while 117.6

Here belongs also-

g''ax hao'n later on

Tsimshian:

| ada' k'a-t'ā'ot then he sat for a while

108. g-în- seems to occur only in $g \cdot \hat{i} n - h \bar{e}' t k^u$ to rise 151.14.

Tsimshian:

¦ g'îna-hë⁰tg to rise

109. g·îna- (left) behind (Tsimshian g·ina-).

g-îna-hē'tk" to stand behind 141.2

 $g \cdot \hat{n}a - g \cdot \hat{a}' \hat{o}$ to be there, being left behind 67.2

g-îna-dā' to remain, being left behind 194.13

k'ul-g-îna-dô'x to be (plural) about being left behind 70.8 (see no. 33)

Lgō-q'am-g'îna-d'ā' only a little one was left 95.14

44877-Bull. 40, pt 1-10-21

g·ina-t/ā° to stay behind g·ina-iā'° to go slower than (literally, to leave going) g·ina-ts'ī'°k left dry

110. k:/?na- to go to do something; the action to be done is expressed by a noun (Tsimshian).1

| k:/îna-xsa'n to go to gamble | k:/îna-dâ'osta to go across (to see) | k:/îna-su-p/a's to go after a young girl

111. g·î'ldEp- underneath (?), upside down (?)

 $g\cdot ildep-da'lbik\cdot sk^u$ to cling to the under side (of the canoe) 57.6 $k'ul-g\cdot ildep-qax\bar{a}'ik^u$ to drift about capsized, upside down 24.3 $g\cdot ildep-qalu'ks$ I turn dishes over upside down

112. k·sax-only, just (Tsimshian: ksa-, often with q'am- or am-only).

k·sax-d'ô'q just to take (i. e., without implements for taking) 41.7

k·sax-k'ul-daxdô'x they just lay about 162.5

k·sax-g·inā'ml tsō'ôsk'l hē'x' he only gave a little fat 163.6

(tsōôsk' little; hēx' fat)

This may really belong to the particles given in § 15.

 $k \cdot sax$ - is often used with nouns:

 $k \cdot sax \cdot ts \cdot \bar{e}'p$ only bones 214.12 $k \cdot sax \cdot tqo \cdot nts \cdot \bar{e}'ets$ only the little grandmother 152.10

Tsimshian:

q'am-ksa-txālpx only four q'am-ksa-k!e'rel only one am-ksa hanā'nga only the women ksa-hē'otget he just stood still

113. k'ōpE- little, plural; a little (Tsimshian: k'abE-). This is commonly used as an attributive prefix for the plural only. The idea of a little, slightly, is generally expressed by this prefix; while Lgo-, which is the singular of the attributive prefix, seems to imply that a small one performs the action expressed in the verb. See no. 135.

(a) Adverbial:

 $k\bar{o}pe-aba'g'ask^u$ to be troubled a little 74.15 $k\bar{o}pe-ama-g'a'adesem$, look out a little well for her 192.1 $k\bar{o}pe-l\bar{o}-qabu'x$ to splash in something a little

(b) Adjectival:

 $k'\bar{o}p_E$ - $huw\hat{i}'lp$ little houses 185.8 $k'\bar{o}p_E$ - $tk''\bar{e}'Lk^u$ children 102.1

¹ This particle is classed more properly with those given in § 13.

(a) Adverbial:

k!abs-sī'spgsnu I poor one am sick

(b) Adjectival:

 $k!ab E-ga-g\hat{o}'k$ little baskets

114. gun- to order, to cause (Tsimshian: gun-).

gun-ba'ı to cause to spread out 130.11 gun-gō'u to cause to hit 53.8 gun-sɛ-mē'ı to order to make burn 91.14 gun-gē'ıqan to order to poke 91.6

Tsimshian:

 $gun-m\delta'gan$ to ask to be taken aboard $gun-n\delta'\circ dz$ to show (literally, to cause to see)

115. gulîk·s- backward; also reflexive object (Tsimshian: g·îlEks-).

gulîk's-hē'tk" to rush back 210.4 gulîk's-a'qık" to reach (arrive) coming back 76.10

gulîk s-g a'asku to look back

dē-gulîk:s-d'ep-ma'qs to throw one's self also down (dē also; d'ep down) 42.13

gulîk:s-dza'kus to kill one's self

sem-gulik·s-ë'thus to repent (literally, to name one's self much) 52.3

gulîk:s-d'ôtk* pocket-knife (literally, covering itself)

anîk's-lō-lā'galtk" looking-glass (contracted from an-gulîk's-lō-lā'galtk" what one's self in beholds)

Tsimshian:

 $g \cdot i l e k s - b \bar{a}'^o$ to run back ZE 788^{149} $g \cdot i l e k s - g \bar{a}'^o$ to take back $g \cdot i l e k s - n i'^o d z$ to look back $l e p - g \cdot i l e k s - \delta' i g e t$ he threw himself down

116. gulx-continued motion (Tsimshian: gugulx- for all times).

gulx-t'ë's to push along gulx-ba'x to jump along

Tsimshian:

| gugulx-hë'otg to stand for all times

117. g'ap- really, certainly, must, strongly (Tsimshian: g'ap-).

q'ap-tgu'ksaan to be really unable (to carry) 167.13 q'ap-dē-dzā'pt really on his part he made 170.5 g'ap-hä'q'al to urge really 43.13 g'ap-wī-t'ē'st it is really large 13.13 g'ap-gō'dē I have taken it entirely

g'ap-yô'xgun you must eat

g'ap-ô'lg' certainly, it is a bear

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g'ap-xs-ts/a'ps really to be called a tribe ZE 78341
g'ap-k!a-wi-naxnô'g really a greater supernatural being (see nos. 106, 73)
g'ap-wul'am-bâ'osg really to blow ashore (see no. 22)
g'ap-br'tsg really to stand
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- 118. q'am- only, i. e., without result, to no purpose; compare k'sax(no. 112) ONLY, i. e., without doing anything else (Tsimshian:
 q'am-, am-).
 - (a) Adverbial:

q'am-anû'q to agree without caring 18.13
q'am-tsagam-sîdä' Ext he only fastened it ashore (without taking it up to the house to eat it) 178.3
q'am-lîlä'êxk*t he only finished eating (but did not go) 107.10
q'am-lō-g'ā' El only to lie down (without doing anything) 59.7.

- (b) Adnominal, with numerals:

 q'am-k''â'l only one 100.13

 q'am-gulâ'n only three 113.1

 q'am-alebō' only few 178.10
- (c) Adnominal; refuse, useless:

 q'am-ia'ts chips
 q'am-hwî'lp a miserable house

Tsimshian:

- (a) Adverbial:

 am-man-wā'lxs he just went up (see no. 3)
- (b) Adnominal, with numerals:

 q'am-ksa-txālpx only four
 q'am-k!ô'l only one
- (c) Adnominal; useless:

 Lgu-q'am-k!wa's an old little broken one
 q'am-wā'lb old house
 q'am-t/ō'ots charcoal
- 119. q'amqait- already, just then (Tsimshian: amqait-). This prefix, which is related to the series in -gait- (nos. 71, 82, 99, 103), appears also independently.

k''ēt q'amgait-g'a'as Txā'msɛm T. had already seen it 17.12
t q'amgait-hwîlā'x'L sɛm'â'g'it the chief knew it already 220.1
(hwîlā'x' to know; sɛm'â'g'it chief)
q'amgait nîg'i wô'qt just then he did not sleep 37.1

q'amgait q'a'mts' ɛn dâ'gôl . . . mēg'â'qst already he had secretly taken salmon berries 49.15 (q'a'mts' ɛn secretly; dâ'g to take; mēg'â'qst salmon berry)

| ada amgait-tā'ot then he was just there ZE 78212

120. gane- always, permanently, without stopping. This prefix occurs commonly with hwil and adverbial ending -a in the sense of ALWAYS 121.4, 15. Other compounds are—

ganē-mē'z it burns so that the fire can not be put out again ganē-d'a' to sit down for good ganē-ts'ē'n to have entered to stay ganē-a'lg'îx to talk without stopping ganē-qabē'yit there are just as many

121. q'asba- anywhere, astray. This prefix is related to hasba- urside down (no. 74); see also no. 103.

 $q'asba-k'uL-hw\bar{a}'ax^*$ to paddle about astray 17.2 (k'uL- about [no. 33])

q'asba-sa-k'uL-ië' he went about away astray 38.14 (sa- off [no. 39]; k'uL- about [no. 33])

122. q'ai- still, just, near; also used as an independent adverb.

(a) Adverbial:

q'ai-huwô'qt he was still asleep 127.5 q'ai-hwagait-tsagam-yu'kdet they moved still far away toward the shore (hwagait- [no. 71]; tsagam- toward shore [no. 9]) q'ai-lig'i-që'sxk*t just any time he stopped 91.5 (lig'i- any place or time [no. 20]; qësxk*t to stop speaking)

(b) Adnominal:

q'ai-q'â'lîl lôqs just six months 29.5 lgo-q'ai-ts'ō'sg'îm wi-t'ē's just a little large 153.5 (lgo-small [no. 135]; ts'ōsk' small; -m adjectival connective; wi-great [no. 73]; t'ēs large)

123. *gal*- too.

gal-alà'n too slow gal-d'è'elt too fast gal-là'ltk" too late

124. qal- without people, empty (Tsimshian: qal-).

qal-hvo'lp house without people in it qal-bē'is space 81.6 qal-ts'a'p town, tribe

This particle is also used with verbs:

qal-d'a' to stay away from a town
qal-dzô'q to camp away from a town

Tsimshian:

qal-z'rznx empty box qal-ts!a'p town

125. **xpī**- partly.

xpī-ma'k'sk" partly white

xpī-ts'rmë'lîx partly beaver (name of a monster supposed to resemble a seal with beaver-tail)

xpī-nâ'ts partly coward (name of a man)

126. xpîlyîm- forward (in time and space).

xpîlyîm-g·a'a to look forward

127. xLna- bending forward (Tsimshian: xlna-).

xina-sg·î'tku to fall down forward xina-dû'k to kneel down

Tsimshian.

|xlna-ma'xsg| to dive, plural (literally, to stand head foremost) $|xlna-dE-d\bar{a}'ul|$ to go down headlong with

- 128. L- is a particle used to express the plural of certain words, and will be found discussed in § 45.
- 129. lep- self, as subject (see gulîk's- self as object [no. 115]).
 - (a) Adverbial:

lep-g·în-hē'tkut he himself arose 156.11

t lep-tsagam-q'ä'êxqtt he himself dragged it ashore 175.13

lep-gulîk's-halā'eltkut it itself acted by itself 61.3

lep-gulîk's-hanwulā'kus nä'ê, I myself destroyed my own 220.5

(nä'ê I)

(b) Adnominal:

 $lep-neb\bar{e}'pt$ his own uncle

Tsimshian:

(a) Adverbial:

lep-ëitg he himself takes a name

lep-lgusge'ret he himself is happy

dī t-lep-dô'get he himself, on his part, took

ām-di-lep-nexnô'xsedet that they themselves, on their part, are supernatural

lep-g-îleks-ô'iget he himself threw himself down

(b) Adnominal:

lep-qaxsâ' (their) own canoes

130. lEbElt- against (Tsimshian: lEbElt-).

 $d\bar{e}$ -lebelt-hwîlenestä' you also do against (some one) 65.14 lebelt-h $\bar{e}'tk^u$ to incite against

lebelt-a'lg'îx to talk with some one

Tsimshian:

lebelt-da'l to fight against $lebelt-w\bar{a}'l$ enemy

131. *lEg'ul*- for good (Tsimshian: *lEk!ul*- for good; see *ganē*-always, permanently [no. 120]).

leg'ul-sî'ns to be entirely blind
leg'ul-dā'uL to leave for good
leg'ul-ts!ē'n to have entered to stay

Tsimshian:

| lek!ul-kuda'xs to leave for good

132. lîg·'ex- partly, half.

lîg''êx-ma'gaz to put away half lîg''êx-g'a't nobility (literally, halfway [chief] people)

133. IEks- strange, different, by itself (Tsimshian: IEks-).

leks-g·a't a strange person sa-txa-leks-g·a't to make quite different leks-d'a' island (literally, sitting by itself)

Tsimshian:

| leks-t!ā'o island | leks-g·ig·a'd kinds ZE 791205

134. LEm- stopping a motion (Tsimshian: lEm-).

LEM-ba'x to stop by running

LEM- $g\partial' c$ to offend

LEM- $\bar{e}'tk^{u}c$ to interfere (literally, to stop by calling)

In Tsimshian this prefix does not seem to be free.

 $lem-g \cdot ip\bar{a}' \hat{\imath}g$ to fly against the wind $lem-b\bar{a}' asg$ head-wind

135. Lgō- little (Tsimshian: lgu-). This is commonly used as an attributive prefix, but for the singular only. The adverbial idea is expressed by $k'\bar{o}p_{E}$ - (Tsimshian: $k!ab_{E}$ - [no. 113]), which, in an attributive sense, is used only for the plural.

 $Lg\bar{o}$ -a'lg- $\hat{i}xt$ he said with a low voice (perhaps better, the little one said) 54.12

The use of $Lg\bar{o}$ - as attributive is very common:

k·sax-Lgō-ts'Epts'a'p only the little wren 126.5 (see no. 112) Lgo-ts'Evol'ng it the little youngest one 185.14

Still more frequent is its use with adjectives:

Lyo-gwä' Em Lyo-tk''ē'lku the little poor little boy 139.7 Lyo-q'ai-ts'ō'sg'im wi-t'ē's only a little large (q'ai- just; ts'ōsk' small; wī- great; t'ēs large) Lyo-dax-g'a't a little strong

Tsimshian:

lgu- $x\bar{a}'^o$ little slave ZE 789^{177} lgu-g'am-k!wa's a bad little broken one

§ 11. Nominal Particles

A number of particles, according to their meaning, can occur only in a nominal sense, modifying nouns and adjectives. A few of these might as well have been classed with the preceding group.

136. am-serving for (Tsimshian: am-). This prefix is not free. am-lō'x: alder-tree (serving for [the dyeing of] head rings of cedar-bark) am-mā'l cottonwood (serving for canoes) am-halai't head-dress (serving for shaman's dance) am-sg'inî'st pine-tree (serving for pitch)

Tsimshian

am-më'olk mask (serving for dance) am-ga'n cedar (serving for wood)

am-yu'kt used in potlatch 194.1

This prefix is also used in some connections where the explanation here given does not seem satisfactory:

am-qa'n a kind of salmon-trap am-xLā'L willow (xLāL fruit of willow) am-hā'ts' stump 55.5

In other cases it appears as a verbal prefix, the meaning of which is not known:

am-qd'ôd to remember 209.13 am-sg'i to lie (on the beach?) 172.11 am'ā'leq to destroy in anger

137. ax- without (Tsimshian: wa-). This prefix is nominal, and serves as negation in subordinate clauses, which in Tsimshian are transformed into nominal form. Examples are here given of nominal forms and of subordinate clauses:

(a) Nouns:

ax'-a'k's without water
ax-wunä'x' without food
ax-qaqd'd foolish (literally, without minds) 123.10
ax-qd'dem g'a't foolish person
an-ax-kō's carelessness
ax-mô'ku unripe 50.5
ax-qam-da'xku disgraceful
ax-dē-si-halai't never giving a dance (an opprobrious epithet)
ax-na-mu'x without ear-ornaments (an opprobrious epithet)
ax-q'ē'ts without labret (a little girl)
ax-tqal-g'a'tku virgin (not against a man)

(b) Subordinate clauses:

k.'èt g'a'al wunä'x' la ax-g'ë'betg'ê then he saw the food which he had not eaten 41.3,4 (k''ē then; -t he; g'u'a to see; -l connective [§ 23]; wunä'x' food; la past, nominal form; ax-not; g'ë'p to eat something; -t his; -g'ê absent [§ 20])

 $n\bar{a}$ t'an $ax-hw\hat{\imath}l\bar{a}'g\hat{\imath}n$? who does not know thee $(n\bar{a}$ who; t'an he who; ax- not; $hw\hat{\imath}l\bar{a}'x$ to know; -n thee)

 $nig \cdot in \ dem \ d\bar{e} \ g\bar{o}'ut \ hwîl \ ax-k^uta'y\bar{e} \ I$, on my part, shall not take it, not being hungry $(nig \cdot in \ ni; -ni; \ dem \ future; \ d\bar{e} \ on the other hand, on (my) part; <math>g\bar{o}u$ to take; -t it; hwîl being; axnot; $k^uta'i$ hungry; $-\bar{e}$ I)

There is a second form, aqL, the relation of which to ax is difficult to understand. Apparently this form is aq with connective -L (see § 23). It does not occur in subordinate clauses, and may perhaps be considered as a verb meaning IT IS NOTHING.

nlk"ē aql hwîlt then he did nothing 68.6 (then nothing was his doing)

nlk.'ē aql g.ē'ben then nothing is your food 157.11

nlk."ē aql-yô'xkus Ts'ak then Ts'ak was without (place to) go 126.7

nık''ē aqı-hwî'lt then he was without doing anything 68.6

It is doubtful, however, whether this explanation is really satisfactory. Difficulties are presented particularly by forms like—

aq dep·hwîlā'gut what can we do? 103.7 (dep we)

aq n hwîla dzā'bet I do not know how to make it

Only a few Tsimshian forms may be given here:

| $wa-d\bar{\imath}-lgu-x\bar{a}'^a$ on their part without even a little foam ($d\bar{\imath}$ on their part; lgu- little; $x\bar{a}^a$ foam) | $wa-dzaga-l\bar{a}'^a p/zl$ without twinkling across

138. hwîn- innermost part (Tsimshian: wun-).

hwîn-gē's brain hwîn-hawu'l point of arrow hwîn-ts!ä'wul heart of tree 148.8

Tsimshian:

| wun-ga'us brain

139. dE-extreme, plural; see k's-singular (no. 143) (Tsimshian: ta-)

dE-lax\bar{o}'t the highest ones

dE-L\bar{a}'wit\$ the lowest ones

dE-galgal\bar{a}'nt\$ the last ones

Tsimshian:

man-ta-gâ'ga the first ones to come up (see no. 3)
ta-sî'olg'ît the eldest ones

140. t/Em- a nominal prefix of very indefinite significance (Tsimshian: t!Em-). In several cases this is clearly a weakened form of the attributive form $t/\bar{a}m$ sitting, and probably this is the meaning of this particle everywhere. (See § 33.) t/em-ba'x hip $t/Em-q\bar{e}'s$ head $(q\bar{e}s$ hair) 46.6 . t!Em-Lā'm leg below knee t!Em-lā'nix' neck t!Em-gā'x fathom, shoulder; and some other terms for parts of the body t/rm- $l\bar{a}'n$ steersman t! Em-tsä'iq man in bow of canoe Tsimshian: | lax-t!Em-ga'us crown of head $t/Em-l\bar{a}'n$ steersman $(g \cdot il\bar{a}'n \text{ stern})$ (See § 33) 141. spE- place where something belongs, where one lives (Tsimshian: spe-1). spe-a'p wasp-nest spe-a'xt den of porcupine spe-tk'o'Lqan ant-hill Spe-nexnô'q place of supernatural beings 32.11 $Sp\bar{a}$ -wa' Lk^u place of taboos 32.12 spe-so'ntk place where one lives in summer spe-ksō'nt place where one lives in autumn Tsimshian | spe-sa'mi bear's den 142. sgan- tree, stick; evidently from gan tree (Tsimshian: sgan-). sgan-mē'lîk st crabapple-tree 17.11 sgan-qala'mst rose-bush sgan-lâ'ts elderberry-bush sgan-dā'pxL harpoon-shaft sgan-halô' mast Tsimshian: sgan-k/ī'nt wooden quiver $| sgan-t/\bar{u}'^o tsg$ spear-shaft 143. k-s- extreme, singular; see d_{E} -, plural (no. 139) (Tsimshian: ks-). k's-qalā'n the last 140.8 $d'ep-k's-q\hat{a}q$ down first 81.4

Tsimshian:

| ks-q@'ga first ZE 791214

 $l\bar{o}-k$ *s-g* \bar{i} 'êkst in extreme outer side 219.1

144. **ks**E-fluid (Tsimshian: **ks**E-). This is evidently an abbreviated form of aks water. (See § 33.)

kse-t/ō'tsk* black fluid
kse-må'dzîk's milk (literally, breast fluid)

Tsimshian:

wadi-kse-lē'atx fluid-like slime (see no. 85)
kse-ā'mks clear water
kse-gwa'nuks spring
kse-sganē'ost water of mountain

145. k·cE- fresh (Tsimshian: ksE-).

 $k \cdot cE - c\bar{a}'k$ fresh olachen $k \cdot cE - sma'x$ fresh meat

Tsimshian:

| kse-meg'â'oxs fresh berries

146. k·sEm- woman (Tsimshian: ksEm-).

k'sem-nîsqa'a a Nass woman k'sem-qa'k'ı mouse woman 136.4 k'sem-sawa't Tongass woman k'sem-alō-q'iq'a't Indian woman 207.12

Tsimshian:

| ksem-wutsi'on mouse woman | ksem-q'asgd'os crane woman

147. g·ît- people, person (Tsimshian: g·it-). (See also § 33.)

G·ît-wīk·/ē'na Awī'k·!ēnôxu, Rivers Inlet tribe

G:ît-qā'ns Tongass g:ît-wī'ltku warriors 113.13

G·ît-lax-dā'mek's people of lake

148. gwis- blanket, garment (Tsimshian: gus-).

gwīs-halai't dancing blanket 71.5 grīs-qā'aqt raven blanket 39.8 wī-gwīs-qana'ō large frog blanket 168.3

gwis-ma'k:sk" white blanket

Tsimshian:

| gus-ya'ni mink blanket | gus-bɛlhā'tk button blanket | gus-sga'n mat coat (rain coat)

149. qa-seems to indicate location (Tsimshian: $g\cdot i$ -).

qa-sä'x place in front 61.4 qa-qalā'n place behind the houses 138.6 qa-g'ä'u place in front of house 138.13 qa-dâ' the other side 211.10

The same prefix appears in certain plurals. These will be discussed in § 43.

g·i-ts:ld'ēg bow of canoe g·i-lā'n stern of canoe g·i-g·ā'ni up river g·ilhau'li in the woods (with euphonic l[?])

150. qaldEm- receptacle (Tsimshian: galdEm-).

qaldem-halda'u-q:ît box of a sorcerer 217.3

Tsimshian:

| galdrm-a'ksk bucket (literally, drinking-receptacle)

151. lax-surface of, top; corresponding to the adverbial prefix le-(Tsimshian: lax-).

lax-lô'ôp surface of stone 109.4 lax-a'us surface of sand 122.4 lax'ō' top 55.4 lax-ha' sky (literally, upper side of air)

The names of some clans contain this element.

 $lax-sk\bar{\imath}'y\hat{e}k$ eagle clan (literally, on the eagle) 108.3 $lax-k\cdot eb\bar{\nu}'$ wolf clan (literally, on the wolf) 108.2

Names of islands and of the ocean are compounded with this prefix:

Lax-waqL Dundas island lax-sē'lda ocean 104.7

Tsimshian:

| lax-t!Em-ga'us crown of head | lax-la'mgEm leplô'ob top of hot stones | lax-ha' sky ZE 78226

152. ts'Em- inside; corresponding to the verbal prefixes lo-, ts'ElEm-,

legem- (Tsimshian: ts!Em-).
ts'em-hwî'lp inside of house 134.2
ts'em-dz'ä'dz'îk's inside of ground 201.9
ts'em-lô'ôp inside of stone 20.2

A considerable number of words require this prefix:

ts'Em-ā'q inside of mouth 118.15
ts'Em-qalâ's stomach 118.11
ts'Em-an'ô'n palm (literally, inside) of hand 110.10
ts'Em-t'ē'n valley 77.3

Tsimshian:

ts!Em-lax-ha' in the sky ZE 78226
ts!Em-asâ'o inside of canoe
ts!Em-a'ks inside of water
ts!Em-wā'lb inside of house
ts!Em-ts!ā'ns armpit
ts!Em-ne-ū'o oven

- 153. ts'a- inside. I found this prefix, which is evidently related to the last, only in ts'a-hwi'lp (Nass) and ts!a-wālb (Tsimshian) the inside of the house, so designated in contrast to the outside; while ts'em-hwilp (ts!em-wālb) appears in conjunction with the locative adverbial prefixes lu-, ts'elem-, etc.
- 154. ano- direction toward (Tsimshian: nak- or na-).

anō-g-ĩ' elka south anō-qal-ts'a'p direction of the town anō-t' em-gē's head end anō-lax-mô'ôn direction of (on the) sea

Tsimshian:

nak-semiā'wunt or na-semiā'wunt left hand nak-stû'o one side nak-txa-g'isi-hi-wā'as east (literally, direction along down river at the same time rain) ZE 785.

155. ts'ik's- surrounding (Tsimshian: t/Eks-).

ts'îk's-naa'qs bracelet (literally, surrounding jade) ts'îk's-daô' finger-ring

Tsimshian:

t! eks-nā'oxs bracelet

156. ham- nearness.

ham-ts/ēwi'n place near the top, 80.12

§ 12. Particles Transforming Verbs into Nouns

- 157. an-. This prefix is very difficult to translate. It is used to transform verbs into nouns, and expresses abstract terms, local terms, and even instruments. (Tsimshian: n-, nE-).
 - (a) Abstract nouns:

an-xpedzā'x fear an-lebā'lq hatred an-sē'ibensk* love an-ud'msk honor

(b) Local terms:

an-la'k" fireplace
an-sg'îmlk" womb (literally, lying-in place)
an-tg'ō-lē'lbîk'sk" whirlpool (what around drifts) 104.12
an-sā'lep hole for steaming 55.4
an-lō'ulk" nest (literally, place of young ones)
an-sg'ī't grave (literally, where he lies) 218.5
an-qalā'q play-ground
an-dâ' other side

| n-lak fireplace | ts!Em-nE-\bar{u}^0 oven (literally, in-baking-place) | n-g^2l-hau'li a place in the woods

(c) Result of an act, instrument, etc.

an- $h\bar{e}'t$ what he said 118.1 an- $l\bar{e}'pelsk^u$ thread (for sewing) an- $d\bar{o}y'\hat{\imath}n$ garden

158. anda- receptacle, perhaps from an- no. 157 (Tsimshian: nta-).

anda-ha-sä'xs "rattle-box" 124.12 anda-ta'îx box of crabapples 192.4 anda-hawî'l quiver (literally, arrow receptacle) 19.5 anda-t'ē'lx' box of grease 192.3

Here belongs-

anda-xsa'n gambling-sticks 28.11

Tsimshian:

| nta-ha-wulā'ovad work-box | nta-hawā'l quiver

159. $yu-k^u$ one who has (Tsimshian: yu-g). $yu-hw\hat{v}'lpk^u$ one who has a house $yu-negw\hat{v}'\hat{v}lk^u$ one who has a father

Tsimshian:

k!ui-yu-ha-a'ksg carrying a bucket about yu-sa'mig having meat yuhg-a'tg having manhood ZE 78352

160. ha- instrument (Tsimshian: ha-).

ha-\$\pi da' k^u\$ bow (literally, shooting-instrument) 19.6 ha-a' k'\cdots\$ cup (literally, drinking-instrument) ha-q'\delta' k\$ knife for splitting 96.12 ha-la' k^u\$ powder (literally, fire-instrument) ha-\cdots\delta' x\$ rattle 213.9

Tsimshian:

ha-g'ê'lg harpoon (literally, harpooning-instrument)
ha-na'kst marriage present (literally, means of marrying)

The compound prefix $ha-l\bar{e}$ is particularly frequent:

ha-lē-d'a' chair (literally, instrument to sit on)
ha-lē-da'lɛp pile of wood to roast on 131.12
ha-lē-dzô'qsē world (literally, means of camping on) 14.10

Tsimshian:

 $ha-l/\bar{\imath}-dz\hat{o}^{i}g$ world (literally, means of camping on) ZE 782¹⁹ $ha-l/\bar{\imath}-g\hat{a}^{i}$ to think (literally, means of minding on)

The days of the week are nowadays designated by the same prefixes:

ha-le-qanō'ôtku day of dressing up (Sunday) ha·lē-yē' Eq day of paying out (Saturday)

161. gan-means of, cause of (Tsimshian: gan-).

gan-mâ'tku means of saving gan-drde'ls cause of life gan-Lëntx cause of anger gan-lō-gō'ibax window (literally, cause of light inside) gan-hwā'hx carrying-strap, (literally, means of carrying)

Tsimshian:

gan-hā'axq difficulty gan-p/a'lg'ixsg ballast (literally, means of being heavy)

This prefix is identical with the particle gan THEREFORE.

162. qwîx- nomen actoris (Tsimshian: huk-).

 $gwix \cdot -\bar{a}'d$ fisherman wi-qwix:-su-g'a't great murderer 23.5 gwix - wo'o hunter 108.4 groix -iā'mq'ask" cheater 52.12

Tsimshian:

huk-ga'ts! r one who pours out, an auctioneer huk-yê'lsk one who drills

163. an- the one who ----; preceding transitive verb (Tsimshian: in-). This prefix is used very frequently in phrases corresponding to our relative clauses. It is always preceded by the subjective pronoun of the third person.

në en t'an-dedô'qu lāx you are the one who caught the trout 157.4

k''ē k'earl lgo-g'î'mx'dit, demt an-ts'elem-wô'ôl nak'st then his little sister went out, she who was to call in his wife 204.6 (k·sax to go out; $g \cdot \hat{i}' mx \cdot de$ sister; ts' e lem- into; $w \hat{o}' \hat{o}$ to invite; nak's wife)

 $n \mathbf{L} \mathbf{k}^{\cdot \cdot} \hat{e} d\bar{a}' u \mathbf{L} \mathbf{L} \mathbf{k}^{\cdot \cdot} \hat{a} l \mathbf{L} \mathbf{g} \cdot a \mathbf{t} \mathbf{t}' a \mathbf{n} - g \bar{o}' u \mathbf{L} \mathbf{L} g \mathbf{0} - t \mathbf{k}^{\cdot \cdot} \hat{e}' \mathbf{L} \mathbf{k}^{u}$ then one man left, who took the child 205.6 ($d\bar{u}'uz$ to leave; k''âl one person; gat person; gou to take; Lgo-tk.'e'Lku child)

k-'ē hwîl sagait-hā' p'aar t'an-k-rē-hîsya' tst then they rushed together who beat him all over 62.12 (sagait-together; hā'p'a to rush; kuzē- all over; yats to strike'

Tsimshian:

nād demt în-na'ksga lgū'dges Gauô' who is it who will marry the daughter of Gauô?

t n! E'ryu demt în-na'ksga lgū'dgent it is I who will marry your daughter

n/ini's dep gwai t'în-se-t/ā'osga these are the ones who began ada n/īnī' t'în-lɛbā'olsɛtaa he was the one who paid it back

§ 13. Particles Transforming Nouns into Verbs

164. 8E- to make something (Tsimshian: 8E-).

sE-hwa' to call (literally, to make name) 97.13

 $sE-l\bar{e}'t$ to make wedges 148.4

 $sE-h\hat{a}'n$ to catch salmon

 $sE-l\bar{e}'mx$ to make a song 77.9

 $lep-se-nexn\hat{o}'x$ to make one's self supernatural 152.6

se-bela' to make abalone shell 45.14

Tsimshian:

l.'i-se-gu'lg to make fire on su-se-n-dzôg to make a new village se-ma'xs to cause to grow ZE 791^{200}

165. x- to eat, consume (Tsimshian: x-).

x-ha/n to eat salmon 205.1

x-ama'lgwax eating scabs 41.14

ha-x-sma'x' fork (literally, meat-eating instrument)

ha-x-miyä'n pipe (literally, smoke-eating instrument)

Tsimshian:

| x-sts!@'la to eat beaver | x-gwa'tksenu I feel cold (literally, I consume cold) | lu-x-dzī'usg until morning (literally, in consume morning) | x-sganē'îs to kill mountain goats (literally, to eat mountain) | x-gô'ep!akem we enjoy the light ZE 786¹²⁷

166. xs- to say, to appear like (Tsimshian: xs-).

xs-negud'tk to say father xs-mē'mexk to say hm

xs-ia'nsks it sounds like leaves

xs-ma'k'sku white (literally, it appears like snow)

xs-yusguâ'ôshus light blue (literally, it appears like a bluejay)

Tsimshian:

wī-xs-nû'ôl it sounds loud like a drum wi-xs-suwa'nsg it sounds loud like curing disease g'ap-xs-ts!a'ps to be called a tribe ZE 783¹¹

§ 14. Transitive Pronominal Subject

The transitive subjective pronouns are in both dialects:

n I m sem ye dep we t they

These are placed before the verb and the particles treated in §§ 8-13. They will be discussed more fully in § 52.

§ 15. Particles that may Precede the Transitive Subject

The particles enumerated in the present section differ from all those previously treated, in that their connection with the verb is not so close. In certain cases of the third person, to be discussed later, they precede the transitive pronominal subject. Since many of these particles have not been found with transitive verbs of this kind, it remains doubtful whether they are simply adverbial particles placed before the verb, or whether the first and second persons of the transitive verb, when used as subject, precede them. The particles enumerated under nos. 167-174 are more clearly connected with the verb than the later ones.

167. de- with, also, on (his) part (Tsimshian: dī-).

dē-t-gun-g'ē'îpt on her part, she ordered (her) to eat it 155.11
dē-uks-ba'xt he, on his part, ran out to the sea 104.13
dē-gulîk's-d'ɛp-ma'qst he also threw himself down 42.13
dē-t-gōut he, on his part, took it 14.8
nîg'î-n dɛm dē-g'ipt not I shall, on my part, eat it
dē nîg'î di-deuk't she, on her part, had no bag 206.9, 10 (dē-di
on her part; nîg'î not; dēuk' bag)
nîg'î-n dē-g'a'at I have not seen him

Tsimshian:

t!Em-dī-yä'a he went to the fire, on his part
dīt-lep-dô'get he, on his part, took it himself
ada g'ik dīt q'am-gâ'otge hanā'oxt and also he, on his part,
blessed (q'am-gâ'ot) the woman ZE 797

168. **sEm-** very, exceedingly (Tsimshian: **sEm-**). This particle is very free in its position. It is often used in nominal compounds in the sense of GENUINE.

sem-aba'g'askut he was much troubled 80.1
sem-hasba-sg'ē' to lay really upside down 214.11
sem-hō'm a'lg'îxnē I speak the truth
yagai-sem-k'ā-wi-hē'lt, however, exceedingly very many 158.11
sem-t-lō-qâ'ôdent she emptied it inside entirely 208.7
sem-ama sg'ē'det they laid it down well 214.10 (am good; sg'ī to lay)

sem-hux-dē-190-vo'lk'sīlku also, on his part, a very prince (hux also; dē on his part; 190- little)

wi-sem-ga'n the great very tree (i. e., cedar) 147.9

sem-ts'ē'wîn the very top 80.4

sum-q'ai-tsetsō'osk: just very small 171.8

sem-q'am-k-'â'l really only one 145.18

 $sem-lu-dza'ga\ ga'ot$ very downcast (literally, very dead in heart) $sem-lu-x\bar{a}'xst$ to weep bitterly

ada semt tgu-da'pt then he measured exactly around it ZE 784. ne-sem-se'relg exactly the middle

169. hux also, again (Tsimshian: gik).

hux $\bar{a}'d^2\hat{i}k'sk^uL$ yu'ksa evening came again 142.8 ($\bar{a}'d'\hat{i}k'sk^u$ to come; yu'ksa evening)

hux dē-t' Em-iä't he also, on his part, went down to the middle of the house 142.14

hux det gu'nat he also, on his part, demanded it 143.1

k'ēt hux g'inā'mt then he gave it again 139.6

hux k''â'lı g'at another man 108.1

Tsimshian:

lat g'ik t!a'le ne-mes-a'use lemkdī'odet a ts!a'ltgao when his sister again put on her paint on her face ZE 795280 (mes-a'us ochre; lemkdī'od sister; ts!al face)

adat g'ik wulā'idɛ g'a'd then the people knew it again ZE 7952222 ada g'ikt wulā'i dɛm hat!a'xgɛ then they knew again that it would be bad ZE 796228

The following four particles serve to express future, present, past, and continuation. Their syntactic use will be discussed in § 59. Here I give only a few examples illustrating their use with the verb. 170. dEm future (Tsimshian: dEm).

dem iä'nēe at awa'an I go to thy proximity 196.12 dem g'a'an you will see 80.2

n dem swant I shall cure her 123.7

drmt mu'kdel twox they were going to catch halibut 43.6

In the following examples d_{Em} is nominal:

nîg'idi ā'd'îk'sk"L dem mesā'x' not had come the future daylight 11.10

dem lep-hwa'yîmı dem nā'em we ourselves will find our future bait 56.6 (lep-self; hwa to find; nax bait)

Tsimshian:

 $d_{Emt} dz\bar{a}'b_{E} txan/\bar{a}' g\hat{a}^{o}$ he was about to make everything $n d_{Em} k!a$ -txal- $w\bar{a}'n$ I shall overtake you soon $ada d_{Emt} s_{E}$ - $ma'xs_{E} g\hat{a}'ot$ then it will make things grow

171. hwîl present (Tsimshian: wul).

txanë'tkul hwîl sesö'sı k!ōpe-ts'ö'ôts all the small birds 124.11 naxna's Ts'ak: hwîl dāl hana'q Ts'ak: heard (about) a woman being there 126.2 (naxna'x to hear; d'a to sit; hana'q woman) -t hwîl lō-ba'qt at his touching into it 203.6

at gâ' wul ksz-gwa'ntgz g'a'mgzt he went to where out comes (touches) the sun

lat $n\bar{i}'$ est $g \in ts'.a'bd \in wul \ k\cdot'.A-sA-gidi-t'.\bar{a}'^o \ g\cdot a'mg \in m \ dz\bar{i}'$ ust when the people saw the sun standing still suddenly for a while ZE 788.13 ($n\bar{i}$ to see; ts.ab people; $k\cdot'.A$ - for a while; sA- suddenly; $t.\bar{a}^o$ to sit; $g\cdot amg$ heat, heavenly body; $dz\bar{i}ust$ daylight)

-a wul wa-dī-aya'owult on account of his being without cleverness ZE 789.14 (wa- without; dī on his part; dya'owul clever)

172. La past (Tsimshian: la).

nlk:/ē la hux hē'luk it had been morning again 204.2(hux again; hē'luk morning)

La dē'lpk" L dzm mesā'x it was shortly going to be daylight 143.7 (dēlpk" short; mesā'x daylight)

La hux hwî'lt he had done this also 145.4

k: ! \bar{e} Lat $hw\hat{i}l\bar{a}'x$: L $hw\hat{i}l$ $n\hat{o}'\hat{o}t$ he had known that he was dead 57.7 ($hw\hat{i}l\bar{a}'x$: to know; $n\hat{o}'\hat{o}$ dead)

Tsimshian:

n!īnī' lat nī' estge ts!a'b that was when the people saw
ada la al dī ts!ī'onsge wak't but then his brother had gone in (al
but; dī on his part; ts!īon to enter; wak' brother)
nī wā'lde la ha'udet it happened, what he had said

173. Lā while (Tsimshian: Lā).

Lā wī-t'ē'sL Lgo-tk''ē'Lkug'ê al lō-d'ā't al ts'em-xpē'îst while the child was large, it was in the box 9.9 (wī-t'ē's large; Lgo-tk''ē'Lku child; lō-in; d'ā to sit; ts'em-inside; xpēîs box)

Tsimshian:

 $l\bar{a} n/\bar{\imath}n\bar{\imath}' n\bar{\epsilon}$ -sela- $v\bar{a}'ld\bar{\epsilon}t$ while that one did it with them $l\bar{a} q/a'ld\bar{\epsilon}k$ - $i\bar{a}'^{o}tga^{o}$ while he was walking about in the woods

174. iagai- already, however, rather (Tsimshian: y!agai-).

iagai-g·în-hē'tk*t however, he stood behind 141.1 iagai-nē't however, it was so 26.7, 157.9

iagai-sem-k: !a-wi-hē'lt however, exceedingly many 158.11

k. ēt iagai-lē-ia'qt then, however, it hung on it 46.1

k: !ē iagait-g:ê'zlt then, he had picked it up already 26.3 iagait-lō-dâ'yît he had put it on already 50.4

Tsimshian:

y!agai lā'-wula tyi-nī'otsget however, he looked always down adat y!agai-dzaga-gâ'odet then, however, he went across it n dem y!agai-na'ksen I shall marry thee y!agai-sem-bā's very much afraid, however

175. må'dzE- almost.

mâ'dzE-sg'it he almost lay 62.8 q'am-mâ'dzE-nô'ôēz I am only almost dead 76.13 mâ'dzEt-ôx't he almost hit it 140.7

176. *kwa'ts'îk*·s- close by.

kwa'ts!îk:s-tq'al-sg:în you lie close against 75.12

177. **sEm-g·it** strongly (derived from **sem-much** [no. 168], and **g·at** person) (Tsimshian: **sEm-g·it**).

dem sem-g it dax-yu'kden you will hold fast strongly sem-g it de yō'gul t'em-lā'nēist hold on to my neck! 80.10

Tsimshian:

| ada sem-yit hë'tge hana'gat then the woman stood fast

178. **sEm-gal** very, much (from sem-) (Tsimshian: **sEm-gal**). **sem-gal** aba'g'ask** the was much troubled 36.4, 40.4 **sem-gal** god'et he was very poor 38.4

Tsimshian:

| sEm-gal xao! arch-slave! ZE 790197 | t sEm-gal lebā'lexst they hate them much ZE 793222

179. q'amts'En secretly.

q'amts'en hē't he said secretly 40.5 q'amts'en ts'ë'nt he entered secretly 25.6

180. nig.i not; used in indicative sentences (Tsimshian: a'lgE).

k''ē nîg'i daa'qLkudet then they did not succeed 123.6 nîg'î baxl ak's the water did not run 18.3 nîg'ît hux dzakut she did not kill him also 203.7 nîg'îdî hwāx's Lôgôbolā' Lôgôbolā' did not paddle 17.3 nîg'în dē g'a'at I have not seen it

The syllable $d\hat{\imath}$, $d\bar{e}$, which is very often added to the negative, probably signifies on His Part, and is the particle no. 167.

Tsimshian:

| a'lg \(\bar{a}ml\) d \(\bar{e}mt\) wul\(\bar{a}'id\) \(\bar{e}l\) g'\(at\) it is not good that the people know it (\(\bar{a}m\) good; wul\(\bar{a}'i\) to know; g'\(at\) people) | ada\(a'lg\) \(ts'.a'k'\) asga\(la'kg\) then the fire was not out | a'lg\(\bar{e}\) nd\(\bar{e}m\) k'.\(ln\) \(\bar{a}'mt\) at han\(\bar{a}'^2\) I will not give it to the woman

§ 16. Alphabetical List of Particles

As a matter of convenience, I give here an alphabetical list of particles, the letters being arranged in the order vowels, semi-vowels, labials, dentals, palatals, laterals. In each series the order of sounds is sonant, surd stop; sonant, surd affricative. Each particle is given its

number in the preceding lists. It will be remembered that there are slight differences in the rendering of the Nass (N) and Tsimshian (T) sounds, which are due to imperfections in the recording of the former dialect.

a T 63a awus T 63 awul T (wil N) 43 am N T 136 am, q!am T (q'am N) 118 amgait T (q'amgait N) 119 an N (în T) 163 an N (n, nET) 157 anō N (na, nak T) 154 anda N (nta T) 158 anb'el N (p!el T) 64 ank's N (aks T) 65 asē N (asdi T) 14 asdi T (asē N) 14 agroi N T 66 aks T (ank's N) 65 ax N (wa T) 137 alō N (alu T) 67 alax N (la T) 68 alda N 69 alge T (nig·i N) 180 i N 70 iaga N T 2 iagai N (y!agai T) 174 yu-k" N (yu-g T) 159 în T (an N) 163 uks N T 6, 10 wa T (ax N) 137 wadi T 85 hwagait N (wagait T) 71 walen N 72 wī N T 73 wud'ax N (wut!a T) 73a wud'en NT 41 hwîn N (wun T) 138 wun T (hwîn N) 138 wusen NT 51 wuts'en T (wits'en, huts'en N) hwîl N (wul T) 171

wil N (awul T) 48 wul T (hwîl N) 171 wul'am N T 22 ha N T 160 ham N 156 hadîx N (hat! Ek T) 48 hasba N T 74 hats'Eks N 75 hagun N (gun T) 44 hagul N T 76 haldem N T 77 hal N (hal T) 50 hī N T 78 hîs N (sîs T) 79 hēla N 45 hūts'en, wits'en N (wuts'en T) 52 huk T (qwiw N) 162 hux N (gik T) 169 benem T (pelem N) 80 p!el T (anb'el N) 64 pelem N (benem T) 80 belasem N (xbesem T) 81 bagait N (lebagait T) 82 bax N T 1 me T (ma N) 84 men N (man T) 3 mesem N 83 mela T 88 mel N (mela T) 87 ma N (m ET) 84 man T (men N) 3 max N 86 maxle T 60 mâdze N 175 dE, $d\bar{e}$ N (dE T) 91 de N (ta T) 139 dē N (dī T) 167 d'ep N (tgi T) 4 dem N T 170

t'**E**m N T 13 t' Em N T 140 ta T (dE N) 139 dex, dîx N (dax T) 90 t'eks T (ts'îk's N) 155 t'uks N T 6, 10 dūla N 92 tq'al N (txal T) 35 tgi T (d'ep N) 4 tgo N (tgu T) 31 txa N T 93 txas N T 47 n T (an N) 157 na N T 12 na, nak T (anō N) 154 nā N T 94 na N T 95 nak, na T (anō N) 154 nig·i N (alge T) 180 nô'ôm N 96 nta T (anda N) 158 8E N T 164 sā N (sa T) 98 sa N T 39 8Em N T 168 sem-g·it N T 177 *sem-gal* N T 178 *sen* Ť 89 sagait N T 99 sag'ap N T 100 sîs T (hîs N) 79 sîx. N (sta T) 102 *sel* N T 97 sī N (su T) 101 su T (sī N) 101 *spe* N T 141 spagait N T 103 *spī* N 21 stex N 49 sta T (sîx: N) 102 sgan N T 142 sqa N (sga T) 36 ts! Em N T 152 ts! Ens N T 104 ts! Enl T 105

ts! k: !al T 16 ts/a N T 153 tsaga N (dzaga T) 23 tsagam N (dzagam T) 9 ts!îk's N (t!Eks T) 155 ts! elem N T 7 $k''\bar{a} N (k!a T) 106$ k-'ax N (k!a T) 107 k''aL N 58 g·i T (qa in part, N) 149 g'ime N (gami T) 25 g ît N T 147 gʻîdi N T 19 k:!êdo N 57 $g \cdot \hat{i} n N (g \cdot \hat{i} n a T) 108$ g'îna N T 109 k:/îna T 110 q'is N 40 g·îsi N (gisi T) 18 gik T (hux N) 169 g·ik·si N 61 g·îleks T (gulîk·s N) 115 g'îlwul N T 37 g'îldep N 111 k·'îlg'al N 34 k·s N (ks T) 143 kse T (k·si N) 8 kse N T 144 $k \cdot ce N (kse T) 145$ k'sem N (ksem T) 146 $ksa T (k \cdot sax N) 112$ k'si N (kse T) 8 qa N in part $(q \cdot i T)$ 149 g'ai N 122 g'ap N T 117 q'am N (q!am, am T) 118 gami T (g·ime N) 25 g'amts' En N 179 q'amgait N (amgait T) 119 gan N T 161 q!an T 28 qana T 59 ganē N 120 q'asba N 121 gal N 123

gal N T 124 q!ala T (gali N) 17 gali N (q!ala T) 17 galdem N (galdem T) 150 qaldîx. N (qaldîk T) 11 qalk:si N (galkse T) 24 kwa'ts'îk s N 176 qwis N (qus T) 148 gwix N (huk T) 162 $k'ab \mathbf{E} \mathbf{T} (k'\bar{o}p \mathbf{E} \mathbf{N}) 113$ Kutgo N 32 gun T (hagun N) 44 gun N T 114 qus T (qwis N) 148 gugulx T (gulx N) 116 gulîk's N (g'îleks T) 115 gulx N (gugulx T) 116 kul N (k/ul T) 33 ksz T (k·si N) 8 kulē N (kuli T) 55 x N T 165 xbesem T (belxsem N) 81 *xpī* N 125 xpî'lyîm N 126 xs N T 166 xtsē N (xts/E T) 54 xlep T (xlîp N) 53 xlem N (xlem T) 56 xina N (xina T) 127

l N T 128 lep N T 129 lebelt N T 130 lebagait T (bagait N) 82 legem N (lôgôm T) 5 lîgi NT 20 lîg.'êx N 132 leg'ul N (lek!ul T) 131 leks N T 133 lagauk T 15 $lagax T (l\bar{a}x N) 38$ lax N T 151 lāx N (lagax T) 38 lē N (l!i T) 30 lē-gan N (l/ī-q/an T) 28 lôgôm T (legem N) 5 lō N (lu T) 29 lūila N 62 losa N 46 lūks T 42 lukl N (lukli T) 27 lôgôl N 26 LEM N (lem T) 134 *la* T (alax N) 68 La N (la T) 172 *Lā* N (*lā* Т) 173 łukli T (lukl N) 27 Lgo N (lgu T) 135

Suffixes (§§ 17-32)

§ 17. Suffixes following the Stem

There are quite a number of suffixes in the Tsimshian dialects, almost all of which are firmly united with the stem. The significance of most of these is much more ill-defined than that of the prefixes, but those that immediately follow the stem appear to be primarily modal elements. Some of them indicate the passive, causative, elimination of the object, etc. Their use shows great irregularities. These suffixes are followed by pronominal suffixes, while demonstrative elements and the interrogative element are always found in terminal position.

1. -En causative (Tsimshian: -En). In both dialects this suffix generally modifies the terminal consonant of the stem.

hētku to stand, singular

mētka full
yå'ôxka to eat, singular
txâ'ôxka to eat, plural
bā'sîx to divide, v. n.
hē-Lā'q it breaks
bax to run
magska to stand, plural

qolk'sk" covered lō-la'qsk"t she washes in 197.10 hōksk" to be with 91.8 guksk" to awake 121.9 lō'lbîk'sk" whirlpool 104.12

Tsimshian:

sa'îpk hard
malk to be uneasy
mak to be aboard, singular
hā'xk annoyed
lāk' bent
bā' to run
gaksk to wake up, singular
lī'daksk to wake up, plural
hôksk to be with

 $l\bar{o}$ -tq'al- $h\bar{e}'t'$ En to place a thing upright against something and inside of something 131.3 $m\bar{e}'t!$ En to fill $y\hat{a}'\hat{b}g'an$ to feed one person txå'ðg'an to feed several persons $b\bar{a}'si\dot{g}'an$ to separate (v. a.) $h\bar{e}$ - $L\bar{a}'gan$ to break (v. a.) ba'an to cause to run ma'qsaan to place several things upright 8.1 $q\bar{o}'lk$ ·saan to cover (v. a.) la'qsaan to wash (v. a.) 198.8 hu'ksaan to place with 36.8 gu'ksaan to awaken 121.8 lē'lb'en to roll

sa'îp/en to harden
mâ'lk!en to force
mô'g'an to put aboard one object
hā'g'an to annoy
lā'k:!în to bend (v. a.)
bō'han to cause to run
ga'ksen to awaken one person
lī'deksen to awaken several
hô'ksen to place with

 -sk^u expresses primarily the elimination of the object of the transitive verb (Tsimshian -sk).

t'a'a to clap (v. a.) 34.10 suwa'n to blow (v. a.) 123.1

mal to tell (v. a.) $g \cdot a'a$ to see (v. a.) $d\bar{a}'mgan$ to pull (v. a.)

 $g\bar{o}$ to take (v. a.)

t'a'asku to clap (no object) 203.3 suwa'ansku to blow (no object) 124.8

ma' Laask" to tell news 161.15
g'a'ask" to look 137.6
dā'mgansk" to be in the act of
pulling 51.8
gōsk" to extend 126.7

Verbs with this ending often form verbal nouns:

 $d\vec{a}'pxan$ to nail $s\vec{n}'pp'xn$ to love $ay\vec{o}'q$ to command $l\vec{e}'lb'xn$ to roll

d'ā'pxansk nail sī'èp'ensk love ayō'g'ask commander lē'lbîk'sk* whirlpool 104.12

Tsimshian:

| lu-t/\vec{u}^o yu \(xb\vec{v}^o \structure \text{I}\) sweep out a \(t/\vec{u}^o sk\) to sweep box

s\vec{s}-y^o \vec{t} \text{g} u \(wa'i\) I polish a pad-\(s\vec{s}-yi\vec{v}' \text{lask}\) to polish

dle

s\vec{v}^o l\) to spin something \(s\vec{v}^o l sk\) to spin

h\vec{v}' ks\vec{s} n\) to place with some-\(gan-h\vec{v}' ks\vec{s} n sk\) fastening-implething \(ment\)

Undoubtedly related to the preceding are the following two:

- 3. - k^{∞} used commonly after terminal p, t, s, ts, q, x, L, and sometimes after l (Tsimshian: -k); and
- 4. -the used after vowels, l, m, and n (Tsimshian: -th).

Both of these have the same meaning, and seem to be primarily medial or semi-reflexive, while in other cases no clear reason for their use can be given. These endings are found regularly in the possessive form of names of animals. (See § 55.)

Examples of -k are:

 $\hbar \bar{e}t$ - upright $\hbar \bar{e}t k^u$ to stand $g \bar{o}ks$ - to awake $g \bar{o}ksk^u$ to wake up $L\bar{e}s$ - finished $L\bar{e}sk^u$ to be finishedbats- to lift $batsk^u$ to be lifted

Tsimshian:

 $\begin{array}{ccc} ha'its \text{ to send} & ha'itsk \text{ sent} \\ sa'ip - \text{ hard} & sa'ipk \text{ to be hard} \end{array}$

Examples of -tk* are:

d'a to sitd'atk" to be placed 215.1, 131.1se-hwa' to namese-hwa'tk" namedwô'ô to invitewô'ôtk" to be invited 128.5halda'u to bewitchhalda'uyîtk" bewitchedd'ā'pxan naild'ā'pxantk" nailedbelā'n beltbelā'ntk" belted

Tsimshian:

 $s\bar{s}'^op/Ent$ to love $s\bar{s}'^op/Entk$ loved $k\cdot!\hat{s}n\bar{a}'m$ to give $km\cdot!\hat{s}n\bar{a}'tk$ given $sE-v\bar{u}'$ to name $sEv\bar{u}'tk$ namedplan sea-otternE-pla' ntgu my sea-otter

These endings occur in many intransitive verbs, and in nouns:

dēlpk* shortmetk* fullts'lpk* strongo'lîk*sk* to driftayanā'tk* to crybēsk* to expectmîtk* to scatterda'lbîk*sk* to bend

ba'ask" wind
a'd'îk'sk" to come
ä'èmsk" to blame
lîslē'sk" to hang
mô'ôsk" gray
ts'Elā'sk" canyon
q'âtsk" to be tired
yôxk" to follow
dē'lemexk" to answer
maæk" to go aboard a canoe
t'èlxk" to shout
ā'dzîæk" enough

aqık" to attain
ia'ık" slimy
dık" fuel
walk" taboo
dāmqık" friend
tk''ēlk" child
melk" to shine
dēlk" bag
mao'lk" rope
malk" to put into fire
ama'lk" scab

It is uncertain in many of the endings in -sk^u whether they are derived from stems ending in -s, or whether they belong to the suffix -sk^u. The same is true of forms in -tk^u, which may be derived from stems ending in -t or represent the suffix -tk^u. The following have probably the suffix -tk^u:

yaltku to return daltku to meet dē'êntku to guide

laltku slow
ptaltku to climb

The same conditions are found in Tsimshian, but it does not seem necessary to give additional examples.

5. -A In the Tsimshian dialect, words ending in p, t, s, ts, q, x, z, and sometimes in l (i. e., those corresponding to the group with the suffix -k [no. 3, p. 345]) have, instead of -sk (no. 2, p. 344), -A. The terminal consonant is here modified, as before the suffix -en (no. 1, p. 344).

dab to measure something $t/\ddot{a}^{o}p$ to drive piles

du'p!A to measure

t!ä'op!A to be engaged in piledriving

g·ab to dig
sE-wulg·a'd to dye something
gats to pour out
būs to split

gan-g·a'p!A a spade huk-se-wulg·a'd'A a dyer huk-ga'ts!A one who pours out huk-bū'sA one who splits

6. -s is used in Nisqa's and in Tsimshian in place of -k and -tk (nos. 3 and 4, p. 345) after k, x, k, q, and x.

ôx' to throw bēk" to lie hwîlā'x' to know

 ∂k 's to fall (literally, to be thrown) $sa-b\bar{e}'k^as$ to make lies $sE-hwcl\bar{a}'x$'s to teach (literally, to

mag to put wôq to dig

ma'gas to be put 11.14 wôqs to be buried

make known)

Tsimshian:

dzak to kill

medī'ek grizzly bear

dzaks killed

ne-medī'oksu my grizzly bear

Here the -s suffix is also used after p, although not regularly:

wālb house ne wä'lpsu my house

7. -Es appears in Tsimshian a few times after terminal p in place of -sk.

lalb to plane down something la'lp/Es to plane $l\bar{u}'^{o}b$ to sew something

 $l\bar{u}'^{o}p/Es$ to sew

8. -x seems to mean in Behalf of.

që'ent to chew hāp cover 8.15

 $q\bar{e}'$ endex to chew for 36.5 $l\bar{e}-h\bar{a}'baxt$ it is on as a cover for it 67.7

lē'lg'it a feast

 $l\bar{e}'lg~itx$ a feast for somebody 83.1

9. -n. This suffix designates the indicative, and appears only preceding the suffixes of the first person singular and plural, and the second person plural of the intransitive verb and the same objects of the transitive verb.

āt gill-net

 $\bar{a}'lg'ul$ to examine 138.8

*äêsk*u to call

wîtku to come from

 $d\bar{a}'uL$ to leave

 $\bar{a}'tn\bar{e}_{E}$ I fish

ā'lg'alnēz I look at something

äêskunēE I call

wî'tkunēr I come from

dem dā'ulnēe Lē'sems I shall leave

for Nass river iē'enēe I go

ië's to go Tsimshian:

> $t/\bar{u}^{o}sg$ to sweep bāo to run h'omi to sing $w\bar{a}^o$ to find

 $t!\bar{u}'^{o}sqenu$ I sweep bā'onu I run lī'ominu I sing $t w\bar{a}'yinu$ he finds me

 $t \ w\bar{a}'yinem$ he finds us

10. -d. The corresponding suffix -d appears in the indicative of many transitive verbs, both in Nass and in Tsimshian.

id'ēr what I roast 121.9

haba'l to take care of 143.1 hats to bite 65.9, 127.8

ever you say 59.3

 $q\bar{a}q$ to open

sax to shake something and'el to allow 122.1

 $i\hat{a}'dEt$ he roasts it 121.7, 154.3 bâ'eldēe I take care of it

 $ha'tsd\bar{e}E$ I bite

lîgi agō'ı dem hē'nîst what- dep hē'idenōm we say 42.11

 $q\bar{a}'qd\bar{e}E$ I open something sa'xdēr I shake it anâ' Eldē I lend

Tsimshian:

dzak deaddza'kdu I kill $b\bar{u}$ to wait $b\bar{u}'^{\circ}dut$ I wait for him $g\bar{a}^{\circ}$ to take $g\bar{a}'^{\circ}du$ I take

11. -ma may be, perhaps (Tsimshian: -ma).

lîg'î-gula'eldema Lôqs may be three months 170.13 nô'ot-mae maybe he is dead 182.8 sī'egumanēe maybe I am sick.

Tsimshian:

| n/inī' gwai k!unō,'omatgao this is what they may ask

§ 18. Pronominal Suffixes

The group of suffixes treated in the preceding section are followed by the pronominal suffixes, which will be described fully in §§ 50-51, and § 53. For the sake of completeness I give here a list of the suffixed pronouns:

		_				746000	T Printprinteri
First person singular	•	•	•			$-ar{e}_{m{E}}$	$-ar{u},\divar{\imath}$
First person plural .	•	•		•	•	-m	<i>-m</i>
Second person singular		•				-n	- n
Second person plural						-8EM	-8 <i>EM</i>
Third person						·-t	}-t
Third person plural.						-det	∫- <i>t</i>

§ 19. Modal Suffixes following the Pronominal Suffixes

12. -g·? might (Tsimshian: -g·?on, -gun). The position of this suffix seems to vary.

nexna'yîtg'ê they might hear it 91.10 sī'êpkug'inēz I might be sick gwa'tstg'ê it might be dûng 207.7

Tsimshian:

naha'ung:%n maybe it is true
naha'unguna n!axno'yu it may be that it is true what I have
heard
n t!ū'useng:%n (take care!) I might hit you!

13. -sEon evidently (Tsimshian).

 $| n/in\bar{\imath}' Et-8E^o n$ evidently it is he $| nE| tE| gwa' lgE*E^o n$ evidently there has been a fire

14. -sEn indeed! (Tsimshian).

| n!inī'et-sen indeed! it is he | naha'unsen indeed! it is true §§ 18, 19

15. -gat it is said (Tsimshian: -gat).

sg'ī'-gal ama xpē'îs there was a good box, it is said 19.4 (sg'ī to lie; ām good; -a connective; xpēîs box)

k''ax-ā'm-gal t'Em-qē'st his head was good before, it is said 32.8 (k''ax-before; ām good; t'Em-qē's head)

tgōn-gal dem hwî'lem dem alâ'tku-gat nōm this, we are told, we shall do, we are told we shall swim in a shoal 70.6 (tgōn this; dem future; hwîl to do; -em we; alâ'tku to swim in a shoal; nōm we)

dem suva'nt-gal lgō'ulk"t he says he will cure his child 123.10 (suva'n to cure; lgō'ulk" child)

nē-gat-g·i di gwîx·g·ēîpt he says he does not like to eat it 40.6 (nē-g·i not; di on his part; gwîx·- expert; g·ēîp to eat something)

Tsimshian:

| sī' Epg E-gat I hear he is sick

§ 20. Demonstrative Suffixes

There are two suffixes which are generally attached to the last word of a clause, and which indicate distance and presence in space and time. They are quite distinct from the demonstrative pronouns, and determine the demonstrative character of the whole sentence. These elements are much simpler in the Nass dialect than in Tsimshian, and their general discussion in the latter dialect will be given in §§ 24-31. In Nass we find:

-g·ê absence and distance:

nlk" ē a'lg 'ixtg' ê then he said 53.1 (referring to one who is absent and to an event of the past)

nık·'ē lō-ya'ltkur g·a'tg·ê then the man returned 113.3

yu'kdēl ga'ng'ê la dza'pdet they took the sticks they had made 114.7 (yuk to take; gan stick; dzap to make)

haố'ng ê nakut da yu'ksa before long it was evening 152.14 (haô'n it is soon; naku long; yu'ksa evening)

-st presence and nearness:

dem q'aiyî'm ō'k'sdē hawî'leist my arrow will drop near by 19.15 (dem future; q'ai near; -em connective [see § 22]; ōk's to drop; hawî'l arrow)

tgoni gouîst this I guess 28.2

sem-hō'daast it is true 29.13

tæë'ldesemest ye will burn 215.10

ndārda dem ā'd'îk'sdest when will be come?

In some cases a terminal -t is found which indicates presence and nearness and corresponds to the analogous form in Tsimshian.

na-gan-hwîlā'gut therefore I did so 113.6

This element is, however, quite rare in our texts.

Connectives (§§ 21-31) § 21. GENERAL REMARKS

The connective suffixes form a class by themselves. They are always terminal in the word and connect two words that are syntactically related. Therefore they never stand at the end of a clause. We must distinguish between attributive and adverbial connectives, and predicative and possessive connectives.

§ 22. ATTRIBUTIVE AND ADVERBIAL CONNECTIVES

- -Em. The connective -Em is used to express attributive and adverbial relations. Thus it occurs as—
 - (1) Connective between adjective and noun.
 - (2) Connective between two nouns, one of which has the function of an attribute.
 - (3) Connective between an adverb or adverbial phrase and a verb. The following examples illustrate the use of -Em:
 - 1. Between adjective and noun. In this case the adjective always precedes the noun, and the connective is firmly attached to it. The analogy with the second group suggests that the adjective expresses the class of things referred to, while the following noun qualifies the particular kind; as qē'sgum gan, A SMALL TREE (namely, a slender thing which is a tree, or which belongs to the class "tree").

sīsō'sɛm gan little sticks 27.15
wī-hē'ldɛm g'at many people 28.12

Lgo-guä'ɛm Lgo-tk''ē' Lku little poor little boy 155.15
mā'k'sgum lô'ôp white stone 139.8
wô'ôm wan the invited deer 83.3

Tsimshian:

sī'lg'idem lgū'olg the eldest child ZE 78346 lgū'olgem hanā'.x little woman ZE 797.32 gwa'deksem yē'on cool fog ZE 797316 lū'nksem sëipg dry bone

Numerals do not take this connective, but take -L instead (see § 23) (Tsimshian, -A pp. 351, 353).

2. Between nouns. The first noun takes the ending -m, and designates the kind of thing referred to, while the second noun specifies the class.

g'a'drm gan a wooden man 89.12 (a man belonging to the class "wood")

 $dawi'sem lo'\hat{o}p$ a stone ax 147.14 (an ax belonging to the class "stone")

huxdā'g'intgum q'auq'ā'ō crow-grandchildren 19.15 (grandchildren of the class "crow")

a'lg'igam Ts'Emsa'n Tsimshian language 20.9 (speech of the class "Tsimshian")

amg·ä'g·îm Lē'sems sawbill ducks of Nass river 114.5 (sawbill ducks of the kind [belonging to] Nass river)

huwa'm had'a'xku bad names 41.12 (names of the kind "bad")

Tsimshian:

gô'ip!em ts!al light-face g'a'mgem dzī'us day-sun ZE 781³ ts!a'bem yê'ts!esg the animal tribe 783⁴⁰ mâ'sem an'ô'n thumb of hand 792²²⁷ yê'ts!esgem gilhau'li the animals of the woods

3. Adverbial.

hadā'gam a'lg îxs Txä'msem Txä'msen spoke badly 38.11
sem-hō'm nô'ôt he was truly dead 9.6
wī-t'ē'sem yô'ôxkut he ate much 36.10 (yô'ôxku is an intransitive verb)

ts'ō'sg'îm mast he grew a little 175.8

k'uL-wī-yē'tgum xdax't he was hungry (going) about 39.9

Tsimshian:

 $dza'gem \ xst'\hat{o}x$ to be dead asleep $ks-q\hat{a}'g\hat{o}m \ a'lg\hat{\cdot}x$ to speak first $ks-q\hat{a}'g\hat{o}m \ man-a'xly$ he reaches up first

-a. The connective -a is used in a number of cases in place of -em. It would seem that its use is determined largely by the particular qualifying term. Some of these seem to take -a regularly in place of -em. In Tsimshian this connective is -a; it appears regularly after numerals.

ama hwîlp a good house 48.3
wī-ama g'at very good man 203.7
ama a'ly îxt he spoke well 45.6
wī-ama hwa'ndēt they sat down very well 83.4
gwa'lgwa txō'x dry halibut 161.10
hē'ya ēlx fat of seal 161.12
tē'la ēlx oil of seal 47.2

Tsimshian:

leksg·ig·a'de biā'lstet various stars

ama y!ā'o't a good man

wō-lē'okse lu-am'ā'm ga-gā'odemt we are exceedingly glad

k!e'relde g·a'mget one moon

k!â'lde g·ad one person

hē'lde ts!ap many people

§ 23. PREDICATIVE AND POSSESSIVE CONNECTIVES

The development of these connectives is quite different in Nass and in Tsimshian, and the two dialects must be treated quite independently. In the present section I give the Nass forms. In all cases where the connection between words is not attributive or adverbial, -L or -s are used as connectives, -s being applied in all cases where the following noun is a proper name designating a person, a personal pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun designating a person, or a term of relationship. In all other cases -L is used. With terms of relationship -s is not always used, but -L may be substituted.

The particular cases in which -L and -s are used are the following:

- 1. In sentences with intransitive verb, connecting predicate and nominal subject.
 - (a) -L.

 lē-ia'qL oq a copper hung on it 138.3

 g·ô'ôL māl there lay a canoe 138.13

 hwîlL ts'Emē'lîx: the beaver did so 81.4

 ts'ēnL ts'Emē'lix: the beaver entered 77.4

 a'lg·îxL wō-g·a't the great man said 195.15
 - (b) -s.

 gali-iä's Ts'ak: Ts'ak: went up the river 117.6

 hwîls dep-bē' ebē my uncles did so 157.9

 xdax: s Txä'msem Txämsem was hungry 21.2
- 2. In sentences with transitive verb, connecting predicate and nominal subject.
 - (a) ·L.

 nlk:'ēt lēlk:L gusli'skut then watched his nephews 9.5

 wô'ôl ts'emē'lix: axt the beaver invited the porcupine 73.2

 lô-d'ep-lô'ôdel sig'idemna'q an'ô'nt inside down put the chieftainess her hand 183.8
 - (b) -s.

 k'ul-yu'kdets Ts'ak lô'ôp Ts'ak carried a stone about 118.9

 nlk'ēt ôx's Ts'ak lgo-qa'mt Ts'ak struck a little fire 118.12

 t hwas Txä'msem hwîlp Txä'msem found a house 43.3

- 3. In sentences with transitive verb, connecting predicate and nominal object.
 - (a) -L.

 dem lō-ma'qdēel ts'ē'sgun I shall put thy louse in 43.10

 nlk''ēt g'a'al t'ē'sem g'at then he saw a large man 95.10

 ā'mlē wô'ôl na'k'sin (good you) invite your wife! 205.10
 - (b) -s. '
 nlk''ēt sa-gō'udēts Ts'ak' they took Ts'ak' off 120.15
- 4. In sentences with transitive verb, the object may sometimes precede the verb, and is then connected with the predicate by -L or -s.

 $txan\bar{e}'tk^{\omega}L \ qal$ -ts'tp- $ts'a'pL \ g\cdot\bar{e}'daxd\bar{e}t$ they asked all the towns 87.3

naxı g'a'at he saw bait 50.15

- 5. To express the possessive relation between nouns.
- (a) -L.

 qa-qalā'nL hvîlpL sem'â'g'ît the rear of the house of the chief
 137.8

 anē'sL gan the branch of a tree 137.9

 magâ'nL K'san the mouth of Skeena river 15.3

 qa-vē'nL k'ebō' the teeth of the wolves 84.4
 - qa-wë'nı k-ebō' the teeth of the wolves 84.4 q'azldâ'lı ıg'îı hana'qg'ê six were the children of the woman 97.8
 - (b) -s.

 qal-ts'a'ps dep neguâ'ôt the town of their fathers 107.13

 ndzē'ets Ts'ak' the grandmother of Ts'ak' 119.8

 xpē'isis Lôgôbolā' the box of Lôgôbolā' 19.4
- 6. Between definite and indefinite numerals and nouns, the connective is -L.

k''âll sem'ê'g'ît one chief 137.1
k''ēll sa one day 137.2
k''ä'gul hân one salmon 169.8
q'ai-t'epxä'l qāq even two ravens 155.4
bagadē'll lg'ît two children 159.5
bagadē'll nak'st two wives 194.6
wi-hē'll lāx many trout 157.6
txanē'tku'l q'aima'qsit many youths 141.10
g'ul-ganē'l ha-xdakuse'mest all your arrows 144.10

A few indefinite numerals may also take the attributive connective -Em.

wi-hē'ldem q'aima'qsit many youths 144.3

- 7. Connecting the preposition a (see § 67) with the following noun.
 - (a) -L.

 k·'atskut al qal-ts'a'p they landed at the town 107.13

 lē-hwh'lt al lax-lô'ôp it is on the stone 109.4

 a'lg'îxl qal-ts'a'p al dem sem'â'g'it the people said he should be chief 163.10 (a'lg'îx to say; dem future; sem'â'g'ît chief)

 mālt al nak'st he told his wife 165.11
 - (b) -s.

 a'lg'îxt as ne'tg'ê he said to him 157.1

 a'lg'îxt as Ts'ak' he said to Ts'ak' 120.6

 k''ēt sg'it as Txä'msem he laid it before Txā'msem 48.10
- 8. Connecting the conjunction gan with the following noun.
 - (a) -L.

 hē'ya ēlx qanL.hē'ya dzīx fat of seal and fat of porpoise 161.12

 lāx qanL sesō'sem hân trout and little salmon 157.4
 - (c) -s. $n\bar{e}'$ En qans $n\bar{e}'$ E qans $ts'\bar{e}'$ Edz \bar{e} you and I and my grandmother 157.10

PREDICATIVE AND POSSESSIVE CONNECTIVES OF THE TSIM-SHIAN DIALECT (§§ 24-31)

§ 24. General Characteristics of the Connectives

While the connectives -s and -t seem to be regularly used in the Nass dialect, they are absent in Tsimshian in many cases, and a much more complicated series takes their place. We have to distinguish between the connectives in indicative and subjunctive sentences; those belonging to the subject of the intransitive and object of the transitive verb; and those belonging to the subject of the transitive verb. Furthermore, those belonging to common nouns must be distinguished from those belonging to proper nouns; and in each form, indefinite location, presence, and absence, are treated differently. Some of these endings are very rare; others, the existence of which may be expected by analogy, have so far not been found. The series of forms in which a proper name appears as subject of the transitive verb is, for instance, hardly found at all, because sentences of this form are almost invariably rendered by a periphrastic form: "It was (John) who" . . . It will be noticed in the following discussion that the prepositional and possessive forms agree with the predicative forms. The peculiar agreement of the indicative connectives of the subject of the transitive verb and of the subjunctive connectives of the subject of the intransitive verb corresponds to a similar phenomenon that may be observed in the pronominal forms. These will be discussed in §§49-50. The series of connectives may be represented as follows:

	A. Indicative.			B. Subjunctive.			•
1	(a) Indefi- nite.	(b) Present.	(c) Ab- sent.	(a) Indefi- nite.	(b) Present.	(c) Ab- sent.	
1. Subject of intransitive verb, and object of transitive verb. 2. Subject of transitive verb intransitive verb intransitive.	-2 -2	-dz -sdz(?)	-gE -8gE	-E -(E)	-adz -dz	-8g E -tg E	I. Common nouns
verb, and object of transi- tive verb	- <i>zt</i> ?	-dzi ?	-gzt -8	-8 -det	-des -det	-8 -tg z t	II. Proper names.

§ 25. Predicative Connectives

In the present section I shall give examples of these various classes of connectives, such as occur between verbs and nouns.

A I 1. Intransitive verbs, indicative, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -E

da uks-hë'otge a'uta a ne-'gôdza a'kset then the porcupine stood at the edge of the water (da then; uks- toward water; hëotg to stand; a'ut porcupine; a at; ne- possessive; dzôg edge; aks water)

hô'ltge ba'ntgega a'ksga° his belly was full of water (hôltg full; ban belly; gega development of preposition a [see § 28]; aks water)

 $sem-b\bar{a}'^ose\ sts.'a'lga^o$ the beaver was much afraid ($sem-very;\ b\bar{a}^os$ afraid; sts.'al beaver)

(b) Present connective -dE

na-st \bar{u}' °lde $lg\bar{u}'$ °lgem $g'.\bar{u}'$ °tga° the boy went along (na- past; $st\bar{u}$ °l to go in company; $lg\bar{u}$ °lg child; -em attributive connective [§ 22]; $g'.\bar{u}$ °t man)

da al ts! Elem-ha' pde n!ā'oxlet but then the killerwhales rushed in (du then; al but; ts! Elem- into from the side; hap to rush [plural]; n!āoxl killerwhales)

(c) Absent connective -gE

da na-bā'og e ô'lgao then the white bear ran out of the woods (na- out of woods; bāo to run; ôl bear)

da gik kse- $n\bar{a}'^{0}lg_{E}g_{A}$ sts! $\hat{a}'lga^{0}$ then the beaver breathed again (gik again; kse- out; $n\bar{a}'^{0}lg$ breath; sts! $\hat{a}l$ beaver)

- A I 1. Transitive verbs, indicative, common nouns. It is difficult to find the connectives of transitive verbs before the object, because the order of words in the sentence requires ordinarily that the subject shall follow the predicate. The cases here given, except the first one, contain the pronominal subject of the third person.
 - (a) Indefinite connective -E

 k!wa'tgE nE-ha-xba'gA lgū'dgut my child has lost
 his knife (k!watg to lose; nE- possessive; ha-xba'g

 knife; lgū'dg child; -u my)

 wā'idE hā'osEt he has found the dog

 dEm dza'kdEdA hā'os he will kill the dog
 - (b) Present connective -de

 ne la ma'ldede wula dza'bedes Gunarnēsemg'a'd he
 had told what did Gunaxnēsemg'ad (la past; mal to
 tell; wul verbal noun; dzab to do)
 - (c) Absent connective -gE

 wā'itgE hā'osgao he has found the dog

 dEm dza'kdEtgA hā'osgao he will kill the dog

A I 2. Transitive verbs, indicative, common nouns:

- (a) Indefinite connective -E

 wa'i hana'xgE ha'o*gE the woman found the dog

 agwi-ba't*gE nE-gā''du my lance stands outside ES 94.20
- (c) Absent connective -sg \(\begin{align*} & g\vec{u}'\hat{isg} \end{align*} & huksul\(\vec{v} = nsg \end{align*} & \text{ill } & \text{of bear} \\ & (g\vec{u} \text{ to hit; } & huksul\(\vec{v} = nsg \text{ hunter; } \text{ol bear} \)
 - dem dza'kdesga g·ibā'uga hā'osgao the wolf will kill the dog (dzak to kill; -d- [see § 17.10]; g·iba'u wolf; hāos dog)
 - da dī-l!ī-wa'îsge wī-mes-ô'lga qal-ts!a'pga° the great bear found the town (dī on his part; l!ī-on; wa to arrive, to find; wī- great; mes- white; ôl bear; qalempty; ts!ap tribe)

A II 1. Intransitive verb, indicative, proper names:

- (a) Indefinite connective -et
 ama wā'lt Tom Tom is rich
 da hā'ut Sadzapanī'l then Sadzapanī'l said
 dū'olzget Asdi-wālt Asdi-wā'l can not move ES 90.15
- (b) Present connective -det

 l!ī-q!an-dā'uldet Astivā'lga* Astiwā'l has gone
 across (l!ī-on; q!an-over; dā'ul to leave)
- (c) Absent connective -get $b\bar{a}'^{o}g$ et $Dz\delta'^{o}nga^{o}$ John is running

A II 2. Transitive verb, indicative, proper names:

(c) Absent connective -s

da nī' Edzes Astiwā'l wul hô'ltge . . . then Astiwā'l

saw that it was full (nī to see; hôltg full)

BI1. Intransitive verbs, subjunctive, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -E

adat nī wul gatgô'it!Eksa t!Epxadū'olda y!ū'ota then they saw two men coming (ada then; t- he [subj.]; gô'it!Eks [plural gatgô'it!Eks] to come; t!Epxadū'ol two persons; y!ū'ot man)

a wul hasā'qa sts!al because the beaver desired (hasā'q to desire; sts!al beaver)

(b) Present connective -dE

dze ha'usde sem'â'g it a k!â'i if the chief says to me
 (dze conditional; ha'u to say; sem'â'g it chief; a to;
 k!â'i me)

asī $d\bar{a}'ulsde$ $t'\hat{i}n-g\bar{a}'^{o}sd_{A}$ na'ksen he who took your wife has just left (asī just; da'ul to leave; t he; $\hat{i}n$ -who; $g\bar{a}^{o}$ to take; naks wife; -en thy)

(c) Absent connective -sgE

ada wul txal- $i\bar{a}'^{o}sg\mathbf{E}$ $b\bar{a}'^{o}sg\mathbf{E}ga^{o}$ then his fear increased (txal- $i\bar{a}'^{o}$ to increase; $b\bar{a}^{o}sg$ fear)

wul lu-la'psyz a'ksgao where the water is deep (lu-in; lap deep; aks water)

 $n/\bar{\imath}n\bar{\imath}'gan\ ha'usg \ sts.' \hat{a}'lga^{\circ}$ therefore the beaver said $(n/\bar{\imath}n\bar{\imath}')$ it is that; gan reason)

B I 1. Transitive verbs, subjunctive, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -E

ada n dem sa-l/ī-t/ū'o's* ne-galdem-a'ksgu I shall suddenly push over on it my bucket (n I; dem future sa-suddenly; l'ī-on; t'ū's* to push; ne-possessive; galdem-receptacle; aks water; -u my)

adat lu-xba-q!asgô'dze ne-ga-ts!elts!a'lsge $h\bar{a}'^{o}xga^{o}$ then he cut (in) across the faces of the geese (t he; lu- in; xba- across; $g\hat{o}dz$, with plu. obj. $q!as'g\hat{o}dz$ to cut; ne- possessive; ga- plural; ts!al, distributive plural ts!elts!a'l face; $h\bar{a}^{o}x$ goose)

(b) Present connective -sdE

. . . $t'\hat{i}n g\bar{a}'^{o}sdE na'ksEn$ he who took thy wife

(c) Absent connective -sgE

adat $ge'redexsge\ han\bar{a}'^{o}xga^{o}$ then he asked the woman (t he; ge'redeg to ask; $han\bar{a}'^{o}g$ woman)

dat wul sū'osgē maā' wulkguo then he shook the rope (sū to shake; maā' wulk rope)

B I 2. Transitive verb, subjunctive, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -E

adat ts!Elem-ks-gâ'gE xē'ogEt first foam came in (t it,

subj.; ts!Elem- into, from the side; ks- extreme;

gâg first; xēog foam)

(b) Present connective -dE

adat g'ap-yā'okede txan!ī' ga-wula-dza'bet then all the hunters really pursued it (g'ap-really; yāok to pursue; txan!ī' all; ga-plural; wula-dza'b hunter)

(c) Absent connective -tyE

ada wult kse-hushë'otstye sem'd'g'itge hunā'naxtgao then the chief sent out the women (kse- out; hëts plural obj.; hashë'ts to send; sem'-d'g'it chief; hanā'g [plural hanā'nag] woman)

adat $n\bar{e}'^o dz = tgA$ sts! $\hat{a}' lg = n\bar{i}'^o lg a^o$ then the beaver saw him $(n\bar{i}^o dz)$ to see; sts! $\hat{a}l$ beaver; $n!\bar{i}^o t$ he)

B II 1. Intransitive verb, subjunctive, proper names:

(a) Indefinite connective -s
la dem bā°s Dzôn John was running
ada wul sī' epges Tôm Tom was sick

(b) Present connective -des wula dza'bedes Gunaxnēsemg'a'd what Gunaxnēsemg'a'd was doing

(c) Absent connective -s

hi-ts!ī'ens Guraxnēsemg'a'tgaº Gunaxnēsemg'a'd came in ada wul sem-bā'ºs Gunaxnēsemg'a'tgaº then Gunaxnēsemg'a'd ran fast

B II 2. Transitive verb, subjunctive, proper names:

(b) Present connective -det

ada wult ye'redaxdet Ksem-q'asqû'osgao then Crane-Woman asked him (ge'redag to ask; ksem-female; q'asqû'os crane)

adat dôxdet Gunaxnesemg'a'tge lūdem me-sī'onsgao then Gunaxnēsemg'a'd took the copper wedge (dôx to take; lūd wedge; -em attributive connective; mesīons copper)

(c) Absent connective -tget

adat ge'redaxtget negwā'otge kłge'rem y!ū'odatgao then the father asked his sons (ge'redag to ask; negwāot father; kłger children; -em attributive connective; y'ū'od man)

ada al wult lī'otsædet Astiwā'lgao then Astiwā'l counted it (lī'otsæ to count)

§ 26. Connectives between Subject and Object

In sentences with transitive verb as predicate, the subject generally follows the predicate and precedes the object. The connectives between subject and object are in all sentences, and for both common nouns and proper names, -E, -dE, -gE, which generally agree with the predicate connective.

A I 2. Indicative, common nouns:

- (a) (with -E) $wa'i hana'g \wedge h\bar{a}'^o s E t$ the woman found the dog
- (c) (with -gE) dEm dza'kdEsga g`ibā'ugA hā'osgao the wolf will kill the dog

B I 2. Subjunctive, common nouns:

- (a) (with -E) ada wult gā'odet Gunaxnēsemg'a'de hakdū'ostga then Gunaxnēsemg'a'd took his knife
 - ada dit wagait-lu-yā'oketget Asdi-wā'lde ts!emga'inaga'o then Asdi-wā'l also followed in the path (di on his part; -t he; wagait entirely; lu-in; yā'k to follow; ts!em-in; ga'ina path)
 - demt bax-gâ'ode la'msu ma'ti my son-in-law will go after mountain-goats (see § 29)
- (a) (with -de) ada al sa-nī'odze ne-ts'a'bem ya'ts! Esgede wul kse-gwa'ntge wī-gô'ep!a, but then suddenly saw the animal tribe the great light rising
- (b) (with -gA) ada la hiā'ogut sex-dâ'ode lguwā'lksetgA nese-meg'â'xstgao then the princess began to gather her berries (hiā'ogu to begin; sex-dâ'o to gather, to hold fast; lguwā'lkset princess; ne- possessive; seto make, to gather; meg'â'xst berries)
- (c) da dī l/ī-wā'îsgē wī-mēs-ô'lyē qal-ts/a'pga° then the great white bear, on his part, found the town (dī-on his part; l/ī-on; wā to find; wī-great; mēs-white; ôl bear; gal-empty; ts/ap tribe)
- (c) da roulat y!aga-ks-dū'oltge hanā'naxge su-p!a'sem y!ū'otagas then the women accompanied the young man down (Tsimshian Texts, New Series, Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. III, 78.29; y!aga- down; ks- extreme; dū'ol to accompany; -t he; hanā'nax, plural, women; sunewly; p!as to grow; -em adjectival connective; y!ū'ota man)
- (c) adat wul k: !ina'mdet Asdiwā'lge gô'kge... then Asdiwā'l gave the basket... (Ibid., 98.17; k: !i-na'm to give; -det connective B II 2b; gôk basket)

So far I have not been able to find examples in which proper names appear as objects.

§ 27. Possessive Connectives

The possessive connectives differ in indicative and subjunctive sentences, and it seems that the complete series must be as follows:

	I. Con	mmon noun	9,	II. Proper names.
	(a) Indefinite.	(b) Present.	(c) Absent.	
A. Indicative	-Z (-Z)	-dz -adz	-g Z -eg Z	}-8

I have not been able to get examples of the whole series.

- A I. (a) Indefinite connective -E

 n!īnī' nE-wā'lbE sEm'd'g'ît this is the house of the chief
 - (b) Present connective -dE

 nE-mele-l/ī-q/d'olsxan nE-ga-ts!uwā'ldE hā'osEt the fingers

 of the dog were six on each (paw) (nE- past; mele- each;

 l/ī-on; q!dlt six; -sxan long; nE- possessive; ga- plurāl;

 ts!uwā'l finger; hā's dog)
 - (c) Absent connective -gE

 gū'gA dzô'gat gESGE qal-ts!a'pgE nE-wā'lptga* who lived in

 the houses of the town (gū who; dzôg to camp; gESGE

 from a in [see § 28]; qal-ts!a'b town; wālb house)
- B I. (b) Present connective -sdE

 ada ne wul nīº ne-wā'lbsde y!ū'ota then I saw the house of
 the man (ne I; nīº to see; wālb house; y!ū'ot man)
 - (c) Absent connective -sgE

 ada wul gwa'lsgsgE nE-wā'lbsgE y!ū'ota then the house of
 the man was burnt
- B II. $n\bar{a}^{o}l$ demt in-na'ksga $lg\bar{u}^{o}lges$ Gau'o? who will marry Gauo's daughter? ($n\bar{a}^{o}$ who; dem future; t'in- he who; naksg to marry; $lg\bar{u}^{o}lg$ child) $txa-n!\bar{i}'$ $ne-ligi-w\bar{u}'ls$ $negw\bar{u}'odenga^{o}$ all the wealth of thy

father $(txa-n/\bar{\imath}' \text{ all}; n\varepsilon$ -possessive; $ligi-w\bar{a}'l$ wealth; $n\varepsilon$ - $gw\bar{a}'^od$ father; -n thy)

§ 28. Prepositional Connectives

The general preposition a, which has been described in the Nass dialect (§ 23.7), occurs apparently alone in Tsimshian; but it seems more likely that the a without connective must be considered as a special form for a_E (see § 29). With connectives we find both the indicative and subjunctive forms.

	I. Common nouns.			II.	Proper nam	es.
	. (a) Indefinite.	(b) Present.	(c) Absent.	(a) Indefinite.	(b) Present.	(c) Absent.
A. Indicative . B. Subjunctive	a a	da asda	gs asga	} as	dzs	gEs

Furthermore, several of these forms occur contracted with demonstrative d and q; as—

deda gega desda gesga

I A. (a) Indefinite a

 $k!a-\bar{a}'m$ a $txa-n/\bar{\imath}'$ $g\hat{a}'^{o}$ it is better than all things (k!a exceedingly; $\bar{a}m$ good; $txa-n/\bar{\imath}'$ all; $g\hat{a}^{o}$ something)

da uks-hë otge a'uta a ne-dzôga-a'kset then the porcupine stood at the edge of the water (da then; uks-toward water; hë tg to stand; a'uta porcupine; ne-possessive; dzôg edge; aks water)

(b) Present da

lep-lgusge'resge sts!d'lda lax-a'kset the beaver himself was happy in the water (lep-self; lgusge'resg happy; sts!dl beaver; lax- surface; aks water)

(c) Absent g_A

hô'ltge ba'ntgega a'ksga° his belly was full of water (hôltg full; ban belly; -t his; gega from ga; aks water)

I B. (a) Indefinite a

la bax-a'xlget a ne-miyā'n wī-sa'mengaº he came up to the foot of the great spruce tree (la past; bax- up; axlg arrive; ne-possessive; miyā'n foot of tree; wī- great; sa'men spruce)

(b) Present asda

ada al l!ī-q!an-dā'ulda° a'sdɛ nɛ-ts!uwā'n sganē'°stga° but he has gone over the top of the mountain (al but; l!īon; q!an- over; dā'ul to leave; nɛ- possessive; ts!uwā'n top; sganē'°st mountain)

(c) Absent asga
ada hā'usga a'uta asga sts!d'lyao then said the porcupine
to the beaver

II. (a) Indefinite as

ada ha'ut na'kst as nē'ot then his wife said to him

(b) Present des

da-ya't Astivā'l des negvā'otguo said Astiwā'l to his father

(c) Absent ges
da'wula ha'usga a'uta ges nī'otgao then the porcupine said
to him

Examples of the forms $desd_A$ and gesga are the following:

ne n kse'ranu desda da'uldaº I went out (at) some time ago da wī-am-ha'usga a'uta gesga sts!â'lgaº then the porcupine shouted to the beaver

The forms in ded_A and geg_A occur in the translations of the Gospels with great frequency; but I have not been able to find any examples except the one given before under A I (c).

§ 29. Phonetic Modification of the Connectives

1. All forms in E described in the preceding paragraphs have no ending after the vowels l, m, n, and r.

ada al sger a'uta . . . then the porcupine lay . . .
adat k:!înā'm ne-wundâ'otgao then he gave him tobacco
da wul wā'l ne-lū'du because of what happened to my wedge
ada demt q!â'pegan leksâ'gat then it will obstruct the doorway (q!âpegan to obstruct; leksâ'g doorway)
stū'op!el wul t!āo na'ksen your wife is in the rear of the
house (stū'op!el rear of house; t!āo to sit [singular]; naks
wife; -en thy)

2. The endings beginning with s lose this sound after words with terminal s; for instance,

a lat $n\bar{\imath}$ gô'ep!at when he saw the light

ada $sem - b\bar{a}' \circ sg_A sts! \hat{a}' lga \circ$ then the beaver was much afraid $(b\bar{a}' \circ s \text{ afraid}; b\bar{a}' \circ sg_A \text{ instead of } b\bar{a}' \circ s - sg_A)$

§ 30. Connectives of the Conjunction AND

The conjunction AND, when expressed by di or gan, takes the connectives s and l, as in the Nass dialect—the former before proper names, some terms of relationship, and pronouns designating persons; the latter before common nouns.

n! E'ren dis n! E'riu thou and I
gwaº dis gwāº that one and this one
Dzôn dis Tôm
Dzôn gans Tôm
John and Tom

On the other hand:

 $gwa^o \ dil \ gw\bar{\iota}^o$ that thing and this thing $y!\bar{u}'^o ta \ dil \ han\bar{a}'^o g \ y!\bar{u}'^o ta \ ganl \ han\bar{a}'^o g \$ the man and the woman

§ 31. The Connective -ł

Besides its use with the conjunctions di and gan, the connective -l is used in negative, conditional, and interrogative sentences, be§§ 29-31

tween the intransitive verb and its subject, and between the transitive verb and its object.

awa'lge dzakl wan the deer is not dead yet (awa'lge not yet; dzak dead; wan deer)

a'lge dī hē'tgel wālb asge gwa'sgagao there was no house there (alge not; dī on its part; hētg to stand; wālb house; asge at [see § 28]; gwa'sga that; -gao [see § 20])

a'lget dza'gul wan he did not kill the deer (dza'g to kill)

a'lge āml demt wula'idel g'at it is not good that the people should know it (ām good; dem future, nominal particle; wulā'i to know; g'ad people)

In interrogative sentences:

du nāot dem dedū'olsedet txā'lpxade wul k'!îpk'.'a'pl sa al mela-k!e'reldel g'amk a txas-k!â'olet! who will live (with) forty days each month throughout the year! (du demonstrative; nāo who; dem future; dedū'ols to live; txālpx four; wul being; k'!ap ten round ones, k'!îpk'!a'p distributive; sa day; a at; mela- each; k'!e'rel one round one; g'amk sun, moon; a at; txas- along, throughout; k'aol, year)

§ 32. Suffixes of Numerals

In the Nass river dialect, only three classes of numerals have distinctive suffixes. These are:

- -âl human beings
- -kus canoes
- $-al^{\circ}\hat{o}n$ fathoms (derived from the stem $\hat{o}n$ HAND)

In the Tsimshian dialect the corresponding suffixes occur also, and, besides, another one used to designate long objects. These are:

- '-al human beings
 - -sk canoes
 - · El'ô'n fathoms
 - -sxan long objects

The numerals will be treated more fully in § 57.

§ 33. Contraction.

The Tsimshian dialects have a marked tendency to form compound words by contraction which is apparently based partly on weakening of vowels, partly on the omission of syllables. In some cases it can be shown that omitted syllables do not belong to the stem of the word that enters into composition; while in other cases this is doubtful. Since my material in the Tsimshian dialect is better, I will give the Tsimshian examples first.

Contraction by weakening of vowels:

 $t/Em-l\bar{a}'n$ steersman; for t/\bar{a}^om $g\cdot i-l\bar{a}'n$ sitting stern $(t/\bar{a}^o$ to sit; $g\cdot i-l\bar{a}'n$ stern of canoe)

nEgutshā'os smart, frisky; for nEgwā'ots hā'os father of dog ste'mâ'n humpback salmon; for stâm hân on one side salmon lebe ts/ā'og kidney-fat; for lâ'obe ts/ā'og fat of stone (i. e., of kidney)

lebe-ô'n biceps; for lô'obe an'ô'n arm-stone
ts!ūne l!ī-hëoty he stands on the end of it; for ts!uwā'n
Here belongs also the particle kse-fluid; for aks water:
kse-gwa'nuks spring of water.

Following are examples of contraction by omission of prefixes:

t'Em- $l\bar{a}'n$ steersman, for $t'.\bar{a}^{o}m$ $g\cdot i-l\bar{a}'n$

t! Em-g·ā'ni the one up river, for t!ā°m g·ig·ā'ni, is not used, but is understood; also t! Em-hau'li the one in the woods; for t!ā°m g·ilhau'li.

Contraction with omission of syllables that are not known as prefixes seems to occur in—

sig idemna'x chieftainess; for sig idem hana'g chief woman ha-l/ī-ta t'ī'oben when sea-lions lie on; for ha-l'ī-da t'īoben contains also a material change of the stem-form.

The name of the tribe itself is interpreted in a similar manner: $ts!_{Em-sia'n}$, for $ts!_{Em-ksia'n}$ in the Skeena river. The latter word may possibly contain the element ks-fluid.

In the Nass river dialect the same kinds of contraction occur, but examples are not numerous:

anik'su-lō'galtk looking-glass; for an-gulik's-lō-lā'galtk where back in one examines.

sig·idemna'q chieftainess; for sig·adem hā'naq chief woman sem'â'g·ît chief, seems to contain sem- very; g·at person.

Masemts'ë'tsku (a name); for $m\bar{a}'semst\ y\bar{o}-n-ts'\bar{e}'\hat{c}tsku$ growing up having a grandmother ($m\bar{a}s$ to grow; -m connective; -st [l]; $y\bar{o}-ku$ to have; $n-ts'\bar{e}'\hat{c}ts$ grandmother)

Xpī'yelek (a name); for xpī-hagulâ'q partly sea-monster.

In connection with this phenomenon may be mentioned the use of some elements as verbs and nouns in fragmentary form,—or without affixes, as particles. An instance is:

hasa'ga to desire; saga dem yā'ogu I desire to go.

§ 34. Incorporation

In expressions designating an habitual activity directed toward an object, the verbal stem and its object form a compound word, which is treated like a single verb, so that the object appears in an incorporated form. Examples of this form are the following:

Tsimshian:

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gö'lts! Exgan to be a stick-carrier (gô'lts! Eg to carry; gan stick) gô'lts! Exlô'ob to be a stone-carrier (lôob stone) waliga'n to be a stick-carrier (wali to carry on back) g'Æ'rla to be out harpooning seals (g'Ag to harpoon; E'rla seal) bū'sgan to split wood (būs to split) bū'slag to split fire-wood (lag fire) g'Azbī'osnu I am a box-carver (g'êtg to carve; xbīos box) se-yêt-wa'yînu I am a paddle-polisher (se- to make; yêtg smooth; wa'i paddle)
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Reduplication (§§ 35-38)

§ 35. General Remarks

There are two types of reduplication in Tsimshian—one in which the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel, is repeated; the other in which the initial sounds, including the first vowel, are repeated. The functions of these two methods of reduplication are quite distinct. The former is generally used to form plurals, and with a number of proclitic particles that imply more or less clearly the meaning of repetition or plurality. The second forms generally a progressive form, or, perhaps better, a present participle of the verb.

§ 36. Initial Reduplication, including the First Consonant following the First Vowel

This part of the word is repeated before the stem-syllable with weakened vowel. The accent of the word is not changed, and the reduplicated syllable remains separated from the word by a hiatus. This is particularly evident in words beginning with a vowel.

Singular	Plural	
ôx.	$ix'\hat{o}'x$	to throw
$ar{a}m$	$m{e}m$ ' $ar{a}'m{m}$	\mathbf{g} ood
a'lg :io	$oldsymbol{r} oldsymbol{l} a' oldsymbol{l} oldsymbol{g} \cdot oldsymbol{l} oldsymbol{x}$	to speak
ētķ ^u s	at ' $ar{e}'tar{k}^{m{u}}s$	to name

This method of reduplication may be considered as duplication modified by phonetic laws. Monosyllabic words terminating with a consonantic cluster retain only the first sound of the cluster, thus avoiding a great accumulation of consonants in the middle of the word. The same causes probably affect polysyllabic words in such manner that the whole end of the word is dropped. This seems the more likely, as the repeated syllable has its vowel weakened. This process would easily reduce the terminal parts of polysyllabic words, when repeated, to consonantic clusters.

The weakened vowels have a tendency to change to E or î. The great variability of the vowels makes it difficult to establish a general rule.

(a) Monosyllabic words, beginning and terminating either with a vowel or with a single consonant:

Singular	Plural	
δx	$ix.$ ' $\partial'x$	to throw
<i>ôs</i>	Es'ô'8	\mathbf{dog}
$ar{a}m$	$oldsymbol{e}m$ ' $oldsymbol{ar{a}}'oldsymbol{m}$	good
ô l	$al^{c}\hat{o}^{c}l$	bear
dax^{\cdot}	$d \hat{\imath} x \cdot d a' x ^{ullet}$	hill
d'ec	d'î cd 'e' c	to push
Lap	LEPLa'p	deep
bar	$b_E L b a' L$	to spread out
hap	hapha'p	to shut
gan	$\overline{ganga'n}$	tree
t'aq	$\int \dot{t}'a\dot{q}\dot{t}'a'q$	$_{ m lake}$
t aq	(but also $t'Et'a'q$)	∫ iake
dzô q	dzî q dz ô $'q$	to camp
t ' $ar{e}$	t' E t' $ar{e}'$	valley
$mar{e}$ L	m î $_{oldsymbol{L}}mar{oldsymbol{e}}'_{oldsymbol{L}}$	to burn
$m\hat{e}$ L	m î ${f l}m$ ê ${f '}$ ${f L}$	to tell
$g\cdot ar{\imath}c$	$g \cdot \hat{\imath} c g \cdot \bar{\imath}' c$	wrong
lâ'ôp	leplâ'ôp	stone
tsap	tneptsa' p	to make
ts'al	t s' $\hat{\imath}lts'a'l$	face
$ts'ar{e}'ar{\imath}p$	ts ' $Epts$ ' $ar{e}'\hat{\imath}p$	to tie
<i>qδ</i> 8	yîs90's	to jump
- dzôq	dz E qd z ô'q	to camp
n - $d\bar{z}a'm$ ·	n- dz E mdz a' m	kettle

The vowel is apparently strengthened in

 $n\hat{o}'$ $n\bar{o}n\hat{o}'$ hole § 36

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
δy	$ay'\hat{o}'y$	to throw
ām	$am'\bar{a}'m$	\mathbf{good}
$har{a}$ 0 s	hashā' °s	$\overline{\mathbf{dog}}$
dâ	$dad\hat{a}'$	to place
dam	demda'm	to hold
dal	$d\hat{\imath}lda'l$	to fight
$dar{u}^{o}p$	d E p d $ar{u}'$ ^{o}p	foot of mountain
hôtn	hanhô'on	to fill
$bar{u}^o$	$b{\scriptstyle E}b{\scriptstyle ar u'}$ o	to wait
bêl	$b\hat{\imath}lb\hat{e}'l$	to spread
k: !ak	k : $'\hat{\imath}kk$: $'a'k$	to choke
ts!êl	ts!Elts!ê'l ·	to slice fish
mal	me $lma'l$	to tell
dzâ�l	dzeldzâ′∘l	to slide
ts!ap	ts!E $pts!a'p$	tribe
lâºb	lepla'ob	stone
$dar{a}'u$	$d\overline{u}d\overline{a}'u$	ice
$lar{u}$ - $sar{a}'$ o x	$lar{u}$ -sexs $ar{a}'$ o x	red-hot
$q!a\bar{\imath}$	q!aigai'	to bite

(b) Monosyllabic words beginning with a vowel or a single consonant, and terminating with a cluster of consonants, reduplicate the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel:

Singular	Plural	
<i>sī′êpk</i> ⁴⁴	$s \hat{\imath} ho s \hat{\imath}' \hat{e} ho k^u$	sick
ts`ēpku	ts'îpts'ē'pku	\mathbf{hard}
îsk ^u	î*'î'8ku -	stench
gîck ^u	gîcgî'cku	lean
gêck u	gasyê'cku	narrow
dēl pku	dêldē'l pku	${f short}$
lō-dā'ltku	$l ar{o}$ - $d e l d ar{a}' l ho k^{m{u}}$	to meet
Lantku	LENLa'ntku	to move
m î t k $^{oldsymbol{u}}$	mîtmî'tku	full
g∙îtk =	g`îtg`î'tk`u	to swell
g·alk*	g·îLg·a'Lk·u	to pierce
hanx'	hanha'nx'	thin
$oldsymbol{\hat{l}ntx}$	$L \hat{i} n L \hat{i}' n t x$	to be angry
$g \cdot \hat{e} p k c$	$g \cdot \hat{\imath} p g \cdot \hat{e}' p k c$	high
ētąc	at'ē' tgc	to end
ētkus	at ' $ar{e}'tar{k}^{oldsymbol{u}}s$	to name
ma ô' xk ·	$maxma \hat{o}'xk$	\mathbf{meek}
lō-ya'ltk⁴	lō-yîlya'ltku	to return

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
$s ilde{\imath}^o p ilde{k}$	s E $psar{\imath}'^{o}pk$.	sick
$ar{a} ar{l} x$	$aar{l'}ar{a}'lm{x}$	brave
$w\bar{a}lb$	$(w \hat{\imath} l w \hat{a}' l b)$	house
$har{a}^oxk$	$haxhar{a}'^{o}xk$	annoyed
hôksk	hakhô'ksk	to be with
$g \cdot ar{\imath}^o s m{k}$	g $\hat{i}sgar{i}'$ $\hat{s}k$	to go past
yaltk	yî $lya'ltk$	to return
g·êlks	$g \cdot \hat{\imath} lg \cdot \hat{e}' lks$	to feel
axlg	ax'a'xlg	to attain
$qar{a}^opk$	gapgā'opk kutkwā'otk	to scratch, to rake
$kvoar{a}^otk$	$kutkwar{a}'^{o}tk$	to disappear

(c) Polysyllabic words, beginning with a vowel or a single consonant, reduplicate the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel:

Singular		ural	
$sar{\imath}'{\scriptscriptstyle E}b$ ' ${\scriptscriptstyle E}n$	$s \hat{i} p s ar{i}$	'Eb'En	to love
had'a'xk*	hadh	had'a'xku	bad
$hw \hat{\imath} l \bar{a}' x \cdot$	hwîl	$hw \hat{\imath} l \bar{a}' x^{m{\cdot}}$	to know
$bar{a}'sixk^{oldsymbol{u}}$	• besbe	$ar{a}'sixk^{oldsymbol{u}}$	to separate
$hwar{a}'lar{\imath}x^*$	$hv\hat{i}l$	hwā'lîx	to carry on back
$ar{a}' d \hat{~} \hat{\imath} k \cdot s k^u$	$ad'ar{a}'$	d'î k ' sk "	to come
g-î' d e x	g- idg	rî'dex	to ask
$asar{a}'x$.	as'as	$ar{a}'x^*$	foot
$dar{e}'l\hat{\imath}x$	$d\hat{\imath}ld\hat{\imath}$	i'lîx	tongue
$lar{o}'laq$	lEllō'	laq	ghost
$(qan)m\bar{a}'la$	(qan)	m Elmā'la	button
$a'lg \cdot \hat{\imath}.v$	al'a'l	<i>'g</i> ∙ î <i>x</i> 1	to speak
ma'lgêk sku	$m_E lm$	na'lgêk sku	heavy
haxda'ku	hî x · h	axda'k"	bow
$har{o}'mts!\hat{m{\imath}}m{x}$	· hami	$har{o}'mts.'$ î x	to kiss
ha'xg''at	haxh	a'xg·'at	sweet-smelling

Tsimshian:

Plural	
k:!înk:!înā'm	to give
leplê'p!gan	to shuffle about
l E k' l a' k ' $!$ u l t k	to wrap up
$g extbf{:}\hat{a}kg extbf{:}a' extbf{o}g extbf{\it E}ltk$	to roll
$p!$ $Elp!$ \bar{i}' $ellen$	to nudge
k!utk!wā'°das	to miss
ts!Ek`ts!a'k`a	fire is out
$d\mathit{E}kda'k\!lx$ E n	to drown
	k:!înk:!înā'm leplê'p!gan lek'la'k:!ultk g'îkg'a'°gEltk p!Elp!ī'°len k!utk!wā'°das ts!Ek'ts!a'k'a

Singular	Plural	
$+g\cdot il\bar{a}'^{o}l$	g -î lg - $ilar{a}'$ 0 l	to look after
da'msax	demda'msax	downcast
p!a'lg îxsk	$p!$ e $lp!a'lg$ · $\hat{i}xsk$	heavy
roulī'ol	wulewuli'ol	to rub
su-างนโร"ารk	$su ext{-}vulwular{\imath}'^{m{o}}nsk$	hunter
gô'it!Eks	${\it gatg0'it.'Eks}$	to come

- (d) A number of euphonic changes occur in this type of reduplication. They differ in character in the two dialects. In the Nass dialect, when the reduplicated syllable ends in k, g, and k, these are aspirated, and become x; g and q are aspirated and become x; y becomes x; ts becomes s; dz becomes z.
 - (a) k, g, k following the first vowel are changed into x:

Singular	Plural	
t'ak·	t'î. x ' t ' a ' k '	to forget
hak•s	$hax \cdot ha'k \cdot s$	to abuse
ōk·s	$ax``ar{o}'k`s$	to drop
iâ'ôk's	$\hat{\imath}x$.' $i\hat{a}'\hat{o}k$ ' s	to wash
âk·s	$\hat{e}x$ '' $\hat{a}'k$ ' s	broad
dak·L	$d\hat{\imath}x^{\centerdot}da^{\prime}k^{\centerdot}{\imath}$	to tie
8a k	$s \hat{\imath} x \cdot s a' k \cdot s \lambda^{u}$	clean
$oldsymbol{L}ar{oldsymbol{e}} ext{-}oldsymbol{g} ext{-}oldsymbol{a}'t$	$oldsymbol{\iota} \hat{oldsymbol{\imath}} x$ $oldsymbol{\iota} ar{oldsymbol{e}} \cdot g$ $oldsymbol{\iota} \dot{oldsymbol{e}} \cdot g$ $oldsymb$	weak, sickly
$mar{o}k^u$	$m \hat{m i} x$ $m ar{m o}' k^{m u}$	to catch fish
g·u ks	$g \cdot \hat{\imath} x \cdot g \cdot u' k s$	fish jumps
hokcku	haw ho'kchu	to be with others

(β) y following the first vowel changes to x:

Singular	Plural	
hō'yîx	$h \hat{\imath} x \cdot h ar{o}' y \hat{\imath} x$	like

(y) g and q following the first vowel change to x:

Singular	Plural	
magā'n∗k≝	mîrmagā'nsk u	explanation
gä'iqck "	gexgä'iqck u	to sit
\$ō'uq8k⁴	sexsō'uqsku	to dive
q'äqL	q 'ex q ' $\ddot{a}'q$ L	to drag
$aqk^{u}L$	$ax'a'qk^{u}L$	to succeed

(δ) ts and s following the first vowel change to s and z:

Singular	Plural	•
yats	yîs'ia'ts	to chop
g'ôts	q 'E sq ' $\delta'ts$	to chop a tree
ĥē'îts	$ar{h} \hat{\imath} s ar{h} ar{e}' \hat{\imath} t s$	to send
hē'tsum zx	hashē' tsum ex	to command.
$ar{a}'dz\hat{\imath}ks$	az ' $ar{a}'dz\hat{\imath}ks$	proud

(ϵ) Sometimes a x is introduced at the end of the reduplicated syllable:

Singular	Plural	
$d \mathbf{z} d ar{a}' l \mathbf{z} q$	$d\mathbf{\hat{t}}x \cdot d\mathbf{z}d\mathbf{\bar{a}}' l\mathbf{z}q$	to talk to
amō's	ax·'amō's	corner
t'ōtsku	t'îx t'ō' tsk	iron
yînā' tsîx	yîx inā'tsix	whip
an-dō'yEn	ax''an-dō'y En	garden
an - sg · $\bar{\imath}'st$	ax·'an-sg·īst	grave
$s\bar{a}'a\iota k^u$	sîx sā'alk"	weak
haLā'alst	hax·êLā'alst	to work
ha-LEbî′sk⁴	hax ê-LEbî'sku	knife
$sanlai'd\hat{\imath}k$: s	sîx sanlai'dîk s	sign
ē' E8k™	ax•'ē' E≈k™	debt
ax-yâ'ôk 8ku	ax-îx·yû'ôk·sk•	to trust
tq'al-hwē'lEmlk*	tq'al-hwîx hwē'lem Lk*	servant

Here may also belong-

Singular yō'LMEX

Plural hix io' Lm Ex

to advise

It seems possible that these forms of reduplication should be considered as belonging to the class to be discussed in § 37.

The phonetic changes in the Tsimshian dialect do not agree with those found in the Nass dialect.

 $(\alpha \beta \gamma)$ The aspiration of g, k, g, and k does not seem to occur; only g and q are aspirated:

Singular	Plural		
dzôg	dze xdz ô $'$ g	to camp	
y!aq	y!îxy!a'q	to hang	

(δ) The changes from dz and ts to z and s are also not regular:

Singular	Plural	
$g\hat{o}dz$	${\it gad}$ z ${\it go'dz}$	to tear
h&ts	hashë′°ts	to send
ya'dz	yîsyn'dz	to chop
$t!\bar{u}'tsk$	t / Es t / $ar{u}'$ o / s k	black

(ϵ) In many cases a k, corresponding to Nass x, appears inserted:

Singular	Plural	
sa'olk!Ensk	seksa'olk!ensk	dismayed
$la^{o}l$	$l_{\it Ekla'ol}$	to shove
lūºntī	$l_{E}klar{u}'^{o}ntar{\imath}$	angry
<i>lâ</i> ⁰	<i>lEklâ′</i> ⁰	fast
wam xk	roukroâ'm xk	to suffer
$nar{\imath}^{o}$	neknī′°	to see
$n\bar{\imath}^o ts$	neknī'ots	to look

Singular	Plural	
lâîk	$l_E k l \hat{a}' \hat{\imath} k$ (better: $l_E - l \hat{a}' \hat{\imath} k$)	to move
stū°lt	stEkstū'olt	companion
gaba'xs	gakgaba'xs	to splash
yā'ulEmx	yîkyā'ulEmx	to advise
gaľ â' d	gakgal'â'd	to let go

(5) Some words insert a t after the first vowel. Since a d or t occurs in some of these cases after the first vowel of the stem, the occurrence of the t may sometimes be due to an irregular treatment of the reduplication:

Singular	Plurai	
$gwar{a}ntk$	gutgwa'ntk	to touch
ge'redax	getge'redax	to ask
$war{a}^o$	$voutvoar{a}'^o$	to find

§ 37. Initial Reduplication, including the First Vowel

(a) In most cases the stem-vowel is weakened in the reduplicated syllable:

aa'la'âa

one who is speaking

a ig rw	w speak	aa ig uc	one who is speaking
g·ibā'yu	k to fly	g $\hat{i}g$ $\hat{i}b\bar{a}'yuk$	one who is flying
zmiyä'n	I smoke	igexmiyä'ēe	I smoke walking
ha'dîk s	to swim		swimming while car- rying
gzba'ksk	to splash	igegeba'ksk*	splashing while being carried
lē′p!E8	to sew	llē′p!E8	one who is sewing
txâxku	to eat [plural]		those eating
gi p	to eat something	$ang \cdot ig \cdot i'pt$	one who is eating it
ts'ēn	to enter	alō-ts'ɛts'ē'n	one who enters pub- licly
f ax	lake	t' Et ' a ' x	lakes
$mar{a}l$	canoe	m ' $mar{a}l$	canoes
bax	to run	bbax	one who runs
Here belo	ngs also		

H

a'la:ân

to eneck

wôq to sleep $huv\partial'q$ one who sleeps

Similar forms occur in the Tsimshian dialect:

a'lg:îg	to speak	aa'lg:îg	the one who is speaking
hë•tg	to stand	hahë'tg	the one standing
$t!ar{a}^o$	to sit	t E t ! $ar{a}$ o	the one sitting
bā⁰	to run	b E $bar{a}'$ o	the one running
lī'od Eg	to be silent	$llar{\imath}'$ e d e g	silent
$s\bar{\imath}^o p$	bone	$sEs\bar{\imath}'^{o}p$	bones
g·ad	person	$g \cdot ig \cdot a'd$	people

(b) In a number of cases the vowel of the reduplicated syllable is long and the accent is thrown back upon it, while the vowel of the stem is weakened:

Singular	Plural	
lE qs	$lar{a}'l$ E qs	to wash body
wôq	$oldsymbol{w}ar{a}'w\hat{o}q$	to sleep
sak.	$sar e'$ is $\hat ik$.	to haul out
Lak.	$oldsymbol{L}ar{e}'oldsymbol{L}ar{\imath}k$.	to bend
$t.'\hat{o}q$	$t!a't!_{Eq}$	to scratch

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>lâ</i> °	$m{l}\hat{a}'$ o $m{l}a$	to swim (fish)
\(\lambda \hat{a}^o \) \(\lambda a^o xt \)	$m{l}ar{a}'m{l}m{a}^{m{o}}xt$	to hold with teeth
$l\bar{a}k$.	$ar{l}ar{\imath}'ar{l}\hat{\imath}k\cdot$	to bend
waoq	wa'wuq	to bury
$t!\hat{o}g$ $se^{\epsilon}n\cdot\imath\hat{o}g$	$t!\hat{o}'dEg$	to step on
se [€] n-wô'q	se⁵n-wâ'wôq	to rebuke

(c) Words beginning in hw (w Tsimshian) have a form of reduplication which is evidently of the same origin as the forms here discussed:

Singular	Plural	
$hwar{a}$	$huwar{a}'$	name
$hw \hat{\imath} l p$	$huw \hat{\imath}' l p$	house
Tsimshian:		
Singular	Plural	
wa	$huwar{a}'^{oldsymbol{o}}$	name
wālb	$huwar{a}'lm{b}$	hous e
wai	huvoa'i	paddle

(d) Words beginning with a consonantic cluster reduplicate in the Nass dialect by a repetition of the first consonant; at the same time initial x is transformed into q. In Tsimshian the consonantic cluster is treated like a syllable, and is repeated with insertion of a weak vowel:

Singular	Plural	
<i>ptô</i>	$ppt \hat{o}$	\mathbf{door}
x L q \hat{o}	qexlqô'	to pray
$x {\scriptscriptstyle L} ar k ar o' l u x$	$q_{ExL} ar{k} ar{o}' lux$	to scold
$xtsa'ar{e}$	q $extsa'ar{e}$	thick
Tsimshian:		
Singular	Plural	
sqa g	sexsqa' g	to refuse
sqa q txāo	sexsqa ' g t !axtxā'°	flat

(e) A number of cases of irregular reduplication occur. Examples in the Nass dialect are—

Singular	Plural	
alî'sku	$all \hat{\imath}' s k^{m{u}}$	weak (a may be a prefix)
anē's	annē's	branch
Tsimshian:		
Singular	, Plural	
$\bot la'g \cdot axsk$	$laxla'g \cdot axsk$	to climb
hanā' g	hanā'nag	woman (for hanhā'nag?)
nak	n e k $nar{o}'$ o \dot{n} k	long
naxnô'x	naxnô'onx	supernatural
luºwa'l	$wul^ova'l$	drop

§ 38. Reduplication of Words containing Proclitic Particles

As a rule, compound words containing proclitic elements reduplicate the stem only.

Singular	Plural	
$lar{o}$ - $ar{a}'m$	$lar{o}$ - am ' $ar{a}'m$	to be good inside

A few examples of compounds of the type which reduplicate the initial syllables have been given in § 36, d, ε .

§ 39. Modification of Stem Vowel

In a few cases modifications of length and accent of stem syllables occur. I am inclined to think that all of these have originated by secondary modification of reduplicated forms. The following cases have come under my observation. All of them belong to the Nass River dialect.

Singular	Plural	
anā's	$anar{a}'$ E8	skin
$gm{\cdot}\mathbf{\hat{\imath}}nar{a}'m$	$g \cdot ar{e}' nam$	to give
k·îba'	$k \cdot \bar{\imath} b a'$	to wait
gwula'	$guar\iota la'$	cloak
halai't	hā'lait	ceremonial dance
$hanar{a}'q$	$har{a}'naq$	woman

Formation of Plural (§§ 40-47)

§ 40. Methods of forming the Plural

The plural is generally sharply set off from the singular, both in the noun and in the verb, and only a limited number of words have the same form in singular and plural. Including these words and those which apply different stems in singular and plural, the following methods of expressing the plural may be distinguished.

- (1) Singular and plural have the same form.
- (2) The plural is formed by reduplication.
- (3) The plural is formed by diæresis or by lengthening of vowels.
- (4) The plural is formed by the prefix qa.
- (5) The plural is formed by the prefix qa- and the suffix $-(t)k^a$.
- (6) The plural is formed by the prefix l- with variable vowel.
- (7) The plural and singular are formed from the same stem, but in an irregular manner, or they are derived from different stems.

§ 41. First Group. Singular and Plural the same

In this group are combined the words, singular and plural of wnich have the same form. Here belong the names of all animals except $\cos \delta s$ and BEAR δl , trees, and many words that can not be classified.

Parts of the body (see also § 43):

qēc hair

ōpx forehead

dz'aq nose

wan tooth

ië'mq beard

Laqs finger-nail

ban belly

ptal rib

mâ'dz'îk's breast

mîsx'k'ā'x' down of bird

nîsq upper lip
pınāx body (plural also qapınā'x)
mmîs thumb
Lätsx tail of fish
näiq fin
q'āx' feather
la'ē wing
t' Em-lā'nîx' neck
t' Em-gā'x' fathom

Miscellaneous:

se day axku night k'ōL year lak" fire ak's water *pelî'st* star ia'ns leaf dawi's axe hawî'l arrow bela' haliotis ia'k' to thunder *delemaku* to reply *më'lek* to dance $l\bar{e}'m\hat{i}x'$ to sing g'a'a to see hasa'q to want

 $\bar{a}t$ net ts'ak dish wâ'ôs dish $l\bar{e}'p'$ est marmot blanket d'ā'ist bed-quilt *yā'tsEsk*⁴ animal wîc root bela' haliotis-shell mī'uks sweet-smelling $xLqa\bar{o}'m$ payment $Lm\hat{a}'Em$ to help hätkut to rush $g \cdot l' d E x$ to ask baku to feel li-ya'q to hang anâ'q to agree

A number of stems with prefixes also retain the same form in singular and plural:

groîs-ma'k*sk* white blanket hvoîl-dig'a't warrior groîs-halai't dancing-blanket lō-sanā' Lk* to be surprised sz-anuvo'g to rebuke

The same class occurs in Tsimshian. Here also all names of animals have the same forms in singular and plural except those of the dog $(\hbar \bar{a}^o s)$ and the bear (∂l) . Names of parts of the body appear also in the same form in singular and plural, although more often they have the prefix qa.

Examples are—

në terke fish-tail
sa day
latex smoked split salmontail
mag'd'sx berry
hasa'x to desire

ū to fish with line
ma'k' !'il to drop down
lehē'ld to forbid
p! zlô' to break law
ā°lks servant

§ 42. Second and Third Groups. Plurals formed by Reduplication and Vowel Change

In these groups are comprised the words the plurals of which are formed by reduplication or discresses. By far the majority of words belong to this class.

The plurals of the second group, which are formed by reduplication, may be subdivided into the following groups:

- (a) The plural is formed generally by reduplication of the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel, which method has been fully described in § 36.
- (b) Only in exceptional cases is the plural formed by the reduplication of the beginning of the word, including the first vowel. The following instances of this type of reduplication used for forming the plural have been observed.

Singular	Plural	
g ·î n	$g \cdot \hat{\imath} g \cdot \hat{\imath}' n$	to give food
g·īku	$g \cdot \hat{\imath} g \cdot \hat{\imath}' k^{\mathbf{u}}$	to buy
ts'ak	ts' Ets' a' k	dish
t'ax	t'et'a'x, t'axt'a'x	lake
ts'ēp	ts' Ets' ē' p	bone
g·āt	$g \cdot ig \cdot a' ar{t}$	people
māl	$mm\bar{a}l$	canoe

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural ·	•
sī°p	8E8Ī′°P	bone
lao	{ lalî'°	fast
$lar{a}$ o ld	l e $lar{a}'$ o ld	to move
lâ'îk	\ \left(lekla'\hat{i}k\)	to move

A special form of this reduplication is found in words beginning with hw, which take $h\bar{u}w$ in the plural, probably originating from hwhw (see p. 372).

Singular	Plural	
hwa	$har{u}wa'$	name
$hw \hat{\imath} l p$	$har{u}$ $v\hat{\imath}'lp$	house
$hw\hat{at}$	$har{u}w\hat{a}'ar{t}$	to sell
hwîl	$har{u}_l w \hat{\imath}' l$	to do
hwô	hūwô'	to call
$hw\bar{a}x^{\centerdot}$	$har{u}war{a}'x$	to paddle

Related to this are the two plurals described in § 37 e (p. 373).

- (c) The few cases in which the syllable reduplicated according to this method is long and has the accent, while the vowel of the stem is weakened, have been described in § 37 b (p. 372).
- (d) In some cases the singular is formed from a certain stem by the second type of reduplication, while the plural is formed by the first type of reduplication.

Stem	Singular	Plural	
$dar{e}ls$	$d\it{E}dar{\it{e}}'ls$	$oldsymbol{d} oldsymbol{e} l d ar{oldsymbol{e}}' l s$	alive
$gar{e}t$	q e $gar{e}'tk$ u	qetgë′tk u	difficult

The word mak^*sk^*u , plural $n.esma'k^*sk^*u$, white, may be mentioned here, since its stem seems to be mas.

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
$d {\it E} d ar u'^{ m o} l s$	d E $ldar{u}'$ O ls	alive

In Tsimshian a number of cases occur in which irregular reduplications are used, or phonetic increments of the stem.

Singular	Plural	
xsvoâxs	s E xs v o $\hat{a}'xs$	to dive
ts!â	$ts.'\hat{a}'ts.'$ ex t	to split
q!âx txa-a'q	$q.'\hat{a}^o lx$	to pull
txa-a'q	$ar{t}$ xa- $ar{a}'lq$	place near the door
lâº	$t\hat{a}'^{o}ltk$	fish swims
laq	l ā′∘lq	to bite
§ 42		

In the third group are combined a few words the plural of which is formed by change of the vowel of the stem and by change of accent. Examples of this kind have been given in § 39.

§ 43. Fourth Group. Plurals formed by the Prefix qa-

In words of this class the plural is formed by the prefix qa. It includes many names of parts of the body; adjectives expressing states of the body, such as BLIND, DEAF; words of location; and a miscellaneous group of words.

(a) Parts of the body:

Singular	Plural	
t ' Em - $qar{e}'c$	qa - t 'E m - q ' $ar{e}'c$	head
ts' Em-mu'x	qa- ts ' Em - $mu'x$	ear
ts' E m - $ar{a}'q$	qa - ts ' ϵm - $ar{a}'q$	mouth
t^{\prime} e m - $qar{a}^{\prime}x^{\prime}$	$q \pmb{a}$ -t' $\pmb{e} m$ - $q ar{a}' x$ *	arm
$t'_{Em-L\bar{a}'m}$	qa - t 'E m -L $ar{a}$ ' m	leg below knee
tsuvē' Ent	qa-tsuwē' Ent	fingers
an'ô'n	qa-an'ô'n	hand '
plnā x .	qa-pınāx and pınāx	\mathbf{body}
q'ēlq	qa - q ' $ar{e}'$ L q	chest
$g \hat{a} t$	qa- ga ' t	heart
tgamā'q	qa - $tgamar{a}'q$	lip
$q'\bar{e}'see$	qa - $q\dot{,}ar{e}'$ 8EE	knee
Lagst	qa-Laqst and Laqst	nail, claw
smax*	qa-smax•	meat

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
be^n	$oldsymbol{g}a ext{-}oldsymbol{b}oldsymbol{arepsilon'}oldsymbol{n}$	belly
$dar{u}'la$	ga - $dar{u}'la$	tongue
ts!Em ts!ā'us	ga-ts!Em-ts!a'us	armpit
gâ•d	$\overset{\cdot}{g}a ext{-}g\hat{a}'^{o}d$	heart
an'ô'n	ga - an ' $\hat{o}'n$	band

(b) Adjectives expressing states of the body:

Singular	Plural	
k∙îba′ E	qa-k∙îba′ E	lame
8 î n 8	$\stackrel{-}{qa}$ - $s\hat{\imath}'ns$	blind
ts'äq	$\stackrel{-}{q}a$ - ts ' $\stackrel{-}{a}$ ' q	deaf
me-wa'tsx	qa-mE-wu'ts.c	crazy (literally, like land-otter)
xâ'ôsku	qa-xâ'ôsk u	wise
ax- qâ' ôt	- ax-ya-gâ'ôt	foolish (literally, with- out mind)

Here may belong also:

Singular <i>Quod' E</i>	Plural	maan
•	qa-gwä' z	poor
hu x-i ō' nst	hu x-qa-i ō' nst	liberal
ama hwîl	ama qa-hwi'l	<pre>f rich (literally, well-to- do)</pre>
l'simshian:	•	
Singular	Plural	

Singular	Piurai	
ama $war{a}'l$	ama ga- $war{a}'l$	rich
s $agau$ -s $ar{a}'$ o t	sagau-ga-sā'ot	good luck
lgusge'r	ga-lguegz'r	happy

(c) Locations:

Singular	Plural	
$dar{a}x^{f \cdot}$	$qa extbf{-}dar{a}'x^{f \cdot}$	outside
$lax'ar{o}'$	qa·lax'ō′	top
stô'ô.k·s	qa-stô'ôk·s	side
gʻä'u	qa-g•ä′u	beach

(d) Unclassified words:

Singular	Plural	
8Emō'tk8	q a-se mō'tk s	to believe
$nar{o}'d$ ' E n	- qa-nō'd' x n	to adorn
yîs-gu′sg∙itk•s	$\overset{ extbf{-}}{y}$ îs- qa - gu' s g · itk "s	to rejoice
$l\bar{e}'luks$	qa-lē'luks	to steal
gwîx`-silē'ên sk*	gwîx∙-qa-silē'ênsk•	hunter
$w \hat{\imath} s$	qa- $wi's$ and wis	root
$qar{a}'it$	qa - $qar{a}'it$	hat
$mar{e}n$	qa - $mar{e}'n$	butt of tree

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
$y'.ar{u}'^o$	ga-y! $ar{u}'$ o	berrying-basket
gôk būº	ga-gô'k	basket
$b\bar{u}^o$	ga-gô'k ga-bū'°	to scatter
x8â°	ga-xsâ'o	canoe
lāºks	$oldsymbol{ga-} lar{a}^{\prime}$ o $oldsymbol{ks}$	torch
$x\bar{a}'\hat{\imath}k$	$ga ext{-}xar{a}'\hat{\imath}k$	to upset
$nar{a}^{o}l$	$oldsymbol{ga-nar{a}'}$ o $oldsymbol{l}$	to fast
k s E - $nar{a}'$ o lk	$ga ext{-}ks$ E $ ext{-}nar{a}'$ $ ext{\circ} lk$	to breathe
mâ'm Ega	ga-mâ'm Ega	to smile
xstā°	ga-md'm E ga ga-xstā' °	to vanquish

On the whole, this prefix conveys strongly the impression of being a distributive, not a plural; but in many cases its use seems to have become formal and fixed. It would seem that particularly terms for parts of the body that have no reduplicated plural may take the

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prefix qa. The distributive character appears very clearly in one case where ga-ts/a'p means the one town of each one, while the plural would be ts/epts/a'p, and also in $k'\bar{o}pe$ -ga- $tept\bar{e}'tk''$ all small pieces (of salmon) 56.1

§44. Fifth Group. Plurals formed by the Prefix qaand the Suffix -(t)k*

Plurals formed by the prefix qa- and the suffix $-(t)k^{u}$ are confined to terms of relationship. The prefix is probably the same as that used in the preceding class, while the suffix seems to be related to the verbal and possessive suffix $-k^{u}$.

Singular	Plural	
niä'	qa-niä' Etk u	grandfather
ntsē'êts	qa-ntsē′êtsk•	grandmother
n Eguâ' ôt	qa-nEguâ'ôtk u	father
$n oldsymbol{e} b ar{e}' oldsymbol{p}$	qa - n E $b\bar{e}'pk^u$	uncle
roak.	qa-wa'k.k.	younger brother
Here belongs also—		
mē' En	qa-mē′ Entk⁴	master
Tsimshian:	,	
Singular	Plural	
n Ebī'op	ga - n z $bar{\imath}'^{o}pg$	uncle
miā'n	ga-n z bī' º pg ga-miā'ntg	master

The following words have $qa-k^{u}$ combined with reduplication, the reduplicated syllable being lengthened and the stem-vowel weakened:

Singular	Plural	• •
nak $\cdot s$	qa-nē'nîk:sk u	wife
$n\hat{o}x$	qa - $n\hat{a}'n$ e $xk^{oldsymbol{u}}$	mother
Without the prefix	qa- are found—	
Singular	Plural	
wak•	$wak \cdot k^{u}$	younger brother
$g\cdot \hat{\imath}' mx\cdot dar{e}$	$g\cdot \hat{\imath}'mx\cdot dar{e}tk$	elder brother
Tsimshian:		
Singular	Plural	
Singular naks	$nar{e}nksg$	wife
Irregular is—		
Singular	Plural	
huxdā'ek.'En	Luxdā'ek.'Entk	grandson

Undoubtedly the terminal $-tk^{u}$, $-k^{u}$, in these forms, is the same as the suffix discussed in § 17.

§ 45. Sixth Group. Plurals formed by the Prefix l-

Plurals formed by the prefix *l*- are pre-eminently verbal plurals, as is illustrated by the following examples taken from the Tsimshian:

Singular Nominal-Plural Verbal Plural ak's water, to drink ak'a'k's waters la-a'k's to drink wa'i paddle, to paddle huwa'i paddles lu-wa'i to paddle

The vowel connected with this prefix is variable, and many irregularities are found in this class.

(a) Singular Plural $ak \cdot s$ $la - a'k \cdot s$ to drink $y \hat{o}x k^u$ $l\bar{e} - y \hat{o}'x k^u$ to follow $g \bar{o}k s k^u$ $lE - g \bar{o}'k s k^u$ to be awake $d'\ddot{a}q$ $lE - d'\ddot{a}'q$ to devour

Tsimshian:

Singular Plural wa'i to paddle ga-ba'xsk $ga-l\bar{c}'bExsk$ to shake one's self yEr $l\bar{t}-yE'r$ to hide

(b) Reduplication or lengthening of vowel is found with l-:

Singular Plural xdax $lu-xd\bar{e}'d\hat{i}x$ hungry xb = ts'a'x $la-xb\bar{e}'ts' = x$ to be afraid

Here may be mentioned Tsimshian:

Singular Plural $k^ut ilde{v}^o \qquad \qquad lu ext{-}kt ilde{v}^od \qquad \qquad ext{hungry}$

(c) Initial g, k, and q drop out after l-:

Singular Plural $g \cdot \hat{a}k \cdot s$ a bird swims $g \cdot ib\bar{a}'yuk$ $lib\bar{a}'yuk$ to fly $q\bar{c}'nEx$ $l\bar{e}'nEx$ (tree) falls

Here belong also the reduplicated plurals:
Singular Plural

 $g \cdot amk \cdot s$ $lemla'mk \cdot s$ to warm one's self $g \cdot a'mg \cdot iL$ to warm something

Tsimshian:

Singular Plural qE'rEnk8 lūnks to dry (meat) gë^ona lë'ona to fall over lāºks absent $q \cdot \bar{a}^{o} ks$ gቼks 1201.8 to float gʻigʻâ'oks llû°ks floating lī'oma to wipe g·īomq lamks hot g'ama lipa'yuk to fly g'ipa'yuk

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(d) Irregular, but related to this class, are:

-Singular	Plural	
yax	lī'lē x	to hide
yîxya'q	lîslî'sku	to hang [v. n.]
zdaku _	lidux	to shoot
$g \cdot \hat{\imath} n - h \bar{e}' t k^{u}$	li'n ed em kust	to arise
kustaqs	$lukstsar{a}'d$ eq s	to leave

Tsimshian:

k!înī'otk

Singular	Plural	
gaksk	$lar{\imath}'d{}_{A}ksk$	to wake up
g·a'ksEn	$lar{\imath}'dAksen$	to awaken
8E8-ā'0x8	l es - $aar{a}'xs$	to laugh
xst!ôg	laxst!ô'ega	to sleep

§ 46. Seventh Group. Irregular Plurals

This last group is quite irregular. The following plurals are formed from the same or related stems, but in an irregular manner:

Singular	Plural	
sem' $a'g$ ' it	$semg \cdot ig \cdot a't$	chief
$sig \cdot id $ emna' $oldsymbol{x}$	sig`idEmhā'nax	chieftainess
$wuy \hat{\imath}' t k^u$	siya'tku	to weep .
ayawa'tku	alayuwa't	to shout
wīamhē'	$wud'ax\ al'amhar{e}'$	to shout
$lar{o}$ - $mar{a}'k$ $\cdot sa$	$lar{o} ext{-}lar{e}'d\hat{\imath}k$: sa	to wash cloths
$war{\imath}$ - $na'k$	$nnar{e}'n\mathbf{\it E}k^{\mathbf{\it u}}$	long
$war{\imath}$ - $d'\hat{o}'ar{x}$	d'exd'ô'x	stout
q'ai-ma's	q'a i - $ma'qs$ î t	youth
$\overline{am'a-ma's}$	$am'a$ - $ma'q$ s $\hat{i}t$	pretty
Tsimshian:		
Singular	Plural	
sem'â'g'id	$s_{Emg}.ig.a'd$	chief
sig·idEmna'g	sigʻidemhā'nag	chieftainess

Although the use of different stems for singular and plural belongs rather to the classification of nouns and verbs according to form of objects and actors, this feature is so prominent in the dialects of the Tsimshian that it deserves mention here.

to arise

nanī'otk

Singular $g^{oldsymbol{\cdot}}\ddot{a}xk^{oldsymbol{u}}$	Plural <i>hō'ut</i>	to escape
ië	LÔ	to go
iâ'ôxk™	trô'ôrk	to eat
ďa	wan	to sit
dzak*	yêts	to kill (plural = to
	•	chop)

Singular	Plural.	
hētk*	mak·sk*	to stand
hwîtk u	bak*	to come from
$gar{o}$	$d \hat{o} q$	to take
sg∙îtk u	dôxk⁴	to lie
k·sa x	k·si-Lô'	to go out
maqt	$hw \hat{\imath} lq t$	to carry
sqats'a'x	$alisg \bar{\cdot} i'da$	ugly
$ar{d}ar{a}'u$ L	sak sku	to leave
$malk^{a}$	txä'ldxt	to put into fire
māxk⁴t	cēntk ≈	to go aboard
bax	gôl	to run
ma' gat	t'aL	to put
$g \cdot \bar{e}_L$	$lar{a}$ ' $_L$	to lie down
ts'ēn	la'mdzîx	to enter
nố' ô	dax	to die
xa'z, male slave	•	
wa't!ak*, female slave	LLēng ·ît	slaves
g·at	ē' uxt	man
ts!ōsk·	8E8'Ō'8	small
Lgo-	k'obe-	\mathbf{small}
พริ-	wud'ax-	large
k *8-	dE-	extreme

ramaman:	•	
Singular	Plural	
$k \cdot ! \bar{e}^{o} x k$	$har{u}^o t$	to escape
iā°	$oldsymbol{w}ar{a}oldsymbol{l}oldsymbol{x}oldsymbol{s}$	to go
g â °	hab	to go to a place
iâ°xk	$tx\hat{a}^{o}xk$	to eat
$t.'ar{a}^o$	wan	to sit
dzag	yadz	to kill
hëtg, batsg	maxsk	to stand
$war{a}^o t_{ij}$	amiā' t	to come from
gāo	dôg	to take
hayā'oks	maksk	to put
m ô x k	$sar{a}^o nt k$	to go aboard
mô'g'an	$sar{a}^o n$	to put aboard
ba^{\bullet}	g'ôl	to run
nâ•k	$ar{l}ar{a}$ % k	to lie down
ts!ī°n	${\it la'mdz}$ Ex	to enter
dzag	detar	to die
xa°	lîlū′ng∙ît	male slave
$lgar{u}$ o lg	klgE r	child
ôl	sa'mi (i. e., meat)	bear
•	• •	

Singular	Plural	
gā'•wa	txd^o	to take canoe down to the water
ha'utk	bak	to cry
laxla'x	tgi-klē'l	to drop down
p!as	maxs	to grow
p!as su-p!a's	su-ma'xs	youth
lgu-	k!abE-	small
างริ-	wut!a-	large
ks-	$oldsymbol{ta}$ -	extreme

§ 47. Plurals of Compounds

In by far the majority of cases the plural of compounds is formed, in cases of reduplication, by leaving all prefixes unmodified, and by forming the reduplicated plural of the principal theme.

Singular	Plural	
qal-ts'a'p	$\mathit{qal} ext{-}\mathit{ts'epts'a'p}$	town
dax- g * a ' t	dax - $g \cdot ig \cdot a' t$	strong
an-sē'bensk	an-sepsē'bensku	friend

Tsimshian:

۱	Singular	Plural			
١	sa-dzagam-lu-ya'ltg	sa-dzagam-lu-	suddenly	to	return
1	•	$y \hat{\imath} l y \hat{a}' l t g$	across		
	lū-ām gâ′∘d	$lar{u}$ -am' $ar{a}'m$ $g\hat{a}'$ o d	to be of [in] go	od heart

There are, however, cases in which the whole word is reduplicated. Examples of these have been given in § 36, d (p. 370). The principal suffixes so treated are an- and ha-.

The position of the prefix ga- seems to depend upon the firmness of the compound. Generally it precedes the stem; as in

Singular Plural
gwîx -silë ênsku gwîx -qa-silë ênsku hunter (Nass dialect)

k! A-k!ul-ga-lgusge'redet they are for a while here and there happy (Tsimshian dialect)

On the other hand, we find in the Tsimshian dialect:

ı	Singular	Plural	
	$ts!$ E m - $mar{u}'$	${\it ga-ts!em-mar u'}$	ear

Personal Pronouns (§§ 48-54)

§ 48. Subjective and Objective Pronouns

The personal pronouns have two distinctive forms, which, according to their probable original significance, may be designated as transitive and intransitive, or, better, subjective and objective. The former

express, at least partly, the subject of the transitive verb; the latter, its object, and at the same time the subject of the intransitive verb. Their use is, therefore, to a certain extent analogous to that of the subjective and objective pronouns in languages like the Siouan, Iroquois, Haida, Tlingit, and others. The use of these forms in Tsimshian, however, is peculiarly irregular. The forms in the two dialects are—

						Subje c tive.	Objective.		
						Nass and Tsimshian.	Nass.	Tsimshian.	
First person singular .			•			n-	-22	-ū, -ī	
First person plural						d z p-	-m, -ōm	-Em	
Second person singular						m-	-11	-n	
Second person plural .						m sEm-	-8 <i>E</i> m	-8EM	
Third person						t-	-t	-t	

§ 49. Use of the Subjective

(a) The subjective pronouns are used most regularly in the subjunctive mood, where they appear as prefixes of the verb. It will be sufficient to demonstrate their use in one dialect only, since the rules are the same in both, and I choose the Tsimshian dialect for this purpose.

SUBJUNCTIVE

	me.	us,	thee.	you.	him, them.
I	_	_	n-n	n-sem	n-t
we	_	_	dEp—n	dEp—sEm	d zp—t
thou	m—u	mm	_	_	n-t
ye	m $sEm-u$	m sem—m			m sEm—l
he	l—u	t-m	!—n	!—sEm	! —!

Examples:

ada wul me wā'yu then you (singular) found me a wul m sem wa'yu because ye (plural) found me ada wult wā'yu hā'oset then the dog found me

 $ha^{\epsilon}w\bar{\imath}'^{o}n\bar{\imath}$, n dem k! A-txal- $w\bar{a}'n$ wait until I shall for a while meet you $(ha^{\epsilon}w\bar{\imath}'^{o}n\bar{\imath}$, wait until; n I; dem future; k! A- for a while; txal- against; $w\bar{a}$ to find; -n thee)

a $d_{Emt} \, \bar{u}'^{o}tu$ that he will bake me

ada me dem sem wul man-sā'k''.'ut then ye will pull it up (ada then; me thou; dem future; sem ye; wul being; man- up; sa'k''.'u to pull; -t it)

a wul dep $d\bar{\imath}$ -se-wā'o't because we, on our part, give them names (a at; wul being; dep we; $d\bar{\imath}$ - on our part; se- to make; $w\bar{a}$ o name; -t it)

- $dem-t \ ligi-la-n\bar{\imath}'^o dz etga^o$ he would see somewhere bad luck (dem-future; t- he; ligi- somewhere; la- bad luck; $n\bar{\imath}'^o dz$ to see; -t it; $-ga^o$ absence [see § 20])
- lat g'ik da'mkstgao when he squeezed it again (la when; t he; g'ik again; damks to squeeze; -t it; -gao absence)
- (b) In the indicative, the subjective pronouns are used when the object of the verb is a first or second person. The objective pronouns are used to express the subject of the transitive verb, in the indicative, when the object is a third person. The verb takes the suffix -d or -n described in § 17.

Ī	N	n	T	۲.	Ā	т	T	v	E

	me.	us.	thee.	you.
I	_	_	$n = \begin{cases} n \\ d \mathbf{E} n \end{cases}$	n-{nsem sem
we	· -	-	$n-{n\choose dEn}$ $dEp-{n\choose dEn}$	dEp-\nsEm
thou	$m = \begin{cases} nu \\ du \end{cases}$	m—{nEm dEm	-	_
уе	$m s E m - \begin{cases} n u \\ d u \end{cases}$	$m s E m - \begin{cases} n E m \\ d E m \end{cases}$	_	_
he	$t = \begin{cases} nu \\ du \end{cases}$	l—{nem dem	$t = \begin{cases} n \\ d E n \end{cases}$	t—{nsEm sEm

Examples:

m wā'yinu you (singular) found me
m dem dza'kdu you will kill me (dzak to kill)
t wā'yinu hā'oset the dog found me
n dza'kden I have killed thee
n wā'on you have found me
me ay'ô'yînem you (singular) have hit us
dep ô'yîn we hit thee

(c) The subjective pronouns are used with transitive and intransitive forms that take the objective pronouns for the purpose of emphasis.

```
me dem dza'kdent gu'i )
                                  you (singular) will kill this one
             dem dza'kdent qu'i
or
    me dem sem dza'ksemt gu'i)
             dem dza'ksemt gu'i you (plural) will kill this one
or
            t dza'kdetge hā'osgao
                                  he has killed the dog
             dza'kdetge hā'osgao
or
             nan la yā'wuxge'nu
                                  I was eating
              na la yā'wuxqe'nu
or
              nam la vā'rourgen
                                  you (singular) were eating
                na la yā'wuxqen \
or
```

(d) The verb da-ya to say so takes these elements always:

da-n-ya'onu I say so
da-dep-ya'onem we say so
da-m-ya'n you (singular) say so
da-m-sem-ya'onsem ye say so
da-yat he says, they say

Adverbs like g-ik AGAIN are placed here following the subjective pronoun, including m-sEm.

da-m-sem g ik ya'onsem ye say so again

§ 50. Use of the Objective

(a) The objective is used to express the subject of the intransitive verb.

sī'opgenu I am sick

dem al tgi-ks-qû'ganu but I shall (go) down first (dem future; al but; tgi-down; ks-extreme; qûga first)

ada dem l!ī-ô'ksen then you will drop on (it) (ada then; l!ī-on; ôks to drop)

sa-ô'kst suddenly he dropped

da wul $dz\hat{o}'xsemt$ when you camped (da at [see § 28]; wul being; $dz\hat{o}g$ to camp)

me'la hasa'gau tell that I wish

ts! Elem-ks-txalā'nu I am the last one behind

- (b) The objective is used to express the object of the transitive verb. Examples have been given in § 49, b.
- (c) The objective is used in the indicative of the transitive verb when the object is a third person or a noun. When the object is a third person pronoun, the objective -t is added to the objective pronoun.

ô'yut I hit it ô'yînt you (singular) hit him ô'yînt we hit it ne ta dza'kdemt gu'i we have killed this one dem dza'kdut I will kill him ô'yu hāo's I hit the dog

(d) The objective is used in a periphrastic conjugation of the transitive verb, in which the objective pronoun is repeated in the form of the independent pronoun.

 $n\bar{\imath}'^o dzut \ n' E'rEn$ I see thee (literally: I see it, thee) $dEm \ dza'gdEn \ n' E'ryu$ you (singular) will kill me

(e) The objective pronoun is used to express the possessive relation.

miā'nu my master

ne-vā'lben thy house

ne-sī'op!ensget his friend

ga- $g\hat{a}'$ odem our minds

ga-ga aem our minds

 $n_{E-w\bar{u}'}$ nsem what you have ($w\bar{u}n$ for $w\bar{u}l$, l assimilated by preceding n)

§ 51. The First Person Singular, Objective Pronoun

The first person singular of the objective form has a second form in $-\bar{\iota}$, which occurs also in the possessive pronoun (see § 55). It is used in all cases in which the event is conceived as unreal.

(a) In negative sentences.

a'lge dī ha-dza'gi I do not die from it a'lge hasa'gail dem dza'gen I do not want thee to die

(b) In sentences expressing potentiality, but with reference to the unreality of the event.

ada a'lget nā'l dem t'în-l!ī-q!an-a'xlgī then there is no one who could get across me (a'lge not; nā' who; -l [see § 31]; dem future; -t he [trans. subj.]; în- nomen actoris (see p. 335); l!ī-q!an- over; axlg to attain)

semgal bā'osenut ôp dze dza'gi I am much afraid lest I may die (semgal much; bā'os afraid; -n indicative; -u I; ôp lest; dze conditional; dzag to die)

 $m \in \partial' y i g \cdot \hat{i} n$ you might hit me! (m thou; ∂y to hit; -i me; $-g \cdot \hat{i} n$ perhaps)

ada demt hë'odzīge na-xā'igesge demt gun-a'ksgigao; mī-qô'ge dem g'a'bu, dzeda la ts!ī'onī, da . . . then my master may send me, he may order me to get water; I shall take a large basket, when I come in, then . . . (hë'odz to send; ·ge [see § 24]; na- possessive prefix [see § 55]; xā'o slave; na-xā'i my master; gesge preposition [see § 28]; gun- to order, to cause; aksg to get water; -ga'o absence [§ 20]; wī- great; qôg basket; g'ab to dip up; dzedu if; ts!ī'on to enter; da then)

(c) In conditional clauses.

ada dze la lu-ya'ltgi then, if I return —

(d) The possessive suffix of the first person has the form $-\bar{\imath}$ in address.

tyū'otgi my child! nä'i my mother! (said by girl) negwā'odī my father! (e) The possessive suffix of the first person has the form $-\bar{\imath}$ in subjunctive and negative sentences, in which it designates potentiality of existence.

ēd'p!exdī a n dze la txal-wā'sde lyū'olyūdao I might remember when I met my child (ēd'p!ex to remember; a at; n I; dze conditional; la past; txal- against; wāo to meet; lyūoly child) a'lye dī wā'lbi I have no house (a'lye not; di on my part; wālb house)

§ 52. Remarks on the Subjective Pronouns

- (a) The prefixed personal pronouns n-, m-, and t- may be considered true pronominal forms. The first person plural dep is, however, by origin, a plural of much wider application. It is used frequently to express the plural of demonstrative pronouns; for instance, $dep\ gwa'i$ those. It seems, therefore, that its use as a first person plural may be secondary.
- (b) The second person plural contains the objective element -sem, which remains separable from the transitive second person m. Particularly the temporal elements wîl, dem, la are placed between m- and -sem.

ada me dem sem wulā'i la gwā'ntgut then you will know that I have touched it (ada then; me- 2d pers. subj.; dem future; -sem 2d pers. plural; wulā'i to know [singular obj.]; la past; gwantg to touch; -u I; -t it)

(c) The third person is placed following the temporal particles, while all the other persons precede them, except the -sem of the second person plural (see under b).

First person singular: $n dem s\bar{u} me\bar{a}'ulget$ I shall shake the rope $(n \text{ I}; dem \text{ future}; s\bar{u} \text{ to swing}; me\bar{a}'ulg \text{ rope})$

First person singular: n-dem na'ksgen I shall marry thee

First person plural: $dep \ dem \ awul-ma'gan \ we \ will stand by you (dep we; dem future; awul- by the side of; mag to place; -n thee)$

Second person: $ada \ me \ dem \ kse-de-b\bar{a}'^o tga^o$ then you will run out with her (kse- out; de- with; $b\bar{a}^o$ to run; -t her; $-ga^o$ absence)

Third person: ada demt q!â'pegan leksâ'gat then he will close the doorway (q!â'pegan to close, fill up; leksâ'g doorway)

First person: a'lge n la dī-k'.'înā'm del hanā'og I have not given it to the woman (a'lge not; n I; la past; dī on my part; k'.'înā'm to give; del [see §§ 28, 31]; hanā'og woman)

First person: ada ne wul $n\bar{\imath}^o$ ne- $w\bar{a}'lpsge$ $y.'\bar{u}'^ota$ then I saw the house of the man (ada then; ne I; wul being; $n\bar{\imath}^o$ to see; ne- possessive prefix [see § 55]; $w\bar{a}lb$ house; -sge [see § 24]; $y.'\bar{u}^ot$ man)

Third person: ada wult ô'yîtgao adat wul ôyîtgao and then he hit him

(d) A comparison between the use of the connectives [see § 24] and the personal pronouns shows a strict correspondence between these forms. We have seen that in the indicative, in forms with the third person object, the subjective forms are not used, but that the objective forms are used instead. This corresponds to the peculiar identity of the objective forms of the subjunctive connective (B 1, § 24) and of the indicative of the subjective connective of the transitive verb (A 2, § 24). It seems justifiable, therefore, to state that, in transitive sentences with nominal subject and object, the indicative takes the objective forms in the same way as in sentences of the same kind, in which pronominal subjects and objects only occur.

§ 53. The Personal Pronoun in the Nass Dialect

As stated before, the usage in the two dialects is very nearly the same, and a number of examples may be given here to illustrate the forms of the Nass dialect.

Use of the subjective (see § 49, a):

(a) Subjunctive forms.

ām me dem wô'ôl qal-ts'a'p good (if) you call the people 206.13 (ām good; wô'ô to call; qal-ts'a'p town)

La ām me na'k sguēe good (if) you marry me 158.2

ām dep d'îsd'ë'sı qa-dz'a'gam good (if) we strike our noses 103.8 (ām good; d'ēs to strike; qa- plural; dz'ag nose; -em our)

at gwa'lkudet for their drying them 169.7 (a preposition; t- 3d per. subj.; gwalku to dry)

nîg'în hwîlā'x't I did not know it (nîg'i not [takes the subjunctive])

- (b) I have not found any examples of indicative and emphatic forms
- (c) $\{\text{see § 49, } b, c\}$.
- (d) The verb dē-ya to say so (see § 49, d) has the following forms: nē-ya'anē I say so

dep hë'idenom we say so

mē-ya'an you (singular) said so 171.5

mesem hē'idē you say so

dē-ya he says so 65.5

Use of the objective:

Most of the objective pronouns of the Nass dialect are identical with those of Tsimshian. The only exceptions are the first person singular, which in the Nass dialect is always $-\bar{e}_E$, and the third person plural, which is -det.

Examples of the third person plural are the following:

sem-a-barba'g'askudetg'ê they were much troubled 195.14 alayūwā'tdet they made noise 173.14

tqal-lu'k'det at dept wi-sqane'st they reached (against at) the foot of the mountain 126.6

hux hē-yukt ôx det they began to throw again 139.15 hwî'lpdet their house 102.3

The objective pronoun is used in the same way as in the Tsimshian dialect.

(a) Subject of the intransitive verb (see § 50, a).

nî'g·ide halai'der I am not a shaman 128.9 (nîg·i not; de on my part; halai't shaman)

dem lë'ts.can you will count 129.9 (dem future; lets.c to count) hagun-ië'êt he went in the direction (toward it) 129.14

dem dē-ba'gam we, on our part, shall try 114.16 (bag to try) men-lô'ônōm we go up 42.8

g-îlô dze hux hwî'lsem do not do so also 98.4 (g-ilô' do not; dze conditional; hux also, again; hwîl to do; -sem ye)

La sem-dex-g·îg·a'tdet they had become very strong 98.13 (La past; sem very; dex-strong; g·at person; -det they)

- (b) Object of the transitive verb (see p. 389).
- (c) Subject of transitive verb, indicative with third person object.

 dem lep-hwa'yîml dem nā'em we ourselves will find our bait 56.6
- (d) Periphrastic conjugation.

dem na'kskuē nē'en I shall marry thee 203.9

Lu lîksg a't'enen nēe thou hast taken notice of me 158.1

sakusta'qsdēt nē'en qans nē'e they have deserted thee and me 157.10

dem hwā'lēe nē'en I shall carry thee 74.1

(e) Possessive pronoun.

an-qalā'gaēe my playground 79.1

ts!ā'bē my people 192.2

negwâ'ôden thy father 133.2

Lgō'uLgun thy child 205.5

nak:st his wife 133.1

La dem g·ē'ibem what was to have been our food 122.9

qa-ts'em-ā'qsem your mouths 84.10

qa-ts'em-a'qdet their mouths 84.13

§ 54. Independent Personal Pronoun

The independent personal pronoun, which in its subjective form has also predicative character, is formed from the following stems:

Nass dialect: Subjective nē-; objective la-.

Tsimshian dialect: Subjective n/er-; objective k/a-.

		Nass dialect.	Tsimshian dialect.		Nass dialect.	Trimshian dialect
ι		nez	n!B'riu	me	la'e	a k!d'i
we.		nō2m	n!E'rEm	us	lá' z m	a k! Am
thou .		në' En	n!E'rEn	thee .	ld'En	a k!wan
ye		në'sEm	n!E'rEsEm	you	ld'sEm	a k!wasEm
he		net	h :	him	la'ót	`\ -
hov		(ne'det	niot	them .	lá'ódzi	a nīot
uey .	•	∫në'det d z p në'det		, I		

Examples:

nē' E t'an mukt I am the one who caught it 44.8

 $n\bar{e}'$ En f an d E $d\hat{o}'$ qt thou art the one who took it 157.4

nlk: 'ē lep-nē'l xa'eg'ê then he himself the slave 40.8

k: !ax-nē'sEm only ye 83.6

txanë'tkust dem hwîls negwâ'ôden lâ'ôe all that thy father will do to me 133.2(txanë'tku all; dem future; hwîl to do; -s connective; negwâ'ot father; -n thy)

dem d'ep-k·s-qûq nēē'st lûn I shall (go) down first to you 81.4 (dem future; d'ep- down; k·s- extreme; qûq first; nēe I; -st emphatic [see § 20]; lûen to thee)

lō-mē^oth*L g'at lâ'ôt inside it was full of people in it 120.3 (lō- in; mēth* full; -L connective; g'at people)

gôp dē-lá'sem go ahead, to you also! 83.10

dem na'kskuē nēen I shall marry thee 203.9

In place of the oblique form, the subjective with the preposition as (containing the connective -s [see § 23.7]) is also found, particularly for the third person.

hwîl hwî'ls dep-bē'ebē as nē'en quns nē'e thus did my uncles to thee and to me 157.9 (hwîl being; hwîl to do; -s connective; dep plural [see § 52, a]; bēep uncle; -ē my; qan and; -s connective) a'lg'îxt . . . as nē'tg'ê she spoke to him 157.1

Tsimshian:

n! Eriu demt în-na'ksga lgū'olgent I am the one who will marry thy child (dem future; t- he; în- nomen actoris; naksg to marry; lgū'olg child; -en thy)

n!E'rent în-ô'yît thou art the one who hit him

y!agai-nī'odesen g'ap-k!a-wī-naxnô'gan da k!â'i however, he (i. e., you) indeed, you are really more greatly supernatural than I (y!agai-however; nīod he [here with the meaning YoU]; -sen indeed; g'ap-really; k!a-exceedingly, more; wī-greatly; naxnô'g supernatural; -n thou; da preposition [see § 28]; k!â'i me) lig-i-gâ'o dem k!unâ'yîn da k!â'i, dem k'!înā'mu da k!wan whatever you will ask of me, (that) I shall give you (lîgi-any [see § 8, no. 20]; gâo something; dem future; k!unō' to request; -n thou; da preposition; k'!înā'm to give; -u I) da-ya'get negwā'ot ges nī'ot thus said his father to him

§ 55. Possession

In the Tsimshian dialect three forms of possession may be distinguished, while the Nass dialect has only two. In the former dialect, separable possession is always introduced by the prefix nA, which is absent in the Nass dialect. Both dialects distinguish possession of inanimate and of animate objects.

1. Nass dialect:

(a) All possession of inanimate objects is expressed by the suffix expressing the possessive pronoun (see § 53, e), or, when the possessive is expressed by a noun, by the addition of the connective (see § 23).

 $hw\hat{\imath}'lb\bar{e}_E$ my house $haw\hat{\imath}'ls$ $L\hat{o}g\hat{o}bola'$ the arrow of $L\hat{o}g\hat{o}bola'$ 20.3 $a'k's\bar{e}_E$ my water 18.7 $ts'\bar{e}l\bar{e}'mL$ $m\bar{a}'lg'\hat{e}$ food of the canoe 107.6

(b) All possession of animate objects is expressed by the same suffixes, but the noun is given the passive suffixes -k, -tk, -s (discussed in § 17). Exceptions to this rule are terms of relationship in the singular, which take simply the possessive suffixes, like nouns expressing inanimate objects. The occurrence of the endings -k and -tk in the plurals of terms of relationship (see § 44) may be due to the treatment of these like other nouns designating animate objects.

 $g \cdot ib\bar{o}'tk^{u}t$ his wolf ($g \cdot ib\bar{o}'$ wolf; -tk passive suffix; -t his) $huxd\bar{a}'g \cdot \hat{n}tk^{u}t$ his grandchildren 19.10

2. Tsimshian dialect?

- (a) All inseparable possession, including nouns designating parts of the body, locations referring to self, and terms of relationship, are expressed by possessive suffixes, and, when the possessive is expressed by a noun, by the connectives (see § 27).
 - (a) Inseparable possession relating to parts of the body:

 $b_A n$ belly ts/ag nose

ba'nu my belly ts!a'gen thy nose

(\$\beta\$) Inseparable possession relating to space relations:

 $aw\bar{a}'^o$ proximity $aw\bar{a}'^o t$ near him (his proximity) $lax'\hat{o}'$ the place over $lax'\hat{o}'yu$ the place over me $txal\bar{a}'n$ the place behind $txal\bar{a}'nt$ the place behind him

(γ) Inseparable possession, expressing terms of relationship, in singular:

nEgral a' od father $lEmkd\bar{\imath}'$ sister

negwā'odu my father lemkdī'yu my sister

To this group belong also—

 $mi\bar{a}'n$ master $nes\bar{i}'^op'ensg$ friend

miā'nu my master
nesī'op!ensgen thy friend

(b) Separable possession of inanimate objects is expressed by the prefix n_{E} and the possessive suffix (viz., the connective suffix).

wālb house lab stone

ne-wā'lbu my house ne-ld'obu my stone

ne-e'rlagu my seal

(c) Separable possession of animate objects is expressed by the prefix n_E , the passive suffix, and the possessive (viz., connective) suffix.

E'rla seal
hā°s dog
ôl bear
hân salmon
ske herring
ap bee
mElī'°k: steelhead salmon

ne-hā'osgu my dog ne-ô'ltgu my bear ne-hâ'ntgen thy salmon ne-ske'tgu my herring ne-a'psu my bee ne-melī'oksu my steelhead

ts!ap tribe

salmon

n-ts.'a'psu people of my village (but n-ts.'a'bu my village)

wālb house

 $nE-w\bar{a}'lpsu$ people of my house (but $nE-w\bar{a}'lbu$ my house)

§ 56. Demonstrative Pronouns

I have not succeeded in analyzing satisfactorily the forms of the demonstrative pronoun. It has been stated before (§ 20) that presence and absence are expressed by the suffixes -st (-t) and $-g \cdot \hat{e}$ (Tsimshian -t and -ga). Besides these, we find independent demonstrative pronouns and peculiar demonstrative suffixes. In the Nass dialect there are two independent demonstratives: $g\bar{o}n$ This, $g\bar{o}s$ That.

gōn:

lep-nē'e qane-hwîla gōn I am always doing this myself 52.3 (lep-self; nēe I; qane-hwîla always)

nlk''ē tgōnl sa-gâ'ôth't then she resolved this 7.5

ge-g'îpg'a'psl hwîl daxdô'xt gōn high piles these 42.10

tgōnl hēt: this he said 99.12

gō8:

sem-lîk·s-g·a'dem qa-gâ't dep gō'stg·ê very different were the minds of those 114.12 (sem- very; lîk·s- separate; -g·at person; -em attributive connective; qa- plural; gât mind; dep- plural [§ 52, a]) sem-gō'usk*L qē'nex as gō'stg·ê really he reached a trail there 126.7 (sem- very; gux to hit; -sk* intransitive [17.2]; qē'nex trail) mēnL ts'enLî'k· gō'stg·ê that was the master of the squirrels 212.5 (mēn master; -L possessive connective; ts'enLîk· squirrel) wī-sem-k·!ā-ama māl tgō'stg·ê that was a large exceedingly good canoe 107.5 (wî- large; sem- very; k·!ā- exceedingly; am, good; -a connective [§ 22]; māl canoe)

In Tsimshian the demonstratives seem to be more numerous. There are two independent forms: $qw\bar{q}$ This, qwa^{o} That.

gwī:

dâ° da gwī°t they are here
adat pliā'redet Waxayā'°q dep gwī'ot then Waxayā'°q told them
lyu-sga-na'k da gwī' a little after this (sga-across; nak long)
qwa°:

nin!ī' ksdemâ's gal-ts!ɛpts!a'bɛ gwaº those are the nine towns (nin!ī' this; ksdemâ's nine; gal-ts!a'p town)
G-îlksats!ā'ontk wāo xāo gwaº this slave's name was G.
k!a-sgô'ksem gwao we will stop here for a while adat anâ'xdɛ dɛp gwa'o then these agreed

Derived from gwao is gwa'sgao, which always refers to absent objects:

ada al sger tyu-dza'yum a'uta gesga gwa'sgao but then the little dead porcupine lay there (ada then; al but; tgu-little; dzag dead; a'uta porcupine; gesga at [see § 28]) a'lge hë'otget wā'lbesge gwa'sgagao no house stood there

It would seem that gwa^{o} refers to locations near by, since it is never used with the ending -ga; while gwa'sga designates the distance, and is always used with the corresponding connectives.

Derived from gwa is also gwai, which seems to point to the part of the sentence that follows immediately; while gwao is almost always in terminal position.

nin.'ī' wîlwā'lb gwai na-tgi-dā'ul those were the houses that had come down

negwā'ode lguâ'mlge gwa'it Ha'ts!ena'set the father of the boy was that Ha'ts!ena'set

Possibly these two demonstratives are related to gu, which appears often with the function of a relative pronoun, but seems to be a demonstrative of another class. These appear to be made up of the demonstratives d and g, which have been treated in § 20, and the two vowels $-\bar{\imath}$ and $-\bar{u}$. I have not succeeded, however, in gaining a clear understanding of these forms. I have found the series

of which I shall give examples:

-7:

 $tt\bar{u}'^{o}s_{E}n\bar{\imath}$ this one hit thee

 $n\bar{\imath}n.'\bar{\imath}'$ $bi\bar{a}'lste$ gwa^o $se-w\bar{a}'temi$ $y\bar{e}'^olda^o$ this is the star that we call $y\bar{e}'^ol$

 $k^{u}d\bar{u}'^{o}n_{Em}\bar{\imath}$ those around us

gal- $ts!a'be\ t'.\bar{t}'^oben\bar{\iota}\ la\ gu\ gwa^o$ this is the town of the sea-lions ada $h\bar{e}'lde\ w\bar{a}'ldi\ a\ gwa^o$ much did this one here

wī-sganē'oste hë'otgedī a st.'ū'op!elt a large mountain stands here behind the house

-ū

 $n_E - b\bar{a}'^o du \ han\bar{a}'^o g$ this woman has been running $n_E - b\bar{a}'^o du \ aw\bar{a}'n$ the one near thee has been running

-du

 $nin!\bar{i}'$ gal-t*! epts! a'be du gwa° those are the towns du $n\bar{a}$ ° \bar{l} dem ded \bar{u}' ° l*ede \bar{l} . . . who will live then? ZE 792° $g\hat{a}'$ ° du gan $l\bar{u}'$ ° ntin you were angry for something of the kind.

-สน

 $g\bar{u}$ na-di-g-ig-i'nexgA ne-ga- $ni\bar{a}'$ otgem those were the ones prayed to by our grandfathers

da'-yaga sem'â'g'itgao guge g'a'mgem dzī'usdegao thus said the chief, that sun

tne'riut în-k:'lîk:'lînā'm ya'ts!esge da k!wan, gu lā'owula wutwa'yîn I am the one who gave you the animals that you always found (t he; ne'riu I; în nomen actoris; k:'lînā'm to give; ya'ts!esg animals; da to; k!wan you [dative]; lā'wula always; wā to find)

Among the demonstratives may also be enumerated the element n-, which, in the Nass dialect, forms the common conjunction n - k' \bar{e} , and

which also may be contained in the stem $n\bar{e}$ - (Tsimshian n!er-) of the independent pronouns. In Tsimshian it is found in the very frequent demonstrative $nin!\bar{i}'$ That one.

Numerals (§§ 57, 58)

§ 57. Cardinal Numbers

The Tsimshian dialects use various sets of numerals for various classes of objects. In Tsimshian one of these classes is used for simple counting. The others designate flat, round, long objects; human beings; canoes; measures. In the Nass dialect round and long objects are counted by the same set of numerals.

These sets of numerals in the two dialects are as follows:

	I. Abstra	II. Flat	t objects.	III. Round objects.		
	Nass.	Tsimshian.	Nass.	Tsimshian.	Naus.	Tsimshian
1	k-'äku	k·!a•k	- I	= I	k-'ê'el	k!E'rEl
2	t'Epxå't	t!Epxå'd	- I	1 =	k·'ē'lb z l	gù'op!El
3	golå'nt	gwant	= I	- I	gul'â'l	k!ulē'
4	txālpx	txālpx	- I	= I	= I	- I
5	kustēne ,	kustõns	- I	1 —	- I	- I
6	q'â'Elt	q!aolt	== I	⇒· I	- I	- I
7	t'Epx&'Elt	t!Epx&'olt	= I	- I	- I	- I
8	qandA'Elt	qlanda'olt "	yuxdā'Elt	yukda'lt	= II	- II
9	kust EmA'c	kstemå's	- I	I	I	- I
0	k-'ap	k·!ap	- I	- 1	x·pē'zl	kpřel
1	k·'ap di k·'äk•	k lap di g a•k	→ I	I	x·pē'el di k·'ē'el	-
2¦	k 'ap di t' Epxā't	k-'ap di t!Epxā'd	- I	~ I	x·pē'El di k·'ē'lbEl	
0	k·'ē'lbEl wul k·'ap	k·edē′•l	k·!iyē'tku		- I	l
o	gula wul k 'ap	1	- I		- I	1

	IV. Long objects.		V. Huma	n beings.	VI. Canoes.		
	Nass.	Tsimshian.	Nass.	Tsimshian.	Nass.	Tsimshian.	
1	=III	q!a'wutsxan	ky'Al	k!Al	gamä'et	q!amā'et	
2	III	qâ′opsxan	bagadê'l	t!Epxadő'l	galbä'Eltkes	galbā'oltk	
3	-111	ga'ltsgan	gulâ'n	gul á ′n	gulā/altkus	galtsga'ntk	
4	-III	txa'opsxan	txalpxd&'l	txalpxdå'l	txálpxkus	txålpxsk	
5	:=III	ktū'onsxan	kust Enså'l	kstenså'l	kustēnskus	ksto'ensk	
6	→ III	q!å'ltsxan	q'Adeldâ'l	q!ald&'l	q!AEltkus	q!Altk	
7	 :111	t!epxâ'ltsxan	t!Epxadedâ'l	t!Epxald&'l	t!Epx&'Eltkus	t!Epx&'ltk	
8	III	yukłaotsxa'n	yuxdaeld&'l	yukłead & 'l	yuxdâ'Eltkus	yukdā'ltk	
9	-111	kstemå'tsxan	kustemasā'l	kstens&'l kstemas&'l	kustemå'skus	kstrmå′sk	
10	-111	kpē'otsxan	x·p&l	kp&l	k·'apkus	k 'apsk	
11	⇒III		x pål di k 'ål		k 'apkus di qa- mä'Et		
12	=III		x·påldi bagadê'l		k 'apkus di galbä'- Eltkus		
20	-111		-I	k·edå′ol	k·'iyê'tkva		
30	=III		=I	gulå'lEg-itk	1		

		VIII. Bundles ten skins.	
1	Nass.	Tsimshian.	Nass.
1	(k·'ilgā'x·)=III	k!El'ô'n	gusk·'ewa'
2	(k·'ībElga'x·)=III	gū′op!Eľ'ð'n	g-tlpwa'
3	gulalaô'n	k!ul'ô'n	
4	txalpxalô'n	txalpxl'ô'n	
5	kwstěnszlô'n	kstönsel'ô'n, ksten'ô'n	
6	q'åzldzlô'n	q!åidEl'ô'n	
7	t'EpxåEldElô'n	t!Epx&oldEl'ô'n	
8	yuşdāaldElô'n	yukdå•ldel'ô'n, yukdeldel'ô'n	
9	kestemåselő'n	kstemåsel'ô'n	
10	x-paō'ndē	kpel'ô'n	\

This system will appear clearer when the numerals are arranged according to their stems.

Tsimshian

Nass

	Nass	Tsimshian
One:	$k^{\cdot,\ddot{a}(k^u)}$	k : $'ar{a}^o k$
	$k \cdot ! \bar{e}_{E} l$	k.'E' r E l
	qamä(Et)	$q/am\bar{a}$, which may be the stem
		also for q!a'wutsxan
Two:	t' E $pxar{a}'(t)$	t .'E p x $ar{a}'(^od)$
	$k \cdot ! \bar{e}' l b_E l$	$gar{u}'^{m{o}} u!$ E l
		$q\hat{a}^{o}p$, which seems to be the
		\cdot stem for $galbar{a}'^oltk$
	$bagad(\hat{e}l)$	•
Three:	$g\dot{ol}(ar{a}'nt)$	gul- in gwant, gulâ'n
		$k!ul\bar{e}'$ It seems doubtful if
		this is different from the
		preceding one
		$oldsymbol{galt}$
Four:	$txar{a}lpx$	t r $ar{a}lpx$
Five:	k:ustēns	k u stōns
Six:		$g.'\hat{a}^ol$
Seven:	t'E pxa	t.'epxa the same as two
Eight:	qan	q.'an
	yu x	yuk
Nine:	$k^{m{u}}st$ E $mm{d}'m{c}$	kstemå's (containing mås
		thumb?)
Ten:		k·! ap
•	$x \cdot p \bar{\imath} \circ l$	$kp\bar{v}^{0}l$ probably related to the preceding one

It will be seen that a multiplicity of stems belong to the first three numerals, eight, ten, and probably twenty. Not all these distinct stems are entirely independent, but evidently in part modifications of

the same remote root. It would seem that the numerals one, two, three, ten, for the class of round objects, had a suffix l, which has brought about modifications of the stems to which it has been attached. It seems plausible, therefore, that $k \cdot l \bar{a}^o k$ and k / e' rel, gwant and $k / u l \bar{e}$, $k \cdot l a p$ and $k p \bar{e}^o l$, are derived each pair from one root.

In some of the other classes the suffixes are obvious, although their meaning is not always clear. The suffix -sxan, in the class for long objects in Tsimshian, may well be a contraction of the numeral with sgan stick. The class designating human beings contains the endings -all, -dall, which in the numeral three (guld'n) has been changed to -all by dissimilation. The class expressing measures contains the element $-\hat{o}n$ hand.

In the numerals the process of contraction may be observed with great clearness. Examples are the weakened forms kstensd'l five persons, and that for nine persons, which is probably derived from the same stem, kstemasd'l. Here belong also the forms yukleadd'l, which stands for yukdeldd'l; k/el'b'n, for k'e'rel'bn; k''ilga'x', for $k''\bar{e}el\ g\bar{a}x'$ ONE FATHOM.

§ 58. Ordinal Numbers, Numeral Adverbs, and Distributive Numbers

Ordinal numbers are not found, except the words $ks-q\hat{a}'^o x$ and $ks-dz\hat{o}' x$ THE FIRST, and $ani\bar{a}'$ THE NEXT, which are not, strictly speaking, numerals.

Numeral adverbs agree in form with the numerals used for counting round objects.

nlk.'ēt lē-la'qskut la gulā'alt then she washed him in it three times 197.11 (-t she; lē- in; laqsku to wash; -t him)

Tsimshian:

| txā'lpxa haha'k!uxt four times it clapped together

Distributive numbers are formed with the prefix meLa- (Tsimshian meLe-), which has been recorded in § 10, no. 87. Besides this, reduplicated forms are found.

Tsimshian:

txā'lpxade wul k'.'îpk'.'a'pl sa al mela-k'.'e'reldel g'amk forty days to each month ZE 792.21 (sa day; g'amk month)

Syntactic Use of the Verb (§§ 59-65)

§ 59. Use of Subjunctive after Temporal Particles

The method of forming the modes has been discussed before, but it remains to add some remarks on their use. By far the most common form is the subjunctive. All historical prose, every sentence that does not express the speaker's own immediate experience, is expressed in this mode. For this reason almost all introductory conjunctions are followed by the subjunctive mode. Possibly this mode can best be compared with our participles in so far as it often has a somewhat nominal character. This is true particularly of the verb when introduced by the temporal particles $hwil, La, L\bar{a}, dem$ (Tsimshian: $wul, la, l\bar{a}, dem$). The following examples illustrate their use:

1. **hirel** seems to indicate primarily an action or state, then the place where an action takes place. It occurs commonly after verbs like to know, to hear, to see, to feel, to come, to go, and other verbs of motion, to find, to tell, and after many adjectives when treated as verbs. After the preposition a (see § 67) it generally expresses causal relations.

After hwîlā'x to know:

hwîlā'yît hwîla'nuksem ēlxt he knew the condition of being cooked of his seal 183.13 (a'nuks done; -em attributive connective; ēlx seal)

at hwîlā'x' L hwîl had'a'xk" L hwî'ltg'ê he knew the being bad his doing 37.6 (had'a'xk" bad; hwîl to do)

(Compare with this nîg:it hwîlā'x:s Ts'ak: hē'ty:ê Ts'ak: did not know what he said 127.7)

After baq to feel:

baqı hwîl sqa-d'āı dâ'sgum ēlx 183.10 she felt the piece of seal being across (sqa-across; d'ā to sit; dâsku slice; ēlx seal)
nık''ē lat bagı dem hwîl alē'skut then he felt himself getting weak

After nama' to HEAR:

naxna' L hwîl a'lg îxL qāq she heard that the raven spoke 151.11 t naxna' L hwîl hahä't t'an mokuL iu'ns he heard that some one was speaking who caught leaves 15.11 (hēt to say; moku to catch with net; ia'ns leaves)

(Compare with this t naxna' L $h\bar{e}L$ $w\bar{\imath}$ - $d'\bar{e}'s\varepsilon t$ he heard what the old man said 22.6)

§ 59

After $g \cdot a'a$ to see:

t g'a'aı hwîl göksı mele't he saw a salmon jumping 52.15

t g'a'aı hwîl ā'lg'alı g'at wī-x'pā'ot he saw a man examining the large jaw 52.6

t g'a'al lîlî'ng'it hwîl la ā'd'îk'sk"l ilä'e the slaves saw the blood having come out 133.15

After $\bar{a}'\bar{d}'\hat{\imath}k\cdot sk^u$ to come:

ā'd'îk'skul hwîl mesā'x' it came to be daylight 160.7 ā'd'îk'skul hwîl sīg'a'tkudet it came that they cried 104.11 ā'd'îk'skul hwîl g'andā'ul lax-ha' the sky came to be clear 78.12

After iä'ê to go:

hagun-iä'êt g'at at hwîl ts'elem-nô'ôt the man went to the hole being there 201.11

After $q\hat{a}'\hat{o}$ to go to:

 $nLk^{...}\bar{e}t \ q\hat{a}'\hat{o}L \ hw\hat{i}l \ d'\bar{a}t$ she went to where he was sitting 209.10 $k''\bar{e}t \ q\hat{a}'\hat{o}L \ hw\hat{i}l \ sg'it$ he goes to where he lies 218.4

After hwa to find:

 $n\hat{i}g\cdot\hat{i}t$ hwat hwil $g\cdot\hat{a}k\cdot sL$ $q\bar{e}'ttg\cdot\hat{e}$ he did not find his string of fish lying in the water 117.8 ($n\hat{i}g\cdot\hat{i}$ not; $g\cdot\hat{a}k\cdot s$ to be in water; $q\bar{e}t$ a string of fish)

After mal to tell:

t ma' Ldet hwîl wî' thu detg'ê they told him where they got it from 42.8 (wîthu to come from)

t māls G·îx·sats'ā'ntx·L hwîl lē-hō'ksk·L Lyō'ulk·L g·a'tg·ê 90.15 G·îx·sats'ā'ntx· told where the child of the man was on (lē- on; hōksk·L to be with something; Lyō'ulk·L child; g·at man)

After adjectives used as verbs, and after numerals:

nak^uL hwîl iä't long he went 146.11 (long was his going) nak^uL hwîl Lô'ôdet long they walked 126.6

wī-t'ē'sı hwîl q:î'tkutq:ê he swelled up much 90.12

wi-t'ē'sı hwîl ayawā'th^ut he cried much 123.4

hux k'èll hwî'l hwî'ls $Tx\ddot{a}'msem$ T. did one thing more 44.13

q'ayîm-dē'lphut ar hwîl nanû'ûr lax-ha' he was quite near to where the hole in the sky was

Tsimshian:

adat t/el-qâ'oti wul wa't*ega sqā'otget he thought about it that the darkness continued ZE 784.3 (t'el-qā'oti to think; wa't*eg to continue; sqāotg darkness)

adat n!axnū'o wul la g'îk ha'ts! Eksem gô'it! Ekst then he heard him come again (n!axnū'o to hear; g'îk again; ha'ts! Eksem once more; gô'it! Eks to come)

adat n!axnū'odet Waxayā'ok wul wī-sā'ldzēge ts!a-wā'lbēt then Waxayā'ok heard the people in the house groan much (wī-greatly; sāldz to groan; ts!a- inside; wālb house)

ada sa-nī'odze ya'ts!esgede wul kse-gwā'ontge wī-gô'ep!a then the animals saw the great light rising ZE 785.6 (sa- suddenly; nīodz to see, discover; ya'ts!esg animal; kse- out; gwāontg to touch; kse-gwā'ontg to rise; wī- great; gô'ep!a light)

adat ma'lesge wula ha'usge n-ts/a'ptgao then he told what his tribe said ZE 786.8 (mal to tell; ha'u to say; ts/ap tribe)

adat pliā'ret ne-ts!a'pt gesga wula dza'ksga wai'k tga they told the tribe about their brother being dead (pliā'r to tell; ts!ap tribe; dzak dead; waik brother)

at $k'./\bar{\imath}'$ tsxan wul ksE-gwā' ontgE g'a' mgEt and he showed the moon that rose ZE 791.17 ($k'./\bar{\imath}'$ tsxan to show; g'amg sun, moon)

ām dep dem iā'oka unda ha'u a'uta good we follow what porcupine says ZE 792.22 (ām good; dep we; dem future; iā'ok to follow; ha'u to say; a'uta porcupine)

The use of wul is not quite so regular in Tsimshian as in the Nass dialect. We find, for instance,

 $t \; n! axn\bar{u}'^{o} \; ha'us \; Waxay\bar{a}'^{o}k \; \text{he heard what Waxayā'^{o}k said}$ $ada \; g \cdot \hat{k} \; k! \, e' r E l d E \; wul \; h \hat{o} l t g a^{o} \; \text{and one more being full}$

On the other hand, wul is used very commonly with the introductory conjunctions ada, da. In fact, in most prose the greater number of sentences begin with this combination:

ada wul k'!?'pxa-lemâ'otget then every one was saved ada wulat yā'ulemxs Waxayā'okgao then he gave advice to W. ada wul ts!īont then he entered

The two forms wul and wula are apparently used without much discrimination. Both are generally admissible, and I have not succeeded so far in discovering any difference in their meaning.

2. La expresses a past state (Tsimshian: la).

sem-gwä'êl hwî'lt al gwasl gwîs-halai'tg'ê he was very poor on having lost his dancing-blanket 38.14 (sem-very; gwäê poor; gwas to lose; gwîs- blanket; halai't ceremonial dance)

k·si-Lô'ôdet al la laxlä'xkudet they went out having finished eating 40.9

t g'a'al wunä'x la ax-g'ë'betg'ê he saw the food which he had not eaten 41.4 (wunä'x food; ax- not; g'ēp to eat something)

a'lg îxs Lôgôbolā' al lat hwîlā'x l hwîl dz'alt Lôgôbolā' spoke when he knew that he had lost 20.10 (a'lg îx to speak; hwîlā'x to know; dz'al to lose)

ba'sîxk"det al la xsdāt they divided upon his having won 21.1 la hux yu'ksa, nlk'ë . . . when it was evening again 141.4 la lē'sk"t lē-ia'tsl axt k'ō'uk"t al lax-an-la'k", after the porcupine had struck the fire with its tail 77.7

adat sem-lu-sanā'lgetga a lat nī'o dudā'u leplô'op then he was much surprised at it when he saw the ice (on the) stones (semvery; lu- in; sanā'lg surprised; nīo to see; dā'u ice; lô'op stone) lu-ā'm gâ'ots nâ'ot gesge lat nī'ostgao his mother was glad when she saw him (lu- in; ām good; gâod mind; nâo mother; nīo to see) nin!ī' gan-haldem-g'ô'lt gesge la g'îk ganlā'ok therefore they arose when it was morning again (nin!ī' that it is; gan-reason; haldem-up; g'ôl to run [plural]; gesge at; g'îk again; ganlā'ok morning) adat g'î'lksa lat wul'am-suva'nde ba'osget then he felt when the wind had driven him ashore (g'êlks to feel; únul'am-landward; suwa'n to blow; bāosg wind)

la g'îk k! E'rEldE la tgi-iā'o sat when again one day went down (k! E'rel one; tgi- down; iā'o to go; sa day)

dzeda' la wgwa'tksen if you feel cold

dze la gwā'nksen you may have been cooked

ada la qa'odisge ha'utgao when he had finished speaking

ada lat sa-gā'lemga u'nkseget when they had taken off the ashes

3. Lā while (Tsimshian: lā).

nlk·'ēt ma' Ldēty·ê Lā metkuL qal-ts'a'p then they told him that the town was full 183.14

La sem-bag·ait-d'ā' L Lôqs, nLk·'ē . . . when really in the middle was the sun, then . . . 103.15

nîg:î hux hwîlt La qû'ôdet they did not do it again when they finished 179.10

Tsimshian:

n!īnī't wul wulā'i lāot wula sī'op!ende na'kstguo that was how she knew that her husband continued to love her (wulā'i to know; sī'op!en to love; naks husband)

ada lā'o wula hë'otge wul-qâ'osgedet then continued to stand the wise ones ZE 792.20 (hëotg to stand; wul-qâ'osg wise)

ada sagait-unû'gasyetya a tāo dem wula iāo gʻa'mgem dzî'usdet then they agreed together that the sun should continue to go ZE 791.18 (sagait-together; anû'gasg to agree; iāo to go; gʻamg moon, sun; dzī'us daylight)

4. dEm future (Tsimshian: dEm).

xpets!a'xl lig''ē'enskug'ê al dem dē-hwîlt the grizzly was afraid to do it also 56.14 (xpets'a'x afraid; lig''ē'ensku grizzly bear)

hēl qû'ôdel ra'el dem t'uks-t'ē'ses Ts!ak: the slave thought he would push out Ts'ak: 135.4 (hē to say; qû'ôd heart; xa'e slave; t'uks- out of; t'ēs to push)

nîg'i dem hux a'd'îk'sguēg'ê I may not come again 165.14 dzaL am-hā'ts' dem g'ē'îptg'ê the stump ate all he was going to eat

dem k.'ē men-iē'en you shall go up 91.2

55.12

ada dem k!ul-man-gô'sen then you will jump up and about ZE 790.15 (k!ul- about; man- up; gôs to jump)

gwa'i dem ha'un this will you say ZE 790.15

da me dem $kse-l\hat{o}'^{o}l \ s\bar{\imath}'^{o}bet$ then shove out the bone! (me thou [subj.]; kse- out; $l\hat{o}^{o}$ to shove; $s\bar{\imath}^{o}b$ bone)

 $ma'le\ demt\ leg\bar{u}'olardet$ she told she would burn it

§ 60. Use of Subjunctive in the Negative

The negative conjunction nig i (Tsimshian: alg E), and that used in interrogative-negative sentences $n\bar{e}$ (Tsimshian: $a\bar{l}$), are followed by the subjunctive or by the connective $-\bar{l}$

nîg-ît mât'ent dem sqa-iät lât 107.1 it did not let go what went across the way of it (mâ't'en to let go; sqa-across; iä to go; lât to it)

nzk' ēt nîg ît da-a'qıkudet they do not reach it 139.2

nîgîn dem de-go'ut I will not take it

nēî Ladā'dîk sdeda? are they not coming?

nē mesem hwa'da? didn't you find it? 106.7

Tsimshian:

In the Tsimshian dialect the negative is generally used with the connective -l, as described in § 31; the first person singular following the negative is $-\bar{\imath}$. (See § 51.)

a' $lge\ n\ dem\ k.'\hat{i}n\bar{a}'mt\ al\ han\bar{a}^og\ I$ shall not give it to the woman a' $lqe\ di\ t.'\hat{a}'^oxlgetqa^o$ it is not difficult

a wul a'lge dī t wulā'il dem dax-yā'ogul anī'ostgao because he did not know how to hold on to the branch (wulā'i to know; daxyā'og to hold; anī'os branch)

a'îgz di hasā'gai I do not wish (to do so)

a'lget nīsagâ'otgetga sts!â'lgao the beaver did not mind it (nīsagâ'otg to mind; sts!âl beaver)

Negative-interrogative sentences:

al sī'opgedi guga hanā'oxgao? is not this woman sick?

al me wulā'idut în-wulā'gun? don't you know who has done this to you?

§ 61. The Subjunctive after Conjunctions

nlk''ēt g'a'al hwîl lēba'yukl qē'wun 103.5 then he saw the gulls fly (g'a'a to see; lēba'yuk to fly [plural]; qē'wun gull)

k"ēt gō'ul wôhā'st then he takes a string 217.4

wôalk''ēt lō-d'ep-t'eklā'alsaant then he breaks it down in it 217.8 (lō-in; d'ep-down; t'eklā'alsaan to break)

tse n dem suwa'nt I may cure her 123.7

dat hwîlā'gut when he has done this to him 217.6

adas ge'redaxtgaº then he asked her ada me dem sem wulā'i la gwā'ntgut then ye will know that I have touched

§ 62. Use of the Indicative

On account of the tendency of the Tsimshian language to express all narrative in the subjunctive mood, indicative forms are quite rare, and occur almost only in statements of self-experienced facts. It is remarkable that the particle na, which expresses the completed past, and which occurs in the Tsimshian dialect only, is always followed by the indicative.

| nan k!ul-sag'ap- $i\bar{a}'$ onu I have only walked about without purpose Examples of the use of the indicative are the following:

dem iä'nēe at awa'an I shall go (to) near you 196.12
dem qalā'qnōm we will play 75.6
nîtne't iâ'dēe I roast that 121.9

lep-g·ē'bedas dzē'edzē lego-lep-tq'al-mē'nt grandmother ate her own little vulva 121.12 (lep- she herself; g·ēb to eat something; dzē'edz grandmother; lego- little; tq'al- against; mēn vulva)

Tsimshian:

§§ 62, 63

gwa'lge ne wā'lbe sem'â'g'ît the chief's house is burnt ama wā'lt Tôm Tom is rich dem g'idi-gā'odu xāo I shall catch the slave wâont yā'ogut my grandfather invites thee

§ 63. The Negative

(a) The negative declarative is expressed by the adverb $ni'g \cdot i$ (Tsimshian $a'lg \cdot i$), which evidently contains the stem $n\bar{e}$ (Tsimshian al) and the suffix indicating ABSENCE. The stem without this suffix is used in the negative interrogative (see § 60). The negative adverbs are always followed by the subjunctive.

nîg'ît hwîlā'x'ı hwîl dā'ull stēlt he did not know where his companion had gone 15.2 (hwîlā'x' to know; dāul to leave; stēl companion)

nîg'i t'êst'ē'st they were not large 113.9 (See also p. 403.)

(b) The negative interrogative is expressed by $n\bar{e}$ (Tsimshian: al). $n\bar{e}_L \ ad'\bar{a}'d\hat{i}k \cdot sd_E da!$ are they not coming? $n\bar{e}_L \ sg \cdot i_L \ m\bar{e} \ d\bar{e}m \ ha - m\bar{e}n - s\bar{a}'g \cdot \hat{i}da!$ have you anything to pull it up with? ($sg \cdot i$ to lie; $m\bar{e}$ thou; ha- means of; $m\bar{e}n$ - up; $s\bar{a}g$ to pull)

| al ne-bā'odi? has he not been running? | a'l me-wulā'idut în-wulā'qun? don't you know who did this to you?

(c) The word no is expressed by $n\bar{e}$ (Tsimshian: a'yin). The form a'yin is also sometimes used in interrogative sentences.

"nē," dē'yaz g'a'tg'ê "no," said the man 87.11

Tsimshian:

- "A'yînî ne-gan-wā'lsemi, nāot?"—"A'yîn." Did you not get what you went for, my dear?"—"No." (a'yîn not; ne-possessive; gan-reason; wāl to do; -sem ye; nāot my dear! [masc.])
- (d) havā'lg (Tsimshian) signifies not yet.
- (e) In subordinate clauses the negation is expressed by ax- (Tsimshian wa-). These prefixes have been described in § 11, no. 137, p. 328. This prefix must be considered to have a nominal character, so that the whole sentence appears as a verbal noun.
 - (f) $g \cdot \hat{u} \hat{o}' \text{ don't ! (Tsimshian } g \cdot \hat{u} \hat{a}')$.

g-ûlô dze số'ôsem, ana! don't take the rest out 181.9 (dze weakens the imperative)

g'îlô' me dze sem ma' let don't tell about it! 181.11

Tsimshian:

 $g \cdot \hat{u} \hat{a}' b \hat{a}' \circ s E n t$ don't be afraid! $g \cdot \hat{u} \hat{a}' m E d z E g \hat{a}' \circ t$ don't go there!

§ 64. The Interrogative

In the Nass dialect the interrogative seems to be formed regularly by the suffix -a, which is attached to the indicative pronominal endings (see § 48). In Tsimshian the most frequent ending is $-\bar{\imath}$, but $-\bar{\imath}$ also occurs. It does not seem unlikely that these endings may be identical with the demonstrative endings $-\bar{\imath}$ and $-\bar{\imath}$, which were discussed in § 56. After interrogative pronouns these endings are not used.

1. Interrogative suffix -a:

nēči ts/ēns K'al-hä'tgum-q'ē'semq al ts/em-hwîlbā'? did not Labret-on-One-Side enter the house? 191.12 (ts/ēn to enter; k'al- on one side; hätgu to stand; q'ē'semq labret; ts/eminterior; hwîlp house; -a interrogative)

nēîz wī-t!ē'sda? is it great?

në me sem hwa'da? didn't you find it? 106.7

Tsimshian -ī:

wa, nī'odzenī? do you see?

me dedū'olseni? are you alive?

a wu la dzakt wa'ni? is the deer dead yet?

at me n!axnō'odi gu xstāmqt? don't you hear a noise?

āt di ga'usenī? have you no hair?

Tsimshian -u:

si'opgut? is he sick?
al me wulā'idut în-wulā'gun? dost thou not know who did this
to thee?
al me lā' wula habebâ'ldut? didst thou not always keep it?

2. No interrogative suffix is used after interrogative pronouns.

 $ag\bar{o}'$ what (Tsimshian: $g\hat{a}'$):

 $ag\bar{o}'L$ La an-hä'L qal-ts'ap? what is it that the people say? 138.15 $ag\bar{o}'L$ dem an-a'k'sen? what are you going to drink? 17.14 $ag\bar{o}'L$ hē'tsen? what is talking (there)? 23.9

Tsimshian:

| $g\hat{a}^o$ wula ha'unt? what do you say? nda where (Tsimshian: ndA):

ndal hwîl hētkul hwîlp? where is the house?
ndal dent hwîl dē-wîtkut? where will he have come from? 16.6

Tsimshian:

| nds wula wā'otgent? where do you come from? nā who (Tsimshian: nāo):

nā t'an-ax-hwîlā'yîn? who does not know thee?

Tsimshian:

| $n\bar{a}^{\circ}l \ t \ \hat{i}n \ na'ksgz \ lg\bar{u}'^{\circ}lgzs \ Gau\hat{o}'$? who is the one to marry the daughter of Gau\hat{o}' \(l \) and \(l \)

§ 65. The Imperative

The imperative of intransitive verbs is ordinarily expressed by the second person of the indicative or subjunctive, while its emphasis may be lessened by the particle dz_E . Very often the personal pronoun is strengthened by the addition of the prefixed subjective pronouns. In many cases the imperative has the future particle, which suggests that the form is not a true imperative but merely a future which serves the purpose of expressing an order.

 $dem\ yu'kdenl\ t'em-l\bar{a}'n\bar{e}e$ hold to my neck! 75.11 $dem\ qal\bar{a}'qn\bar{o}m$ let us play! (literally, we shall play) 75.6

Weakened by dze:

dze ama-g·a'adesem look well after her 191.15 $me\ dze\ k\cdot\dot{e}'\ me\ l\bar{o}-k\cdot\dot{e}'tselt$ then put in the finger 195.10

Tsimshian:

dem k!ul-man-go'sen then jump up and about!

n!īnī' dem dzagam-hā'otgengao that one callashore! (literally, that is the one you will call ashore)

 $d_{Em} e'an n_{E}-ama-w\bar{a}'ls n_{E}gw\bar{a}'^{o}d_{E}n$ promise him the wealth of your father

Weakend by dzE:

ada dze wul hau'un "lax-lô'ob" then say "on stone"

Transitive verbs may form their imperatives in the same way.

tgonl dem hwî'len do this! (literally, you will do this)

Tsimshian:

| me dem lagax-lu-dû° dā'u put ice on each side! | me dem se-wu'dit call him a name!

More frequently the imperative of transitive verbs is expressed by indefinite connectives, or, when there is no nominal object, by the ending L (Tsimshian -l).

gōul lgō'ulgun take your child! 205.5

hūts' En-d'a' L qa-ts' ō'oL ts' ak' put back from the fire some dishes 207.2

sā'lebel steam it! 54.8.

Tsimshian:

wai, di bā'oll you, on your part, try!

dex-yā'ogwa anī'oset hold on to the branch!

t!em-stū'ol lu'msut accompany my son-in-law to the fire!

man-sa'ik'a asi'ont pull up your foot!

By far the most frequent method of expressing the imperative is by the periphrastic expression $\bar{a}m$ (IT WOULD BE) GOOD (IF).

āmı dem guxt take it! 141.6

āmī dem se-d'igum let us cut wood! 63.4

āmı dem de-xsan you gamble also! 29.1

ām me dem wô'ôl qal-ts'a'p invite the town 206.13

Tsimshian:

 $\bar{a}m \ m_E \ d_{E}m \ d\bar{\imath} \ b\bar{a}^o lt \ try \ it \ too!$

 $\bar{a}'mse^{\epsilon}nl \ me \ k.'a-d\bar{\iota}-ba'ga \ n-d\bar{\iota}-na-beba'gan \ \text{just try my playground}$ too ($\bar{a}m$ good; $-se^{\epsilon}n$ dubitative; me thou; k.'a- just; $d\bar{\iota}$ - on (thy) part; bag to taste; n- possessive; na- place; bag to taste, play)

ām dem k'!ē'ougent escape!

ām dze gâos dep negwā'oden go to your parents!

The negative imperative is expressed by $g \cdot i l \partial'$.

g·Wô' / nexna'yîtg·ê al ts/em-hwî'lp don't! they might hear you in the house 91.10.

g'llô' me dze sem sqa-yô'xk*t don't pass in front of it 107.3 g'llô' L sexsā' mexsemes don't keep your mouths closed 84.5

§ 66. Subordinating Conjunctions

The use of the temporal particles and of the negative as subordinating conjunctions has been described before (§§ 59 et seq.). It remains to enumerate a few of the other important conjunctions.

1. k°'ē THEN; generally in connection with the demonstrative n-nlk''ē ā'd'îk'sk*t then he came
k''ē dôql annā'sl qāq then he took the skins of ravens 39.2
nl dem k''ē me-tæē'ldîl smax' then burn the meat 213.1

2. da when.

da La wôgsL g'a'tg'? when the man is buried 218.4

3. dzE (tsE) weakens statements.

nlk''ē g'î'daxl sem'â'g'ît tse hwîl wîtk"t then the chief asked where it might come from 183.13

nîg'ît hwîlāx's Wig'a't tse hwîl d'ep-a'xk"ı not knew Giant where he came down 15.1

nık''ē wôxwa'xdet a tse hwîl hwî'lı ēlx then they wondered at where was the seal 42.6

ōp tse nô'ôt, tse mē'tk* Lak's al ba'nt lest he die, if his belly should be full of water 73.7

The use of dzE with imperatives has been explained before.

4. tsEda (dzE da) when, if.

tseda hasa'xı haldā'ug'ît demt dzak"ı sel-g'a'tt, k''ē, when a witch desires to kill a fellow-man, then 217.1

tseda hux hvô'lēe, nlk''ē, when I do it again, then 165.12 ts!ē'nē nāt, tseda nē'en enter, my dear, if it is you! 39.13

5. op tsE else, lest.

ōp tsE nô'ôēE else I might die 74.4

k·'ē sem-ia' lku lax-ō' l lô'ôp; ōp tse g'utg'wd'ôtku sāk· qan-hwîlt 34.9 then the top of the stone was very slippery; lest the olachen might be lost was the reason of his doing so (sem-very; ialku slippery; lax-ō' top; lô'ôp stone; g'wôôtku to be lost; sak· olachen)

6. ts'ō although.

ts'ōt hux hwîlā'x t although he knows it

1. ada then.

ada ma'tede dep gua'o then these told
adat g'ik sga-bā'ot he assisted him (literally, then he stood by
him)

2. da when.

ne la dem gwā'ntge da n dem sū mea'wulget when I shall have touched it, then I shall swing the rope (gwāntg to touch; sū to swing; mea'wulg rope)

da al ts/ɛlɛm-ha'pda n/ā'ozlɛt, ada . . . when the killer-whales rushed in, then . . . (ts/ɛlɛm- into; hap to rush [plural]; n/āozl killer-whale)

3. dzE weakens statements.

adat ge'redaxtge a gâ' dee gan ha'ut then they asked why he might have said so

 $\bar{e}\bar{a}p/\bar{e}xd\bar{\imath}$ a n $dz\bar{e}$ txal- $w\bar{a}'sd\bar{e}$ $lg\bar{u}'^0lgida^0$ I may remember when I may have met my child $(\bar{a}p/\bar{e}x$ to remember; txal- $w\bar{a}'^0$ to meet; $lg\bar{u}^0lg$ child; $-\bar{\imath}$ I, my [see § 51])

4. dzE da when, if.

n $dem wa'lint dze da b\bar{a}'^sen I$ will carry you if you are afraid (wa'li to carry on back; $b\bar{a}^{o}s$ to be afraid)

dzE da $l\bar{a}$ $ts'\bar{s}'^on\bar{a}$ dA n dEm sa-dA-ga'inat when I enter, I shall fall with it $(ts/\bar{s}^on$ to enter; sa- suddenly; dA- with something; ga'ina to fall)

5. $\hat{o}p \ dzE$ else, lest.

 $b\bar{a}'^os$ Enut $\hat{o}'p$ dzE dza'gi I fear (lest) I fall

6. ts!u although.

ts!u nī'yeda tgi-ô'ksut, da g'ap-a'lga-di-sga'yîksyī although I (literally, this one) fell down, he (I) really did not hurt himself (myself) (nīyeda he, this; tgi-down; ôks to drop; -u I; g'ap-really; a'lga not; di- on [my] part; sga'yîksg to be hurt)

ts!u wagait n'a g'id Eganë'otsgao even though far to the Tlingit

7. asī while.

ada asī hiä'oksqa lī'omitgao then while he began his song

8. amī if (event assumed as not likely to happen)

amī dze la me g'a'lkse dze dem lu-da'klxan if you should feel that you may drown (g'alks to feel, lu- in; da'klxan to be drowned)

٠:.

 $am\bar{\imath} dz = la k' ! \bar{e}'^{o}xg = n$ when you have made your escape

9. yū°l if (event expected to happen).

yu'd ne yê'dzen if I hit you

§ 67. Preposition

The preposition a is used to express local, temporal, and modal relations. When used for expressing local relations, the particular class is often expressed by the local particles prefixed to the verb and substantive. The preposition always takes the connective suffix -L or -s, as described in §§ 23, 28.

The following examples illustrate the wide application of this preposition:

1. Signifying AT:

baxl lgo-a'k's al awa'adetg'ê a little water ran near them 117.3 (bax to run; lgo-little; ak's water; awa'a proximity)

iaga-ma'gat al g'ä'u he put him down at the front of the house 46.8 (iaga- down; mag to put; g'ä'u beach in front of house) al g'ā'leq outside 121.15

2. Signifying IN; generally with the verbal prefix $l\bar{o}$ - and with the substantival prefix ts'em-:

lō-ma'qskuL t'ēlx· aL ts'Em-ts'ak· the grease ran in (into) the dish 46.14 (lō-in; maqsku to stand [plural]; t'ēlx· grease; ts'Em-inside of; ts'ak· dish)

tq'al-lō-dzô'qst al hwîlpg'ê he stayed in the house 64.11 (tq'alagainst [i. e., permanently]; lō- in; dzôq to camp; hwîlp house)

3. Signifying on; generally with verbal prefix $l\bar{e}$ - and substantival prefix lax-:

lē-iaq' L oq aL lax-anē'st a copper hangs on a branch 138.3 (lē- on; ia'q to hang; anē's branch)

4. Signifying TOWARD; often with the verbal prefix hagun:

hagun-ië'êl g'at al awa'at a man went toward him 138.14 (haguntoward; ië'ê to go; g'at man; awa'a proximity)

iä'êt az g'ilē'lîx' he went into the woods 119.11

g'a'askut al lax-ha' he looked at the sky 137.6

5. Signifying FROM:

wêtkut al awa'as nôxt he came from near his mother 22.12 (wêtkut to come from; awa'a proximity; nôx mother)

k-saxt at hwi'lp he went out of the house 166.11

6. Signifying To; used like our dative:

hwîl hwî'ls dep bē'ebēe as nē'en thus did my uncles to thee 157.9 (hwîl to do; dep plural; (n-)bē'êb uncle; -ēe my; nē'en thou) g'înā'mt al lgo-tk''ē'lk" he gave it to the boy 139.4

7. Signifying WITH; instrumental:

La'lbel q'aldō'x al ha-q'ō'l she scraped the spoon with her fishknife 8.9 (La'lb to scrape; q'aldō'x spoon; ha-q'ō'l fish-knife)

- lē-ia'tsɛt lax-a'k's al waqlt he struck the water with his tail 75.15 (lē-on; ia'ts to strike; lax-surface; ak's water; waql beaver's tail)
- guại laku ai lẽt qani daqi he took fire-wood with wedge and hammer 90.8 (guạ to take; laku fire-wood; lẽt wedge; qan and; daqi hammer)

8. Signifying on ACCOUNT OF:

sī epk" L qû'ôts Wī-g'a't al rdax't sick was Giant's mind on account of his hunger 69.4

sem-pla'k'skut al hwî'ltg'ê he was very tired on account of what he had done 62.15

9. Expressing time:

al wi-sa' all day long 138.9 (literally, at great day)

al haô'ng'ê mesā'x'g'ê before daylight 151.6 (at not yet daylight)
al sînt in summer 20.14

10. Used with various verbs:

lē-metmē'tkut al t'ē'ben they were full of sea-lions 108.8 (lē- on; mēthu full; t'ē'ben sea-lion)

mētkul māl al lān the canoe was full of spawn 29.10

ansgwa'tgut as ne'tg'ê they made fun of him 143.3

nık''ēt g'enı g'a'tg'ê aı hwîndô'ô the man fed him with tobacco 90.10 (g'en to give to eat; g'at man; hwîndô'ô tobacco)

 $g \cdot \bar{e} k^u L \ Li\hat{a}' n \ aL \ haya' t s k^u$ he bought elk for coppers 194.11 ($g \cdot \bar{e} k^u$ to buy; $Li\hat{a}' n$ elk; $haya' t s k^u$ copper)

sa-hwd det al X-ama'lgwaxdel Wâ'se they called him Eating-Scabs-of-Wâ'se 41.14 (sa- to make; hwa name; x- to eat; ama'lku scab)

q'âtskut al hana'q-he was tired of the woman 126.1 wai-g'a'tkut as neguâ'ôdet he longed for his father 203.13

The preposition a is used very often with hwil and dem to express causal and final subordination, the subordinate clause being thus transformed into a nominal phrase.

11. at hwîl because (literally, at [its] being):

 $laxb\bar{e}ts'\bar{e}'x'd\bar{e}t$. . . $al. hw\hat{i}lt\ g'a'adet$ they were afraid because they saw it 207.10

al hwîl nîgidi halai'ts Ts'ak; nîlne't qant-hwîla'kudetgiê because Ts'ak was no shaman, therefore they did so 123.12 (nîgi not; di on his part; halai't shaman; nîlne't that; qan reason; hwîl to do)

lō-hwa'ntkul qâ'ôdet al hwîl xstamkut its heart was annoyed because of the noise 95.15 (lō-in; hwantku annoyed; qâôt heart; xstamku noise)

lō-hwa'ntku qâ'ôdzt ar hwîl xstamkut he was annoyed on account of the noise 95.15 (lō-hwa'ntku annoyed; qâ'ôt mind)

aba'g'askut al hwîl sî-k''a-wi-yē'thust he was troubled because he cried anew very much 21.12 (aba'g'asku to be troubled; sî- anew; k''a- exceedingly; wi-yē'thu to cry)

12. at dem in order to, that:

tsagam- $w\hat{o}'\hat{o}t$ at dxm $dxd\bar{a}'lxqt$ he called it ashore to talk with it 38.1 (tsagam-ashore: $w\hat{o}'\hat{o}$ to call; $dxd\bar{a}'lxq$ to talk with)

k''ēt bôxt al dem nōôm-a'k'st he waited for her to be thirsty 21.7 (bôx to wait; nōôm- to desire; ak's to drink)

lō-ya'ltkut az dem yō'ôxkut he returned to eat 55.9

k'si-ba'x al dem gun-lu'kt he ran out to make move

13. Sometimes the connection expressed by a is so weak that it may be translated by the conjunction AND. Evidently the verb following a is nominalized.

yō'ôxkut al wō-t'ē'sem yō'ôxkut he ate, and ate much 36.10 d'āt al wō-yē'tkut he sat and wept 39.7 (he sat down, weeping) iaga-iä'l na'k stg'ê . . . al la gwâ'ôtkut his wife went down, and he was lost 166.7, 8

Tsimshian:

The variety of forms which the preposition a takes in Tsimshian has been discussed in § 28. Here examples will be given illustrating its application.

1. Signifying AT:

ada $k!a-t!\bar{a}'^{o}t$ gesga g'îlhau'li then he sat at the inland-side for a while

al di nâºkl g·ad a awa' naksz nz-wai'g·u? does a person lie near my brother's wife? (al not; di- on his part; nâºk to lie; g·ad a person; awa' proximity; naks wife; waig· brother)

2. Signifying in:

dent $\bar{u}'^o den \ a \ ts/em-la'get$ he will bake thee in the fire ($\bar{u}^o d$ to bake; ts/em- interior of; lag fire)

3. Signifying on:

adat l'ī-se-gu'lge la'ge d_A lax'ô'tgaº then he lighted a fire on top of him (l'ī- on; se- to make; gulg to light; lag fire; lax'ô top)

me dem t/ā'ont gesge stū'op!elgao make him sit in the rear of the house

4. Signifying TOWARD:

ada hagul-iā'ot gesga awa' ne-wā'lbt then he went slowly toward his house

gun-iā'ot gesge wul nâokt he went to where he lay

5. Signifying From:

wā'otget gesge awā' na'kstgao he came from near his wife haldem-bā'oget Astiwā'l gesge lax-lô'opgao Astiwā'l arose from the stones

6. Signifying to; used like our dative:

ada wul ha'us negwā'ot ges nī'otgao then his father said to him adat wula k'!îna'msge da'u gesge lgū'olgetgao then he gave ice to his child (k'!îna'm to give; da'u ice; lqūolq child)

7. Signifying WITH, instrumental:

dat will $l\bar{u}$ -sga-ya'dze ts!alt gesge $l\bar{\imath}$ then she struck him across the face with the feather ($l\bar{u}$ - in; sga- across; yadz to strike; ts!al face; $l\bar{\imath}$ feather)

dzā'bet al an'o'ntg'ê he made with his hands lalbet al ha-q'ō'l she scraped with a fish-knife 8.9

8. Signifying ON ACCOUNT OF:

lū-q!ā'qA gâ'ots Astiwā'l gesge ne-txalā'ndet Astiwā'l was sad on account of those he had (left) behind (lū- in; q!āg open, hollow; gâod mind; txalā'n behind)

9. Expressing time:

a wi-gâ'msɛm during the whole (great) winter a na-gâ'ga in the beginning ZE 78111

10. Used with various verbs:

a wult se-q!an-q!adā'ula ga-gâ'oda a gwa'deksem iēont because she refreshed the hearts with cool fog ZE 797.32 (q!an-dā'ul, literally, to go over, to refresh; gwa'deks cool; iēon fog)

hô'ltge wa'lbet a ts!aog full was the house of fat

adat wul pliā'res negwā'ot gesget g'îlks-nī'osge na'kstgao then she told her father that she had looked back at her husband (pliā'r to tell; g'îlks- back; nīo to see)

11. a wul because:

a wult la na'gzdat n!axnū' hau because for a long time she had heard say (nag long; n!axnu' to hear; hau to say)

asd ϵ wul wa- $d\bar{\iota}$ -lgu- $x\bar{a}'^{o}ga$ because they, on their part, were even without a little foam (i. e., had nothing) (wa-without; $d\bar{\iota}$ -on their part; lgu- little; $x\bar{a}^{o}g$ foam)

12. a dem in order to, that:

txan!ī' gā bāoldz la'msu a demt wula dza'kdut everything tries my father-in-law to kill me (txan!ī all; gā what, something; bā'old to try; lams father-in-law; dzak to kill)

 $a \ dEmt \ \bar{u}'$ otut in order to bake me

a demt ma'ksge ne-sesi'optgao in order to gather his bones

13. a and:

ada wul wa'ndit a bâ'okedet then they sat down and lamented

TEXTS

NASS DIALECT

sa 2 Txanē'tkL¹ hîs-dzô'qsL³ klope-tk·lē'lku. 4 Wī-hē'lt day played camping little children. Many Every wī-ga'n. Wī-lō-nô'ôL8 wī-ts!ä'wut.9 Wi-d'E'xL¹⁰ g'am-k·!ēlr6 Great in hole inside. one great log. great Large wī-ga'n.⁷ NL¹¹ hwîl¹² g'its'EL-qâ'ôdEL 13 k'ope-tk''ē'Lku.4 NîLne'L14 great tree. Then where in went little children. Then wī-qalk·si-nô'ôm 16 hwî'lpdētg'ê 15 gan.7 N**.k**.'ēt 17 lō-sī-me'ıdēl 18 Then in made burn they their house large through hole of tree. N_Lk·'ē 17 wi-hē'lL5 lât.19 txâ'xkudet* ts'ēle'mdet. laku hux again their traveling fire Then they ate provisions. gul-q'anē'tkuL21 La 22 nakuL23 k'öpe-tk''ēLku.4 Hân ts'elē'mī Salmon the provisions of little children. When long nLk·'e17 La22 hwî'ldet24 aL 25 txanē'tkuL1 sa.² hux t'esL ak's day, then when again large was they did so at every water hux lō-dzô'qdet 26 aL 25 wī-ts'Em-ga'n. 27 NLk'ë 17 hux pta'lîk 's. Then again in they camped at great in log. the water rose.

¹ txa- all (§ 10, no. 93); txanētku independent form; L-connective of numerals (§ 23.6).

³ Same form in singular and plural (§ 41).

³ Ms- to pretend (§ 10, no. 79); dz6q to camp; -s suffix (§ 17, no. 6) required by Ms-; L- connective of predicate and subject (§ 23).

⁵ wi- great (§ 10, no. 73); hëlt many (almost always used with the prefix wi-).

⁶ q'am- only (§ 10, no. 118); k''čl one flat thing (§ 57); L- connective of numerals.

¹ wi- great (§10, no. 73); gan tree, log.

^{*} wi great; lo- in (verbal prefix [§ 9, no. 29]); no'o hole; -L predicative connective.

¹⁰ wi great: d'Ex large.

¹¹ n-demonstrative (?); L probably connective.

¹² Verbal noun, here designating the place where something happens (§ 59).

[&]quot;The prefix g'its' EL is not known in other combinations; ië' & (singular), qd' & (plural), to go; -det 3d person plural (\$ 53); -L connective.

¹⁸ n- demonstrative (?); L- probably connective. This conjunction seems to appear here doubled.

¹⁶ hwilp house; -dēt their; -g·é invisible (§ 20).

¹⁶ wi-great; qalk-si-through (§ 9, no. 24); no'o hole; -m adjectival connective.

 $^{^{17}}$ nL; see note 11; k' \bar{e} then; t transitive subject, 3d person (§ 48).

 $^{^{18}}$ lö- in (§ 9, no. 29); si- to cause (§ 13, no. 164); met to burn; -det they; -t connects predicate and object.

¹⁹ lát 3d person pronoun, oblique case (§ 54).

w yd'axku (singular), trd'oxku (plural), to eat (intransitive verb); -det they.

²¹ A compound the elements of which are not quite clear (compare tranë'tku all); also qane-huita always (§ 10, no. 120).

²² Particle indicating that one action is past when another sets in; also verbal noun (§ 59).

²³ naku long, temporal and local.

^{*} hwil to do: -det they.

²⁵ a general preposition (§ 67); -L indefinite connective.

[■] lō- in; dzóg to camp; -det they.

[#] wi- large; ts/Em- inside of (§ 11, no. 152).

NLk ''ē 17 g'îg'â'k'sL38 wi-ga'n.. NLk''ē uks-o'lîk'skut.29 Nî'g'ît 30 Not they Then floated the great log. Then out to sea it drifted. hwîlā'x'L31 k'ope-tk''ē'ıku.4 Yukr.32 gwanem-qalā'qdet 33 aL 25 knew it the little children. Beginning they were playing at wī-ga'n La²² hwagait-uks-dā'uL35 aL 25 hwagait-g'ī/ks 36 lo-ts'ä'wuL³⁴ away inside of great log when out it was going at way off shore to sea La 22 NLk''ē 17 Lgō-tk''ē'Lku.4 uks-na'kut.37 k·si-Lô'ôtkuL38 k.'âlL39 when out to sea far. Then little out went one aL 25 N**rk.**'ēt 17 g'a'at 40 La 41 hwagait-uks-o'lîk skut 20,35 hwîl Then he 88.W where when way seaward it drifted to hwagait-g·ī'îks.36 NLk ''ē 17 k'si-qâ'ôdeL42 k'ope-tk''ē'lku.4 the little children. way off shore. Then out went Then sîg a'tkudēt; 48 qanē-hwîla44 sîg'a'tkudēt.43 N_Lk''ē¹⁷ k'uL-da'uL45 they cried; always they cried. Then about went wī-ga'n 7 hwagait-lax-sē'Elda.46 the log at way off on the ocean. great

k'si-Lô'ôtk"L38 Lgō-hwîl-xô'ôsgum47 Lgo-tk''ē'Lku.4 Nık'ë hux the little being again out was put wise little child. NLk·'ēt g·a'aL40 hwîl¹² lēba'yukL48 qē'wun.49 NLk "e ha'ts'îk sem50 Then he where flew gulls. Then wī-ga'n. great log. maLt:52 "Qa'nē-hwîla" lō-ya'ltkut⁵¹ ts'ä'wuL34 K·'ēt aL he returned at inside of Then he told it: "Always aq-dep-hwîlā'gut?"55 qē'wun49 lax-ō'Em,54 lē-hwa'nL53 NLk''ē aL. without we [way of] doing?" Then sit gulls at top of us,

[■] g·ig·d'k's to drift.

[&]quot; uks- out to sea, from land to sea (§ 8, no. 6); -t intransitive, 3d person singular.

m nig-1 indicative negation; -t transitive subject, 3d person.

n hwild'x to know; -det (3d person plural ending has been omitted here).

³² yuk appears both as verb and as particle.

m gwanzm-a prefix of doubtful significance.

³⁴ $l\bar{c}$ - a verbal prefix, appears here with the noun $ts'\bar{a}'tcu$ THE INSIDE. It seems that this whole expression is possessive or verbal, because otherwise the connective would be -m (§ 22).

⁼ hivagait-away (§ 10, no. 71); uks-seaward (§ 8, no. 6); da'uL to leave; perhaps the ending -t would be better.

⁼ hwaqait- is both verbal and nominal prefix; g-iks the region off shore (a noun corresponding to the verbal prefix uks-).

^{**} uks- seaward; naku far; -t perhaps closure of sentence (§ 20).

[#] k-si- out (§ 8, no. 8); Lô'ôiku.

[≈] k^{*}Al one (numeral for counting human beings [§ 57]; -L connective of numerals (§ 23).

[#] ga'a to see; -t it (object).

⁴¹ hwil La present and past participle forming nominal clause (§ 59).

[#] k'si-out of (§ 8, no. 8); qd'od to go (plural); -dct they.

⁴³ irregular plural (§ 46); singular wuyi'tku.

[&]quot; qanë- always (§ 10, no. 120).

[&]quot; k'uL- about; da'uL to leave, to go.

[#] hwagait- way off (verbal and nominal prefix); lax- surface of (nominal prefix corresponding to F- on; (§ 11, no. 151; § 9, no. 30) s-sida ocean.

⁴⁷ Lgö-little; hwil-being (§ 59); xô'ôsku wise; -m adjective connective (§ 22).

[•] g·ibā'yuku (plural lēbā'yuku) to fly (§ 45).

[#] Singular and plural same form (§ 41).

[₩] Adverb.

⁶¹ This verb occurs always with the prefix lo- IN.

⁵² mal to tell (transitive verb).

so le- on corresponds to the nominal prefix lar- (note 46); d'a (plural hwan) to sit; -L indefinite connective.

⁵⁴ lax-surface (corresponds to the verbal prefix li- on [note 53]); of top: -m our.

 $[\]omega aq$ - without, and also negation of dependent clauses (§ 11, no. 137); dxp- plural of transitive pronoun; $hwild'k^{\mu}$ is a peculiar form; while it is apparently a passive of hwil, it is used as a transitive verb; -t probably object 3d person.

```
tgön<sup>56</sup>
                                                        "Ām58
          hēL<sup>57</sup>
                     k.'âlL89
                                 Lgō-tk·'ē'Lku:4
                                                                   dep 59
                                                                              d'îsd'ē′s∟∾
 this
           said
                                 little
                                          child:
                                                                                 strike
                       one
                                                         "Good
                                                                   dep64
                                      k.,ē63
                                                 ila'êlaat,63
qa-dz'ā'gam,61
                             dem
                                                                                       k•'ē
                      nL
                                                                             dem
                     they
                             future
                                       then
                                                    bleed.
                                                                             future
                                                                                       then
   our noses.
                                                                   we
                               wī-ga'n.
reat log.
                                                                k · 'ē®
                                                                          tq'al-hathe'tes
mant64
                  dāx'L65
                                              N_L
           ST.
                                                      dem
                                             They
                                                      future
                                                                          against stand
rub it
                  outside of
                             great
                                                                then
            at
ts'obä'qL
              që'wun
                                                       hwî′ldetg∵ê.®
                          lâ'tg'ê.67"
                                           Nrk.'ē
                                                                           D'îsd'e'sdē⊾∞
                             on it."
                                                        they did so.
  feet of
                                            Then
                                                                             They struck
                 gulls
                                                                      NLk''ēt k''îlq'al-
qa-dz'a'qdēt.61
                    K''ē ā'd'îk'skuL69
                                            hwîl<sup>13</sup> itā'êtaat.<sup>63</sup>
  their noses.
                     Then
                                came
                                             being
                                                      they bled.
                                                                      Then they
                                                                                   around
ma'ndēt70 aL wi-ga'n.
                                            la'mdzîxdēt<sup>71</sup>
                                Nrk.'ē
                                                                    ts'ä'wuL
                                                               8L
                                                                                 wī-ga'n.
rubbed it
           on the great log.
                                   Then
                                              they entered
                                                               at
                                                                    the inside of the
                                                                                great
           ad'ā'd'îk'skuL69
                                 wi-hē'ldEm<sup>72</sup>
                                                    qē'wun.
                                                                              lē-hwa'nt53
NLk''ē
                                                                  Nık''ē
 Then
                    came
                                       many
                                                      gulls.
                                                                    Then
                                                                              on they sat
                                                             La<sup>22</sup>
lâ'ôt.19
                   tq'al-gulgwa'lukL'3
                                              as'îsa'it.74
                                                                     sem-bagait-d'āL75
 on it.
                              dried
                                              their feet.
                                                             When
                                                                      very middle
                  against
                                                                                      Was
           Then
Lôqs,<sup>76</sup>
                                       Lgō-k·'ā-wī-t'ē'st.78
           nlk.'ē hux k.saxl17
                                                                   NLk·'ē lēba'yukL48
                                        little really great large.
            then
                                                                                   few
the sun,
                    again went out
                                                                     Then
              Nî'g ît30
qē'wun.
                           daa'qLkudeL79
                                                        lēbā'yukdētg'ê.48
                                               dem
                                                                                  Nr.k ''ēt
the gulls.
              Not they
                              succeeded
                                               future
                                                             they flew.
                                                                                   Then be
dôq L<sup>80</sup>
           k''âl∟³°
                       Lgō-tk''ē'Lku.4
                                                           lō-haL-t'uxt'a'qL81
                                             Nrk·'ēt
                                                                                     t'em-
                       little
took them
                                child.
                                              Then he
                                                                                      their
             one
                                                           in along
                                                                       twisted
               gul-gan\bar{e}'L<sup>88</sup>
lā'nîx t82
                                                      qē'wun.
                                  wi-hē'ldɛm'2
                                                                    Nrk·'ēt
                                                                                  lō-d'Ep-
 necks
                     all
                                    great many
                                                        gulls.
                                                                     Then he
                                                                                  in down
                                                                                qagô'ôL87
                 hwîl
                         nanô'ôL85
                                      wī-ga'n.
dā'LEt84
                                                   Nık 'e
                                                              lō-am'ā'mL86
put them
                                                                                   hearts
                 where
                            holes
                                      great log.
                                                    Then
                                                                    good
```

⁵⁶ The introductory t- of the demonstrative is the subject of the transitive verb; HE.

⁵⁷ For het-L.

^{*} dm good; used here as a periphrastic exhortative: IT WOULD BE GOOD IF WE --- (§ 65).

²⁰ dEp plural of transitive subject (§ 48).

⁶⁰ d'ēs (plural d'isd'ē's) to strike (§ 42).

⁶¹ dz'ag nose; plural qa-dz'ag (§ 43); -m our.

⁶² nLk. c (note 17) appears here divided by the future particle dEm.

^{፡፡ ፤}ፌäℓ blood.

⁶⁴d Ep mant we rub it (§ 48) (subjunctive).

dax surface, outer side.

⁶⁶ tq'al- against (§ 9, no. 35); hēt (plural hathē't) to stand.

whit oblique case, 3d person pronoun; $-g \cdot e$ absent (because the outer side of the tree was invisible to the speaker).

⁶⁸ hwil to do; -det they; -g'é absent.

[@] d'd'ik-sku (plural ad'a'd'ik-sku) to come.

⁷⁰ k. flq'al- around; man to rub (transitive verb).

⁷¹ is'ēn (plural la'mdzix) to enter.

⁷³ wi-hè'll many (see note 5); usually used with adjectival connective -m, not with numeral connective -L (§ 22).

¹³ tq'al- against; gwa'luk to dry.

¹⁴ asa'e (plural as'isa'e) foot.

[&]quot;* sEm- very (§ 15, no. 168); bagait- in middle; d'a to sit (used to express the idea of to be in a position, for round objects.

⁷⁶ sun or moon.

[&]quot; k-sar to go out (probably related to k-si- out of [§ 8, no. 8]).

⁷⁸ Lgō- a little; $k^{-1}d$ - really; $w\bar{t}$ - great; $t^{-2}\delta$ large (almost always combined with $w\bar{t}$ -); -t probably close of sentence.

[&]quot; da-aqlku; aqlku to attain. The prefix da may be the same as in de'ya HE SAYS THUS (§ 49, d).

 $^{^{60}}$ $g\bar{o}u$ (plural $d\delta q$) to take (§ 46).

⁸¹ lo-in; hat along (§ 9, no. 50); l'aq (plural l'zzl'a'q) to twist; -t connects predicate with object,

^{*2} t' Em- prefix indicating certain parts of the body; probably from t' ām sitting (§ 38).

s See note 21.

⁸⁴ lõ- in; d'sp- downward (§ 8, no. 4); dal to put.

[™] See note 8; nanó'ó is here plural.

⁸⁶ lo- in; ām (plural am'ā'm) good (§42).

er gd'ôt (plural qagd'ôt) mind, heart,

k'opm-tk''ē'lk'. G'ē'îpdel' sma'x'tg'ê la" t'a'k'dēl hwî'ldetg'ê ' the little children. They ate it the meat when they forgot what they did hwagait-k'uL-da'uLdēt92 hwagait-lax-sē'lda.46 8L way out about they went at way out

Nîg î lîg'i-tsagam-dē'lpkudet, 88 lîg·i-lax-ts'ā'L⁹⁴ ak's. aLanywhere landward short they at some- on edge of water. where

dē-nExna'xdēL95 ŇĽk''ē k·'ēlL6 wī-xstō'ntku. Κ·'ē hux 88. I.A when again one day also they heard noise. Then k'si-Lô'ôL™ k'ope-tk''ē'Lku. an-tgo-lē'lbîk'sku 97 Gwinā'dēl. the fittle Behold the whirlpool out went boys. I.A⁹⁸ lō-lē-d'Ep-yu'kdet.90 in on down they went. hwîl Nık 'e ā'd'îk skul® hwîl12 Then . where when came the sīg a'tkudēt43 La²² dEm¹01 ♠LôqkuL lō-d'ep-hē'tkuL100 wī-ga'n aLtheir crying in down stood the great tree future when to swallow (them)

an-tgo-lē'lbîk'sku.97 the whirlpool.

> La" Nık''ē lō-d'ep-hē'tkut.100 dē-uks-ba'xL k · 'âlL39 g'a'tg'ê. 102 when in down it stood, Then also seaone man. ward

Q'am-k.'ē'lL103 asa'eL74 g'a'tg'ê.102 NLk''ēt g'alkul'04 wī-ga'n aL35 foot Then he the Only the man. speared log great

qalā'st. 105 $tsagam\text{-}d\bar{a}'mgantg\text{-}\hat{e};^{106}$ de-lē-mâ'tguL107 g'a'tg'ê. 102 K·'ēt pulled it; he saved them Then he ashore the man. bax-Lô'ôL108 k'ope-tk''ē'Lk" ts'Ein-hwî'lpL100 g'a'tg'ê. Nık'ë aL the little children Then up went to inside of house of the man. yuk-txâ'q'ens¹¹⁰ Q'am-k·'ē'lem-asa'ē. ¹¹¹ Nlk"ē

began he fed them Only-One-Foot. Then

^{*} $g \cdot \hat{e}ip$ to eat something. We should expect here $t g \cdot \hat{e}'ipdet$ smax.

smax venison; -t its; -gê absent.

[&]quot; tak to forget; -det they; -L connective.

m hwil to do; -det they; -g·é absent.

n hwagait - way off; k'uL-about; dduL to go; det they.

[≈] lig-i-somewhere, indefinite place (§8, no. 20); lsagam-landward (§8, no. 9); d∂lok= short, near; -det they.

[#] lig-i- (see note 98); lax-surface; ts'at shore, edge (nominal term corresponding to tsagam).

[#] de- also (precedes transitive subject); nama'x to hear.

[#] iäė (plural Łó'ó) to go (§ 46).

[#] an- prefix indicating place (§ 12, no. 157); tyo- around; të 'lbik-sk= to flow (?).

[#] hwil La where in the past.

[≈] lō- in (namely, inside the whirlpool); lō- on (namely, on the surface of the water); d'zp downward: yuk to begin; -det they.

¹⁰⁰ lō- in; d'zp- down; hēt to place upright: hētku to be placed upright, to stand (§ 17).

nal dem to the future—, final sentence (§§ 59, 67); i. e., to the future swallowing of the whirlpool. 108 g-at man; -g- ℓ absent.

¹⁰⁵ g'am only; k''& one flat or round thing.

m grake to spear; the preceding t is the subject, the terminal -L connecte predicate and object.

Terminal t either pronom or close of sentence.

¹⁰⁶ tsagam-shoreward; da'mgan to haul.

notku (plural le-md'tku) to save (§ 45).

bax- up along ground (§ 8, no. 1).

> ts' zm- the inside of (nominal prefix).

¹¹⁰ yuk- beginning; txdóxku to eat (plural) (see note 20); -En causative suffix.

¹¹¹ See note 103. Here q'am k' èl is used as an attribute, not as a predicate, hence the connective -am instead of -L.

^{44877—}Bull. 40, pt 1—10——27

[Translation]

Children played camping every day. There were many of them, and there was only one great log. It had a great hole inside. It was a large log. That is the place where the children went in. Then the large tree with the hole in it was their house. They made a fire burn in it, and they also ate [many] traveling-provisions. Salmon was the traveling-provisions of all the children. When they had done so for a long time every day, when the water was great (high) again, they again camped in the great log. The water rose again and the great log floated. It drifted out to sea. The children did not know it. They were playing inside of the great log while it was going out to sea and when it was far away from the shore. Then one boy went out. He saw that they had drifted seaward and that they were way off shore. Then the children went out. Then they cried. They cried all the time. Then the great log went way out on the ocean.

Then a little wise boy went out. He saw gulls flying about. He returned again into the great log, and he told them, "Gulls are always sitting on top of us. Can we not do anything?" Then one child said the following: "Let us strike our noses. Then they will bleed. Then we will rub (the blood) on the outside of the great log. Then the feet of the gulls will stand on it." They did so. They struck their noses, and blood came out of them. Then they rubbed it on the great log. Then they entered the inside of the great log. Many gulls came and sat on it. Then their feet dried against it. When the sun was right in the middle of the sky, the one who was really a little large went out again. Then the gulls flew. They did not succeed in flying. Then one boy took them. Then he twisted off the necks of all the many gulls. Then he put them down into the hole of the great log. Then the children were glad. They ate the meat and forgot what was happening, that they were going way out on the ocean.

They were not anywhere near shore or the edge of the water. Then one day they heard a great noise. The boys went out. Behold! there was a whirlpool in which they were going down. Then they began to cry when the great log stood downward in it, about to be swallowed by the whirlpool.

While it was standing downward in it, a man ran seaward. The man had one foot. Then he speared the great log with his harpoon. He pulled it ashore. The man saved them. Then the children went up into the house of the man. Then Only-One-Foot began to feed them.

TSIMSHIAN DIALECT

Adā'ogam¹ ā'utaga°² (Story of Porcupine)

```
Nin!ī'sge 3 ła4 ksū'otgao, 5 a6 ła4 wa'nsga 7 txan!ī'sge 8 ya'ts!esgesga 8
    That it was when
                         fall,
                                   at when were sitting
                                                             all
                                                                           animals in
                                  Da' 11
                                                     dī 13
                                                            t!ā'0sgE14
na-ga-ts!Em-ts!a'ptga°.10
                                          wula 12
                                                                          wī-mædī′°k 15
                                                               aitting
         their towns.
                                  Then
                                          being
                                                   on his part
                                                                          great grizzly bear
                                 dza 18 wī-gâ'msemgao. 19
gesga 16 n dī ts!a'pt 17 a
                                                                  Ada 20
                                                                          ga'ni-wula 21
                                 when greaf
          his also
                   town
                            at
                                                                  Then
                                                 winter.
                                                                               always
gwa'ntgEsga<sup>22</sup> wā'°sga°, <sup>28</sup>
                                  da 11 g ik 24 lū-la wa'l 25
                                                                 na-ts!Em-ts!a'psga10
     touched
                                         also
                                                  in it dripped
                      the rain,
                                  then
                                                                        the town of
wī-medī′okgao. 15
                                  g'ik 4
                         Ada 20
                                                                  n-lī′otgao.³7
                                                                                   Ada 🗝
                                            lô'gaksgesga 26
the great grizzly, bear.
                         Then
                                   again
                                                he was wet
                                                                     his fur.
                                                                                   Then
                                             gesga <sup>16</sup>
semgal 28
              lu-hā'oxgesga 20
                                    gâ′ot³0
                                                         sga-na'ksga 31 wā'ostgao. 32
                                    his heart
               in
                     annoved
                                                 at
                                                           too
                                                                 long
   very
```

```
1 ada'og story: -Em connection (§ 22).
```

² a'uta porcupine; -gao absent (§ 20)

^{*} nin/i' that (§ 56); -sgz (§ 25).

^{*} la when (§ 59).

^{*} ksū'o fall; -gao absent (§ 20).

[•] a preposition (§ 67).

¹ L'ds (plural wan) to sit (§ 46); -sgz (§ 24).

^{*} tran/i' all (contains the particle tra- ENTIRELY); -sgE (§ 24).

[•] From yats to kill many; ya'ts' zsk the killing (§ 17, no. 2); the terminal -zsga stands here for asga in.

^{**} n.4. *separable possession (§ 55); ρa - distributive plural, the towns of the various kinds of animals; ta:**m-inside (§ 11, no. 152); ts:*/ab town; -t his; $\rho a a$ absence.

¹¹ da conjunction (§ 66, no. 2).

^{13 § 59.}

¹² dt on (his) part (§ 15, no. 167).

¹⁴ t/do to sit; -eg# § 25.

^{**} wi- great (§ 10, no. 73); msdi'ok grizzly bear.

[≈] a preposition (§ 67); absent conjunctive form (§ 28).

¹⁷ n- separable possession; di- on his part (cf. note 13); ts/ab town.

B dza weakened statement, when it may have been (§ 66, no. 3).

wii-great (§ 10, no. 73); gd'mazm winter; -gao absence.

[™] Conjunction (§ 66, no. 1).

²¹ gani- all (§ 10, no. 120).

mgwantg to touch (i. e., here, fell); -egs connection (§§ 24, 25).

wdos rain.

[≈] g-ik again (§ 15, no. 169).

^{*} $l\bar{u}$ - in (§ 9, no. 29); $la^{\mu}wa'l$ to drip; no connective after l (§ 29).

¹⁰ gaksg to be wet (fur, skin).

[&]quot; n- separable possession; It fur, hair of body; -t his; -gao absence.

^{szm-gal very (§ 15, no. 178).}

[&]quot; lu-in (§ 9, no. 29), relating to gdod mind; hdozg annoyed.

[≈] gdod mind.

n sqa-across (§ 9, no. 36); nag long; here apparently a verbal subordinate construction: At across LONG BEING THE RAIN.

 $^{^{33}}$ which rain; the t is a difficult directive ending, which is used very frequently, and for which no adequate explanation has been given.

```
gesga 16 ne-txaa'gasga 35 n-tsla'ptgao, 10
Nīn!ī' 33 gan-kse-t!ā'ot 34
                                                                                         At 36
                                                                         his town,
 That
           reason out he sat
                                    at
                                                 the mouth of
                                                                                         at he
nīº 87 lîg i-lep-gâ'º 88 gesga 16 kudū'ontgaº. 89
                                                         Ada a'sī 40 det!ā'ot 41 gesga 16
                                      around him.
seeing
         everything
                                                         Then while
                                                                        sitting
gwa'sga, 42 gakstatnā'oga 43 ā'utaga 44 gun-hē'otget 45 gesga 16 awā'otgao. 46 that, behold who the porcupine toward stood at his proximity.
                sga-iā'ot 48
                                gesga 16
                                                                      n-ts!a'psgE 10
A'sī 40
                                              n-lekså'gasge 49
When
          he
                 across went
                                    аt
                                                 the doorway of
                                                                         the town of
                                                                                           the
                                                                                     g•ī′ot.52
medī′°kga°,¹⁵
                                ha'usga 50
                                               wī-medī'okgao.
                                                                    "Ts!ī'onA51
                  ada wul
great grizzly bear, then being
                                   said
                                               the great grizzly bear,
                                                                                       here.
                                      k!a-xdī'oyut."54
                                                             Nin!ī' 83
n-sī'Ep!Ensgī!53
                       ME dem
                                                                          gan da'
                                                                                        wula
    my friend!
                      You
                            shall
                                      a little eat with me."
                                                             That it was reason then
                                                                                        when
                                     awā'osga 46 wī-medī'okgao. 15
ts!ī'onsga<sup>51</sup>
                a'ut44
                                                                              Ada'
                          gesga
                                                                                        wula
               the porcu-
pine
                                   the proximity of the great grizzly bear.
                                                                              Then
                                                                                        being
                         wī-medī'okgao.
                                                 Adat sa-gā'osga<sup>56</sup>
wī-se-la'ksesga<sup>55</sup>
                                                                           łgu-ā'utagaº. 57
                                               Then he suddenly fook
                                                                           the little porcupine.
                        the great grizzly bear.
great made fire
                               ga-sesī'otgaº 59
         dekda'kłega58
                                                     dił 60
Adat
                                                               ga-an'ô'ntgaº. 81
                                   his feet
Then he
                 tied
                                                       and
                                                                   his hands.
                                                                                      Then h
                 gesga dzô'gasga63 la'ktga0.64
hal-sgE'rt 62
                                                           Adat
                                                                  wul gwa'lk!Ensga
                             the edge of
alongside laid it
                     at
                                              the fire.
haklâ'osga<sup>66</sup> lgu-a'utagao.<sup>57</sup> N!ī<sup>33</sup> ada' wul ha'usga<sup>50</sup> wī-mædī'ok <sup>15</sup> asga<sup>16</sup>
the back of the little porcupine.
                                     Hе
                                            then
                                                          said
                                                                    the great grizzly
                                                                                      to the
                                                                          bear
```

m ni that; n/i probably demonstrative (§ 56)

[≈] gan-reason; following nin/n, it means THEREFORE; kes- out, generally directive, but here indicating the position outside; t/do to sit; -t he.

³⁵ ng- separable possession; txa- direction; ag mouth.

^{*} a preposition (§ 67) with subjective (subjunctive) pronoun attached (§ 49).

[#] nio to see; after io the connective is missing (§ 29).

⁼ Ug·i-somewhere, this or that (§ 8, no. 20); Usp-self (§ 10, no. 129); gdo something, what; Ug·i-gd'o anything; Ug·i-lsp-gdo everything.

^{**} $k = d\bar{u} o n$ the place around (a nominal expression). When used in the possessive, it is considered as inseparable possession (§ 55).

[#] ast while (§ 66, no. 7), here followed by the progressive form.

⁴¹ d'st/d'o progressive form of t/do to sit (§ 37).

⁴² gwao this; gwa'sgA that (§ 56).

⁴⁸ an interjection, probably gaksta behold; t he; nao who.

[&]quot; a'uta porcupine: -ga connective (§ 25).

[#] gun-toward (§ 10, no. 114); heotg to stand; -t he.

⁴⁶ awa proximity (a noun which corresponds to the particle gun- [see notes 39, 45]).

⁴⁷ t subject of intransitive verb, here emphatic.

[#] sqa across (§ 9, no. 36); iā'o to go; -t he.

⁴⁰ n- separable pronoun; leksd'g doorway.

be ha'u to say.

⁶¹ ts/7on (plural, la'mdzex) to enter by (imperative [§ 65]).

⁵² griot here.

^{**} n- separable possession; si'op/Ensg friend; -i my (in address [51]).

 $⁴m_B$ thou (subjective [§ 49]); dsm future (§ 59); k/a- a little while (§ 10, no. 10%); xdi to eat with some one: -u me; -t (see note 32).

³⁵ wi- great (§ 10, no. 73); sz- to make (§ 13, no. 164).

[≈] t subjective pronoun; sa-suddenly; gāo to take.

⁵⁷ lgu- little (§ 10, no. 135).

se daki to lie (with plural object dakda'ki).

⁵⁹ asī'o (plural, gasEsī'o [§ 43]).

⁶⁰ di and; l connective (§ 30).

⁶¹ an'ô'n hand; ga-an'ô'n hands (§ 43).

a hal-along (§ 9, no. 50); sgær to lie.

a dzóg edge (noun corresponds to the particle hal- [see note 62]).

⁴ lak fire (cf. note 82).

so gwalg to burn; gwa'lk/En to cause to burn (§ 17, no. 1).

⁶⁶ hak!do back; has no prefix nz-, because, as a part of the body, the possession is inseparable.

gwa'lksga⁶⁵ "Duu, duu," lgu-a'ut a⁶ la 4 n-līºm 67 hak!â'otgaoss: when the fur of its back: "Duu, duu," little porcu- at burnt pine. "Dem wa'lut," 69
"Future I do it," wī-medī'okgao, da-yê'ga 68 the great grizzly bear. . "Future said the porcupine, "chief, "untie my bands, then future being I do it what you say." what you say." Yagai⁷³ a'lget⁷⁴ nesegâ'tga⁷⁵ wī-medī'okga ha'usga lgu-a'uta ges⁷⁶ the great grizzly bear said the little porcupine minded n!ī'otgao, a wul 77 sem-gal 28 wī-gat-g a'dgao. 78 N!ī'otga kla-gat-g a'det 79 greatly he is strong. He is very most Nīn!ī'33 gan-a'lget74 n! exnō'80 klabegesga txan!ī'sga ya'ts!esgao.º among That reason not he heard Sem-gal wī-a'dzeksgao, 82 adat g'ik Very much proud, then he again ha'usga ⁸¹ lgu-a'uta gEs ⁷⁶ n! ī'otgao. little porcupine to Very him. lagauk-kla'xset 83 gesga tslem-n-la'ktga°.54 7 to fire kicked him in the fireplace.

[Translation]

When it was fall, all the animals were sitting in their towns. A great Grizzly Bear, on his part, was also sitting in his town in midwinter. Rain was always falling, and it also dripped into the house of the great Grizzly Bear. His fur was wet. Then he was much annoyed because it was raining too long, therefore he sat at the entrance of his house and looked around to see everything. While he was sitting there, behold! Porcupine came near him. When he passed the doorway of the house of the great Grizzly Bear, the great Grizzly Bear said, "Enter here, friend! You shall eat with me for a little while." Therefore the Porcupine entered near the great Grizzly Bear. The great Grizzly Bear made a great fire. He suddenly took the little Porcupine. He tied his feet and his hands. Then he laid him near the edge of the fire. Then the back of the little Porcupine when

```
or Hom hak!d'o back fur (§ 22).
```

This verb has always subjective pronouns (see § 49).

Here indicative, therefore -u objective pronoun with third person object (§ 50).

[≈] szm'A'g'id chief (see § 83).

¹¹ luo to untie. Here indicative construction in place of imperative.

⁷² dEda'ki bands; -u my; -t (see note 32).

⁷⁸ yagai however (§ 15 no. 174).

⁷⁴ a'tgz not (§ 15, no. 180; § 63).

[&]quot; nEsgā' to mind; -lgE connective (§ 24 BI2 absent).

[≈] gzs preposition, definite form before pronoun designating human beings (§ 28).

⁷⁷ a wul because (§ 67, no. 11).

m wi-greatly (§ 10, no. 73); gat-g'a'd strong (a compound of g'ad Person).

^{*} k/a- exceedingly (here used as superlative [§ 10, no. 106]).

mazno' to hear; no connective after vowels (§ 29).

at k!abs the little one, poorly (§ 10, no. 113), also plural to lyu-small.

[■] å'dzzk proud.

so lagauk- from the sides of the house to the fire; klazs to kick.

^{*} te/#m- the inside; n- place (§ 12, no. 157); lak fire.

the fur on his back was burnt, "Duu, duu!" said the great Grizzly Bear. "I will do it," said the Porcupine. "Chief, untie my bands, then I will do what you say." However, the great Grizzly Bear did not mind what the little Porcupine said to him, because he was very strong. He is the strongest of all the animals, therefore he did not listen to what the poor little Porcupine said to him. He was very proud. Then he kicked him again into the fireplace.

KWAKIUTL

BY

FRANZ BOAS

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KWAKIUTL

By Franz Boas

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

THE Wakashan stock embraces the languages spoken by a number of tribes inhabiting the coast of British Columbia and extending southward to Cape Flattery in the state of Washington. principal groups may be distinguished—the Nootka and the Kwakiutl. The former is spoken on the west coast of Vancouver island and at Cape Flattery, the latter on Vancouver island and on the coast of the mainland of British Columbia from the northern end of the Gulf of Georgia northward to the deep inlets just south of Skeena river. The outlying islands north of Milbank sound are occupied by a branch of the Tsimshian, while the coasts of Bentinck Arm are inhabited by the Bellacoola, a tribe speaking a Salish language. neighbors of the Wakashan tribes are the Tsimshian to the north, Athapascan tribes to the northeast, Salish tribes to the southeast and south, and the Quileute at Cape Flattery. Among all these languages, only the Salish and the Quileute exhibit some morphological similarities to the Kwakiutl.

The Kwakiutl language may be divided into three principal sub-languages or main dialects—the northern, or the dialect of the tribes of Gardner inlet and Douglas channel; the central, or the dialect of the tribes of Milbank sound and Rivers inlet; and the southern, which is spoken by all the tribes south and southeast of Rivers inlet. Each of these main dialects is subdivided into sub-dialects which differ somewhat in phonetics, form, and vocabulary. Their number can not be determined exactly, since almost every village has its own peculiarities. They may, however, be grouped in a number of divisions. Only the divisions of the southern dialect are known.

There are four of these. The most northern is spoken in the villages of the extreme northern end of Vancouver island and of Smith inlet; the second, in the region from Hardy bay to Nimkish river, including the islands which form the eastern coast of Queen Charlotte sound; the third is spoken in the neighborhood of Knight inlet; and the last, in Bute inlet and the region of Valdez island.

The second of these dialects, which is spoken by the Kwakiutl tribe of Vancouver island, forms the subject of the following discussion. The proper name of the tribe is Kwā'g'ul; the name of its language, Kwā'k!wala. A treatise on the grammar of this language, by Rev. Alfred J. Hall, was published in 1889; but the author has not succeeded in elucidating its structural peculiarities. I have published a brief sketch of the grammar in the Reports of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, appointed by the British Association for the Advancement of Science,2 and another in the American Anthropologist.3 Texts in the language, collected by me, were published by the United States National Museum,4 and other series of texts, also collected by me with the assistance of Mr. George Hunt, will be found in the publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.⁵ A series taken down without the assistance of Mr. Hunt from the lips of various informants will be found in the Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology.6 References in the following sketch refer to volume III of the Publications of the Jesup Expedition, if not stated otherwise; v and x refer to the respective volumes of the same series; U.S.N.M. to the paper in the Annual Report of the United States National Museum for 1895; CS to the Kwakiutl Tales in the Columbia University Series. first Arabic number of each reference indicates the page of the volume, the second the line on the page.

¹ A grammar of the Kwagiutl Language, Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1888, II, 57-105.
2 Sixth Report, Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1891, 655-668; also Eleventh Report, Ibid., 1896, 585-586.

³ N. s., n, 708-721.

[•] Annual Report for 1895, 311-737, particularly 665-731.

⁶ Vol. III, Kwakiuti Texts, by Franz Boas and George Hunt. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1902-1905. Vol. X, Part 1, Kwakiuti Texts, Second Series, by Franz Boas and George Hunt. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1906. Vol. V, Part 2, The Kwakiuti of Vancouver Island, by Franz Boas. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1909.

Kwakiutl Tales, by Franz Boas. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. II.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. Sounds

The phonetic system of the Kwakiutl is very rich. It abounds in sounds of the k series and of the l series. The system of consonants includes velars, palatals, anterior palatals, alveolars, and labials. The palatal series (English k) seems to occur only in combination with u articulations, or as labio-palatals. The anterior palatals may, however, also be explained as a k series with i position of the mouth; so that the two classes of palatals and anterior palatals may be considered as modifications of the same series. The anterior palatals have a markedly affricative character. In most of these groups we find a sonant, surd, fortis, and spirant. The sonant is harder than the corresponding English sound. The surd is pronounced with a full breath, while the fortis is a surd with increased stress and suddenness of articulation, and accompanying closure of the glottis. The sonant is so strong that it is very easily mistaken for a surd, and even more easily for a weakly pronounced fortis, since in many combinations the laryngeal intonation which characterizes the sonant appears like the glottal stop which always accompanies the fortis. Besides the groups mentioned before, we have a series of lateral linguals or l sounds, the glottal stop, and h, y, and w.

This system may be represented as follows:

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal
Velar	\boldsymbol{g}	\boldsymbol{q}	q!	x	
Palatal	$\dot{g}(w)$	k(w)	k!(w)	$x^u(w)$	_
Anterior palatal	g.	$m{k}^{\cdot}$	k·!	x.	\boldsymbol{n}
Alveolar	d_{i}	t	. t!	s(y)	_
Affricative	dz	ts	ts! ` `	_	_
Labial	\boldsymbol{b}	\boldsymbol{p}	p!	_	m
Lateral	Ļ	L	L!	l, l	_
Glottal stop, 4					
<u>-</u>	h,	y,	$oldsymbol{w}$		

The vowels are quite variable. The indistinct ε is very frequent. The two pairs i e and o u probably represent each a single intermediate sound. The whole series of vowels may be represented as follows:

			E		
i e	î	ê	\boldsymbol{a}	ô	ou.
ī ē	ë	ä	ā.	â	ō ū

By certain grammatical processes, consonants may be weakened hardened, or aspirated. These changes take place in accordance with the phonetic table given before. The hardened surd becomes a fortis, and the weakened fortis or surd becomes a sonant. The hardened and softened sonants strengthen their glottal element to an E. Examples of these changes will be given in §4. By aspiration the series of E sounds and of E sounds are transformed into their corresponding spirants, while in the dental and labial series aspiration does not occur. The hardening and weakening of the spirants reveals a number of unexpected relations of sounds. We find—

Spirants	Hardened	Weakened
\boldsymbol{x}	x^{ϵ}	$oldsymbol{x}$
x(w)	$^{\epsilon}w$	$oldsymbol{w}$
$\boldsymbol{x}^{\boldsymbol{\cdot}}$	$m{n}$	€n
8	ts!	y or dz
ł	l^3	l

Similar relations of consonants appear in cases of reduplication.

Thus we have—

```
\bar{e}'qa reduplicated \bar{e}'s^{\epsilon}\bar{e}qa (q and s) q!u'lyak^{u} reduplicated q!ulsq!u'lyak^{u} (s and y)
```

The change of x into n suggests that the n may belong rather to the anterior palatal series than to the alveolar series.

The nasals, l, y, and w, when weakened, become sonant by being preceded by the glottal stop. y and w are clearly related to i and u.

§ 3. Sound Groupings

The Kwakiutl language does not admit clusters of consonants at the beginning of words. Extensive clusters of consonants are rare; and even combinations of two consonants are restricted in number, their sequence being governed by rules of euphony. On the whole, a stop (i. e., a sonant, surd, or fortis) can not be followed by another consonant. This is carried through rigidly in the case of the palatals and laterals, while combinations of consonants in which the first is an alveolar or bilabial stop do occur. p followed by consonants is not rare; t followed by consonants is by far less frequent. The corresponding sonants followed by a consonant do not appear as often, because the intonation of the vocal cords tends to increase in strength, and an e is introduced which separates the sounds.

Besides combinations with precedent palatal stops, a few others are rigidly avoided. These are l-s, l-n, l-k^u, l-g^u, l-g^u, s-g^u, s-gu, s-g

Clusters of three or more consonants follow the same rules as combination of two consonants, so that clusters are possible as long as any two adjoining consonants tolerate each other. We find, for instance, xsd, xst, x**st, x**st!, x**dg*, nxs, nx**q!, nx**s, nsL, nlt, nlb, mxs, mx**s, mx**d, msL, mlts, mlw, lxL, lxs, lxm, lxL, lx**s, lx**d, lx**L, lsd; and of clusters of four consonants, xsdx, mx**st, nx**st.

§ 4. Euphonic Laws

There are a considerable number of rules of euphony which govern the sequence of sounds. These become active when two phonetic elements come into contact by composition or by syntactic co-ordination. They are partly ante-active (i. e., working forward) or progressive, partly retroactive or regressive, partly reciprocal. The ante-active processes include laws of assimilation and of consonantic elision; the retroactive processes consist in the hardening and softening of consonants; the reciprocal influence manifests itself in contraction and consonantic assimilation. Since the rules of consonantic combination (§ 3) relate partly to the initial, partly to the terminal consonant of the combination, these changes are apparently partly ante-active, partly retroactive; but since they are founded on the mutual influence of adjoining sounds, they are better treated under the head of reciprocal changes.

(1) Ante-active Changes

The u vowels do not admit of a following anterior palatal, which is changed into a palatal with following w, or, as we may say, k sounds with i tinge become k sounds with u tinge when following a u vowel; or k sounds following u vowels are labialized. Posterior palatals, when following a u vowel, also assume a u tinge.

Instances of these changes are the following:

(ṭā'wayu-g·ila)	tā'wayugwila to make a sal- mon-weir 26.39
$(s\bar{o}'-g\cdot an_Em)$	sõ'gwanem you perhaps 146.28
(Ļā'wayu-g·a)	<i>Ļā'wayugwa</i> this salmon-weir
$(\bar{o}'-g\cdot iw-\bar{e}^{\epsilon})$	ō'gwiwē' forehead 19.5
$(\bar{o}$ - $g \cdot \hat{i}g \cdot a)$	$\bar{o}'gug \cdot \bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ inside
(*mā'qēs [āyaha] sō*-k'as)	*mā'qēs(āyaha)sō*kwas really thrown into my belly 478.1
$(\bar{o}'$ - k · $\ddot{a}x$ ·- \bar{e}^{ϵ})	<i>ō'kwäx:ē</i> ⁵ knee 154.11
$(\bar{o}'-k\cdot!\hat{n}-\bar{e}^{\epsilon})$	$\bar{o}'k!win\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ body 61.13
$(\bar{o}'-k\cdot!\hat{i}lg-\bar{e}')$	ō'k!wulgē' front of body
$(bar{o}'$ - x · $^{\epsilon}ar{i}d)$	$bar{o}'x^{\epsilon}war{d}$ to leave

Changes of velars following a u vowel:

When the vowel following the k after a u vowel is an E, the timbre of the weak vowel tends towards the U.

When a u vowel is followed by a consonantic cluster the first sound of which is a k sound (according to § 3 these can be only x, x^u , or x), the x changes to x^u , while the others remain unaffected.

```
\begin{array}{ll} (y\bar{u}'\text{-}x\cdot s\bar{a}) & y\bar{u}'x^us\bar{a} \text{ it is entirely this } 102.18 \\ (\bar{o}\text{-}x\cdot siu\text{-}\bar{e}^t) & \bar{o}'x^us\bar{\imath}w\bar{e}^t \text{ mouth of river} \\ \\ \text{On the other hand} -- \\ (\bar{o}\text{-}x\iota\bar{a}\text{-}\bar{e}^t) & \bar{o}'x\iota\bar{a}^t \text{ head part} \\ (b\bar{o}\text{-}x\iota\bar{e}) & b\bar{o}'x\iota\bar{e} \text{ to leave a miserable} \\ & \text{person} \end{array}
```

The u tinge of k sounds and the very short u do not seem to modify the following anterior palatal g, at least not according to the usage of the older generation.

```
 \begin{array}{lll} (y\bar{o}k^u\!-\!g\cdot a^{\epsilon}l) & y\bar{o}'k!vg\cdot a^{\epsilon}l & (\text{not } y\bar{o}'k!ugwa^{\epsilon}l) \\ & \text{noise of wind} \\ (m_Eg^u\!-\!g\cdot it\!-\!x\cdot^{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}d) & m_Egug\cdot \bar{\iota}'t!\bar{\epsilon}d & \text{to put things on} \\ & & \text{the body 199.11} \end{array}
```

Examples of change of the anterior palatal to the medial labiopalatal kw are, however, not absent.

 $(d\bar{a}'doq^u$ -k·ina-la) $d\bar{a}'doxkwinala$ to see accidentally

I have recorded as equally admissible—

 $g \cdot \bar{o}' x^{u} g \cdot \hat{n}$ and $g \cdot \bar{o}' x^{u} g u n$ my visible house here $g \cdot \bar{o}' x^{u} g \cdot a \, \epsilon n$ and $g \cdot \bar{o}' x^{u} g w a \, \epsilon n$ my invisible house here

While the rule just described is founded entirely on the phonetic influence of the stem element upon its suffix, we have also a class of phonetic changes which are due to etymological causes, and can not be brought entirely under phonetic rules.

When a word ending in a consonant is followed by a suffix beginning with another consonant, there is a strong tendency to elision of the initial consonant of the suffix, although the combination may be admissible according to the general phonetic laws. Thus the compound of the stem $q\bar{a}s$ - to walk, and the suffix $-x^{-\epsilon}id$ to begin, would result in the phonetically admissible combination $q\bar{a}'sx^{-\epsilon}id$, which we find in a word like ${}^{\epsilon}w\bar{a}lasx\hat{e}'$ lynx. Nevertheless, the resulting form is $q\bar{a}'s^{\epsilon}id$. The elision of the initial sound of the suffix is therefore not entirely due to phonetic causes, and must be treated in detail in a discussion of the suffixes. It is quite likely that the suffixes in question may be compounds of two suffixes, the first of the combination being dropped. The question will be discussed more fully in § 18 (p. 449).

Another ante-active change which is not entirely due to phonetic causes is the transformation of a into $w\ddot{a}$ after n and vowels, which occurs in a few suffixes: for instance—

 $t/\bar{e}'p$ -d to step off $s\bar{o}p$ -d'la to chop off k-at-d'la long thing on water lā'-wä to be off (the right line)dā'wä to fail to holdhan-wä'la hollow thing on water

mex-d'la canoe drifts on water

 $g \cdot i' - w \ddot{a} l a$ to be on water

(2) Retroactive Changes

The changes just mentioned are best explained as an effect of the stem upon the suffix. We find, however, also others, indicating an action of the suffix upon the stem. These consist in a hardening or weakening of the terminal consonant of the stem, and can not be explained by phonetic causes, but must be founded on etymological processes.

The following examples illustrate these processes which were mentioned before in § 2. In the first column the stems are given, the terminal sounds of which are modified by the addition of suffixes. In the second column hardened forms are given, in the third weakened

forms. In order to make the changes more readily recognizable, the suffixes are separated from the stems by means of hyphens.

(a) Theme ends in surd or fortis:

Theme	Hardened	Weakened
ēp- to pinch	$\bar{e}'p!$ - $\bar{i}d$ to begin to pinch	<i>ē'b-ayu</i> dice 112.93
qap- to upset	$qap!$ - $\bar{a}'l\bar{o}d$ to upset on rock 179.27	qab-ē's upset on the beach
$xa\bar{a}'p!$ cradle 53.42		$xa\bar{a}'b$ - εk^u cradled
wat- to lead		$w\bar{a}'d$ - Ek^u led 109.6
yat- to rattle	ya't!-āla rattle sound 229.27	
āt!- sinew		ad - $\bar{e}'g$ · i back sinew
t!ēk'- to lie on back		$t!\bar{e}'g$ - $\bar{\imath}l$ to lie on back
256.38		in house 259.12
k·/ē'lak·- to club	k·!ē'lak·!-ēnē* club- bing	
LEMK'- to wedge	neck, i. e., foot of tree	LE'mg'ayu wedge
<i>geg</i> :- wife	qā'qak'!a to try to get a wife	$g \varepsilon g \cdot a' d$ having a wife
<i>b⊾k</i> ^u − man	bek!-u's man in woods	$b = gw - \bar{i}'s$ man on beach
tēku- to expect		tēgu-enā'kula to come in sight being ex- pected X 186.2
<i>xunk</i> ^u - child		xu'ngwad having a child CS 170.11
$^{\epsilon}n_{E}m_{\bar{o}}'k^{u}$ one person	*nemō'k!us one person on ground CS 212.11	enemō'gwis one person on beach
<i>Elq</i> ^u to put out tongue	Elq!w-ēnoxu a person who removes cin- ders from eye with tongue	
yāqu- to lie dead		yā'gw-īs lying dead on beach
wunq- deep		wu'ng- il deep floor 187.23
k'!îmL- to adze	k:!î'mL!-āla noise of adzing, U.S.N.M. 677.19	
<i>q!ulā' 1-</i> to hide		q!ulā' Ļ-*nā'kula to go along hiding 262.39

(b) Theme ends in sonant:

Theme Hardened Weakened Dzā'wad E-ēnox^u peo-Dzā'wad Knight ple of Knight inlet inlet $g E g \cdot a' d E - \bar{e} n \bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ state of geg'a'd having a wife having a wife 'nā'x''id day comes ${}^{\epsilon}n\bar{a}'x\cdot{}^{\epsilon}\bar{i}da-\bar{e}nox^{u}$ a condition in which day is coming regularly 393.4 mē'x ba to burn at mē'x baāk" burnt at end 247.9 end $q\bar{a}'s'\bar{\imath}d$ to walk gā's⁵īda-as walking place meg- to caulk megaē'nē caulking 100.32

(c) Theme ends in spirant, continued lateral, or nasal:

Theme	Hardened	Weakened
denx- to sing	$d\bar{a}'d \epsilon nx$ - ϵa to try to sing	
<i>tax</i> ^u − to stand	ıā'⁴w-a to stand on rock	<i>Ļā'w-ayu</i> salmon- weir
qamxu- down of bird	qā'qam'w-a to try to put on down of bird	
max- potlatch		'mā'w-ayu means of giving potlatch
<i>sēx</i> •- to paddle	$sar{e}'^{\epsilon}w$ - $ar{e}nox^{u}$ paddler	$sar{e}'w$ - ayu paddle
<i>mîx</i> :- to strike with fist	mā'man-a trying to strike	$m_E n$ -a'ts! \bar{e} striking receptacle (drum)
k·!ēs not	$k \cdot !\bar{e}'ts!\bar{e}n\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ not being 10.9	•
p!Es- to flatten		p!Ey-a'yu means of flattening
qās- to walk		qā'y-an em obtained by walking
t!ōs- to cut		$t!\bar{o}'dz$ -at \bar{o} to cut ear
<i>ts!ōl</i> - black	ts!ō'l-E'mya with black cheek	tsōl-atō with black ear
k· il - afraid		k · \hat{u} - $\mathbf{E}'m$ fear
g:il- to walk on four feet	g·ā'g·i·l-a to try to walk on four feet	
mel- white		*melbo' white-chested
ham- to eat		ha*m-ā'yu eating in- strument (fork)

Stems ending in s and x^u present peculiar forms when the accent falls upon the semivocalic y and w, into which these sounds are transformed. The y becomes \bar{c} , the w becomes \bar{c} . Thus we have from—

xis- to disappear x·ē'enākula to disappear gradually $q! E l \bar{e}' k^u$ sunk into water Vq!Els- to sink under water 488.9 $^{\epsilon}m \times n\bar{e}'k^{u}$ measured V 477.1 mens- to measure t! Ems- to beat time t! mē'dzō to beat time on a flat thing III 86.5 siō''nākula to paddle along III $s\bar{e}x^u$ to paddle 297.10 $y\hat{x}^u$ - to dance yū'[€]nākula to dance along

In some cases the preceding vowel, if accented, is contracted with the y which has originated from s.

qas- to walk

qä'enākula to walk along qä'nōdzē to walk alongside of

The use of dz and y in place of s does not seem to follow any definite rules. Thus we find—

le'ndzem (la-ns-em) means of taking under water X 62.10 qā'dzas place of walking (considered not as goods as qā'yas) gwā'yaxsta (gwās-exsta) to bring mouth near to one III 71.33 wā'layas (wālas-as) size X 161.25

*me'nyem (*mens-em) measuring instrument

 $h\bar{a}'dz$ exstax. $\bar{a}id$ ($h\bar{a}s$ -exsta-x. $\bar{a}id$) to begin to make noise III 161.22

ha nē'dzas (han-ēs-as) canoe lying on beach X 161.17

A purely phonetic change belonging to this class is the palatalization of k^u and x^u preceding an o or u. $q!\bar{a}k^u$ - slave becomes $q!\bar{a}'k\cdot\bar{o}$; ${}^amek^u$ - a round thing being in a position becomes ${}^cmek\cdot\bar{a}'la$ round thing on water (island); pex^u - to float becomes $pex\cdot\bar{a}'la$ to float on water.

(3) Reciprocal Changes

These are partly purely phonetic, partly etymological. Contact of consonants results in their adaptation to admissible combinations. Therefore terminal k and L surds are changed before initial consonants of suffixes into their spirants. This change is also made when, in a sequence of two words which stand in close syntactic relation,

the former ends in a k or L surd, and the latter begins with a consonant. On the other hand, s following a l becomes ls; s following a l forms with it ls; and s and a preceding s are transformed into ls. In some cases these changes persist even after the elision of the first consonant of the suffix, in accordance with l 4 (1). From l l l l This phenomenon will be more fully discussed in l 18 (p. 449). In a number of instances l before an affricative changes to l.

Surd k stops changed into spirants:

*nēk to say

nä'enaku to return

 $w\bar{e}q^u$ - to shove a long thing $m\bar{o}k^u$ -to tie

L changed into l:

yîr- to tie

 \bar{a}_{L} to tear

kwē'xala L-xwa

s following t changed to ts:

 $(k!w\bar{e}'l-s\bar{o}^s)$

 $(q!\bar{o}x-ts!\bar{o}-\bar{e}L-sa)$

 $(l_E g w \bar{\imath}' l - sa g \cdot \bar{o}' k^u)$

s following d or t forms ts:

(Lā'gwīlb End-sēs)

(le'temd-so')

enē'x:dems time of saying enēx:L he will say III 33.13 nä'enaxuL he will return home III 33.26

 $w\bar{e}'^{\epsilon}x^{u}st$ end to shove into water $m\bar{o}'x^{u}b\bar{a}la$ to tie to end III 89.15

yîlp!ē'gEnd to tie to a pole III 158.32

ālts! E'nd to tear through (a string)

kwē'xalalxwa will dance this

k!wē'ttsō^e feasted III 32.32 q!ō'xts!ɛwīltsa to dress in III 303.26

leqwi'ltsa g. ōku the fire of the

Lā'qwīlb Entsēs to push nose with his III 349.20

lē'temtsō^e cover is taken off from face III 109.23

s following another s forms with it ts:

 $(ax^{\epsilon}\bar{a}'s$ -sEn)

 $(q\bar{a}'s-s\bar{e}^{\epsilon}st\bar{a}la)$

ax^eā'tsɛn place of my III 32.6 qā'tsē^estāla to walk around III 23.13

The sounds y and w, when interconsonantic, change to \bar{e} and \bar{o} :

(meny-ku [from mens-])

 $(t! Emy-dz\bar{o} [from t! Ems-])$

 $m \in n\tilde{e}'k^u$ measured

t! mē'dzō to beat time on something flat

```
p!ēku one to whom potlatch is
  (p/Ey-k^u [from p/Es-])
                                               given III 163.40
                                            q \epsilon m \bar{o}' k^u covered with down
  (qemw-k^u [from qemx^u-])
                                               III 153.35
                                            x\bar{o}k^{u} split IV 246.39
  (xew-k^u [from xex^u-])
On the other hand, \bar{e} and \bar{o} preceding a vowel become y and w.
  (\bar{o}-ag-\bar{e}^{e})
                                            awā'gē crotch
   Lō and
                                             LE wes and his
  ^{\epsilon}n\bar{e}'x.s\bar{o}^{\epsilon} he was told
                                            enē'x se wēda K. K. was told
                                            xâ'eyas his thing that has been
  xa'ē something split
                                               split
  Lā'sanâē seaside
                                            Lā'sana'yas its seaside
The ending \bar{e}^{t}, when preceded by a consonant and followed by a
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vowel, changes to $a^{\epsilon}y$.

 $na'q\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ mind na'qa'yas his mind g·ī'gama'yas his chief g·ī'gamē' chief The diphthong ay, when preceding a consonant, becomes ä. ayō'l desired ä'xula to desire (qay-*nā'kula [from qās-]) qäenā'kula to walk along

Another class of reciprocal changes affect the vowels. It seems that there are no purely phonetic rules which restrict the sequence of vowels, but contractions occur which depend upon the etymological Thus the suffix -a (p. 533), when following a value of the suffix. terminal a, is contracted with it into \ddot{a} , $\ddot{o}'^{\epsilon}ma-a$ that chieftainess becoming $\bar{o}'^{\epsilon}m\ddot{a}$; with terminal o it is contracted into \hat{o} , $\bar{\mu}\bar{a}'wayo-a$ THAT SALMON RIVER becoming Lā'wayô. On the other hand, we have, in the case of other suffixes, g.ā'xaaqōs your coming, in which two adjoining a's are not contracted.

Similar contractions occur in a number of suffixes:

(ts!ä-anem)	ts!ä'nrm obtained by drawing water
(lā'wä-āmas)	lawä'mas to cause to be off from a line
(ts!ä-ayu)	ts!ä'yu instrument for draw- ing water
(ts!å-an _E m)	ts!d'nem obtained by giving
$(L!\bar{a}y\bar{o}-ap!)$	L!ayd'p! to exchange
$(lex a' - \bar{a} lisem)$	lexa lisem to die of coughing

The consonants m and l have a similar effect upon vowels:

 $(d\bar{e}'g_{E}m$ -ayu) $d\bar{e}'g$ *emyu* means of wiping face t!E'myu thread, i. e., means of (t! Em-ayu) sewing

GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES (§§ 5-8)

§ 5. Enumeration of Grammatical Processes

Grammatical categories and syntactic relations are expressed by means of three processes. These are—

- 1. Composition.
- 2. Changes in the phonetic character of the stem.
- 3. Position.

§ 6. Composition

Kwakiutl possesses a large number of stems which occur seldom without word-forming affixes. The latter are numerous, and they are always attached to the ends of stems or of derivatives of stems. The number of stems exceeds by far the number of suffixes. The meaning of many of these suffixes can not be determined, and in their phonetic values they appear subordinate to the stems with which they firmly coalesce.

Two processes bring about the coalescence between stem and suffix:
(1) Phonetic contact phenomena and (2) contact phenomena due to the individual character of the stem and of the suffix (see § 4).

The former of these processes is founded entirely on phonetic laws, and includes the transformation in the suffix of a k sound into the corresponding sound with u timber, after terminal u or o sound of the stem or preceding suffix; the change of a k^u and x^u preceding an o or u into k and x; modification of the terminal consonant of the stem or preceding suffix, and of the initial consonant of the suffix, which form inadmissible combinations; and contraction.

The second group of processes can not be explained by phonetic laws, but depends upon the individuality of the suffix and of the stem or preceding suffix. The phenomena involved are contractions of the terminal stem and initial suffix vowels, although the combination of vowels may be quite admissible; elision of consonants; introduction of connective consonants; and retroactive changes which affect the terminal consonant of the stem. In one case, at least, the reason for the introduction of a connective consonant may be traced with a high degree of probability to the retention of the terminal sound of a suffix when combined with other suffixes, while the same sound has been lost when the same suffix closes the word (see p. 532).

The modifications which affect the terminal consonant of the stem belong almost exclusively to a group of suffixes which usually follow the stem itself, and do not readily admit any preceding suffixes. Most of these either harden or weaken the terminal consonant of the stem, although there is also a considerable number of suffixes of this class which do not produce any changes other than those entailed by purely phonetic laws. In a few cases the changes produced by the suffix are very irregular. It is probable that no verbal or nominal stem ever appears without a suffix of this class. Therefore the terminal sound of a stem can not be determined unless it occurs with a suffix which produces no change.

§ 7. Changes in the Phonetic Character of the Stem

Setting aside the secondary changes produced by the action of phonetic laws and by the mutual effect of stem and suffix, we find that reduplication and change of vowel are used to express grammatical concepts. In the verb we find complete duplication of the stem, with assimilation of the terminal consonant of the first repeated syllable with the following consonant; for instance, $l\bar{o}q^u$ - to fish halibut, $l\bar{o}x'^u loqwa$ to fish now and again. True reduplication is, on the whole, restricted to the initial consonant. The vowel of the reduplicated syllable does not always depend upon the stem-vowel, but differs according to the function of reduplication. Vowel-changes in the stem are rare, and consist generally of a lengthening of the stem-vowel. In many cases they may be explained as modified reduplication.

§ 8. Position

The position of words in the sentence is determined by syntactic particles. The parts of the sentence are held together firmly, and their position is definitely determined by their coalescence with syntactic elements which indicate the relations of subject, object, instrument, and possession. By this means the whole sentence is knit together so firmly that a separation into words is quite arbitrary. The firmness of this word-complex is due largely to the complete phonetic coalescence of the syntactic particle with the preceding word, and to its function as determining the syntactic value of the following word. It is of course impossible to determine whether this is an original trait of the language, or whether it is due to a phonetic decadence of the syntactic elements, similar to the one that may be observed in French in the combinations between verb and pronoun.

IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES (§§ 9-17)

§ 9. Character of Stems

Although the formal distinction of noun and verb is quite sharp, the great freedom with which nouns may be transformed into verbs, and verbs into nouns, makes a classification difficult. All stems seem to be neutral, neither noun nor verb; and their nominal or verbal character seems to depend solely upon the suffix with which they are used, although some suffixes are also neutral. I am led to this impression chiefly by the indiscriminate use of suffixes with stems that occur as nouns, as well as with others that occur as verbs. A separation of suffixes of nouns and those of verbs can be carried through only when the sense of the suffix requires its composition with either a verb or a noun, and even in these cases compositions with the opposite class occur which are sometimes difficult to understand. The neutral character of the stem may also be the reason why many suffixes are attached to the stem freed of all wordforming elements. Examples of the indiscriminate use of suffixes with stems that we should be inclined to class as either nominal or verbal are--

bek!u's man of the woods (from begu man, -s in woods)

t/ē'k'! Es to lie on back on ground (from t/ēk'- to lie on back, and the same suffix as before)

 $t/\bar{e}'s \epsilon mx \cdot ts/\bar{e}na$ stone handed (from $t/\bar{e}'s$ - stone, $-\epsilon m$ plural, $-x \cdot ts/\bar{e}na$ hand)

axts/anā'la to hold in hand (from ax- to do, and the same suffix as before)

It is difficult to understand the combination of a suffix like $-\bar{o}_L$ to obtain with stems some of which we consider as verbal, while others appear to us as nominal stems. We find $q!\bar{a}'k'\cdot\bar{o}_L$ to obtain a slave (from $q!\bar{a}k^u$ - slave), and also $l\bar{o}_L$ to obtain (from la, a general auxiliary verb, originally designating motion). Lack of discrimination between the nominal and verbal function of words is also brought out by compounds like $b \not \equiv gw\bar{a}'n \not \equiv mx^{\cdot e}id$ to become a man (from $b \not \equiv gw\bar{a}'n \not \equiv mx^{\cdot e}id$, inchoative), and $mix^{\cdot e}i'd$ to begin to strike (from $mix^{\cdot e}i'$ or strike and the inchoative suffix).

A number of suffixes may also be used indiscriminately with nominal and verbal function; for instance, from -naxwa sometimes,

We have $l\bar{a}'naxwa$ HE GOES SOMETIMES and $x \cdot iy\bar{a}'snaxwa$ PLACE WHERE SOMETHING DISAPPEARS FROM TIME TO TIME (from $x \cdot is$ - to disappear, $-\bar{a}s$ place of). For these reasons a strict classification into nominal and verbal suffixes does not seem admissible.

§ 10. Nominal Suffixes

Nevertheless many suffixes have assumed distinctly the function of giving to a stem a nominal or a verbal character. We find, for instance, many nouns ending in -a and $-\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$, others ending in $-\epsilon m$, animate beings ending in $-\bar{a}n\epsilon m$, and terms of relationship ending in -mp. Besides these, there are a great many which express place and time of an action or process, various forms of the nomen actoris, the results and causes of actions and processes, possession, instrumentality, material, etc.; in short, a wide range of verbal nouns. They retain, however, their neutral value. This is best expressed by the fact that most of these verbal nouns retain their syntactic relation to the direct and indirect object. The Kwakiutl does not say "the seeing-place of the canoe," but "the place-of-seeing the canoe."

Among purely verbal suffixes, there are a number which express actions affecting nouns, which for this reason are always (or at least generally) suffixed to nouns, as, "to make," "to take care of," "to sound;" verbs expressing sense impressions, as "to smell of," "to taste like;" and words like "to die of." With these groups may be classed a number of suffixes which change the subject of the sentence, like the passives and causatives.

§ 11. Local and Modal Suffixes

Most important among the suffixes which are both verbal and nominal is the extensive group of local terms. These embrace a great variety of ideas expressed by our prepositions and by many local adverbs, and contain also a long series of more special local ideas (like "in the house," "into the house," "on the ground," "on the beach," "on rocks," "in the fire," "in water") and an exhaustive series of terms designating locally parts of the body (for instance, "on the hand," "on the chest," "on the thigh," "in the body"). A second group classify nouns according to form, and set off human beings as a distinct category. A third class of suffixes indicate time-relations, such as past, present, and future. With these may be classed the suffixes which indicate the modality of a process as

beginning, gradual, continued, repeated, uncertain, simulated, etc. Many of these suffixes express the subjective relation of the mind of the speaker to the event. This is also true of the demonstrative suffixes indicating position in relation to the speaker, and visibility or invisibility. These, however, must be classed with the syntactic particles which will be found treated on pages 527 et seq. To the suffixes expressing subjective relation belong those expressing the source of subjective knowledge—as by hearsay, or by a dream. Quite numerous are the suffixes expressing ideas like "much," "little," "admirably," "miserably," "surprisingly." I am under the impression that all these have primarily a subjective coloring and a high emotional Thus, the ending $-dz\bar{e}$ large is used in such a manner that it conveys the impression of overwhelming size, or the subjective impression of size, while the word wa'las expresses size without the emotional element; -xō1 indicates the entirely unexpected occurrence of an event and the surprise excited by it. The latter example shows that the subjective character of these suffixes may also be used to express the relations of a sentence to the preceding sentence. sense, -xoL is a disjunctive suffix. As a matter of fact, these suffixes are used extensively to express the psychological relation of a sentence to the preceding sentence. They indicate connection as well as contrast, and thus take the place of our conjunctions.

§ 12. Classes of Words

The classification of suffixes here given shows that a division of words into verbs and nouns has taken place, both being fairly clearly distinguished by suffixes. We find, however, that syntactically the distinction is not carried through rigidly; nouns being treated with great ease as verbs, and verbs as nouns. It must be added here that the forms of the pronouns as attached to the noun and as attached to the verb are distinct. Since the psychological relation of sentences is included in the process of suffix formation, conjunctions are absent. For this reason, and on account of the verbal character of most adverbs, there remain only few classes of words—nouns, verbs, and particles.

There is no clear classification of nouns into groups, although the grammatical treatment of nouns designating human beings and of those designating other objects is somewhat different, particularly in the treatment of the plural. The noun-forming suffixes, mentioned

in the beginning of § 10, also indicate the occurrence of certain classes of ideas. The principle of classification, however, remains obscure. In syntactic construction a classification of nouns according to form—such as long, round, flat—is carried through in some cases, and runs parallel with a differentiation of verbs of position and motion for objects of different form.

§ 13. Plurality

The idea of plurality is not clearly developed. Reduplication of a noun expresses rather the occurrence of an object here and there, or of different kinds of a particular object, than plurality. It is therefore rather a distributive than a true plural. It seems that this form is gradually assuming a purely plural significance. In many cases in which it is thus applied in my texts, the older generation criticises its use as inaccurate. Only in the case of human beings is reduplication applied both as a plural and a distributive. In the pronoun the idea of plurality is not developed. The combination of speaker and others must not be considered as a plurality; but the two possible combinations-of the speaker and others, including the person addressed, and of the speaker and others, excluding the person addressed-are distinguished as two separate forms, both of which seem to be derived from the form denoting the speaker (first person singular). The plurality of persons addressed and of persons spoken of is indicated by the addition of a suffix which probably originally meant "people." This, however, is not applied unless the sense requires an emphasis of the idea of plurality. It does not occur with inanimate nouns.

In the verb, the idea of plurality is naturally closely associated with that of distribution; and for this reason we find, also in Kwakiutl, the idea of plurality fairly frequently expressed by a kind of reduplication similar to that used for expressing the distributive of nouns. This form is applied regularly in the Bella Bella dialect, which has no means of expressing pronominal plurality.

Related to the reduplicated nominal plural is also the reduplicated verbal stem which conveys purely the idea of distribution, of an action done now and then.

§ 14. Reduplication for Expressing Unreality

Reduplication is also used to express the diminutive of nouns, the idea of a playful performance of an activity, and the endeavor to perform an action. It would seem that in all these forms we have the

fundamental idea of an approach to a certain concept without its realization. In all these cases the reduplication is combined with the use of suffixes which differentiate between diminution, imitation, and endeavor.

§ 15. Pronominal Ideas

In the pronoun the three persons of speaker, person addressed, and person spoken of are each represented by formal elements. It was stated before that the inclusive and exclusive form of the first person plural are distinguished, and that both are probably derived from the first person singular. This means that these two forms are not conceived as plurals. It was also stated that the second and third persons have no pronominal plural.

The demonstrative is developed in strict correspondence with the personal pronoun; position near the speaker, near the person addressed, and near the person spoken of being distinguished. These locations are subdivided into two groups, according to visibility and invisibility. The rigidity with which location in relation to the speaker is expressed, both in nouns and in verbs, is one of the fundamental features of the language. The distinction of proper nouns and common nouns, and that of definiteness and indefiniteness—similar to that expressed by our articles—is expressed by a differentiation of form of these demonstrative elements.

The possessive pronoun has forms which are different from those of the verbal pronouns, and by their use verb and noun may be clearly distinguished.

§ 16. Syntactic Relations

The fundamental syntactic categories are predicate, subject, object, possession (which is closely related to instrumentality), and finality (which is closely related to causality and conditionality). In other words, the syntactic cases, nominative, accusative, genitive (possessive or instrumentalis), finalis (causalis), may be distinguished, while all local relations are expressed in other ways (see § 11). Verbal subordination is expressed by means of forms which are closely allied to these nominal cases. Verbal co-ordination is expressed by verbal suffixes, and thus does not belong to the group of syntactic phenomena.

§ 17. Character of Sentence

The contents of the Kwakiutl sentence are characterized primarily by an exuberant development of localization. This is brought about partly by the use of local suffixes which define the exact place where an action is performed, without regard to the speaker; partly by the expression of location in relation to the speaker. Thus the sentence "My friend is sick" would require in Kwakiutl local definition, such as "My visible friend near me is sick in the house here." Furthermore, the psychological relation of the sentence to the state of mind of the speaker—or to the contents of preceding sentences—is expressed with great care. The chief formal characterization of the sentence is the close connection of its parts, which is due to the fewness of syntactic forms by means of which all possible relations are expressed, and to the subordination of the noun under the verb by means of particles which coalesce phonetically with the preceding word, while they determine the function of the following word.

DESCRIPTION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 18-69)

Formation of Words (§§ 18-46)

Composition (§§ 18-39)

§ 18. SUFFIXES

Compounds are formed by the use of suffixes. There is no proof that the numerous suffixes were originally independent words. I have found only one case in which an independent word appears also as a suffix. This is -q/EE TO EAT (p. 501), which occurs independently as q/EE TO EAT MEAT 21.9. We may also suspect that the suffix -p/a TO TASTE, and the stem p/aq- TO TASTE, are related. It seems hardly justifiable to infer from these two cases that all suffixes must have originated from independent words; since the independence of these two stems may be a recent one, or their subordination may have been made according to analogous forms. It is perhaps also not fortuitous that the suffix forms for the idea "to eat" are exceedingly irregular.

The Kwakiutl language has very few particles, or words unable to be modified by composition with other elements. The suffixed elements coalesce quite firmly with the theme to which they are attached. Pronominal and syntactic suffixes must be distinguished from those forming denominating and predicating ideas, that, by themselves, are not sentences. Among the latter class we find a considerable number that may be designated as terminal or completive, in so far as they round off the theme into a complete word

without any appreciable addition to its significance. Many of these are of rare occurrence. Almost all of them, except -a and -la, are denominative in character. We find for instance:

from the stem	dzaxu-	dza ^e wu'n silver salmon ha ^e nō'n humpback salmon		
	hanxu-			
	gwāx-	gwā'xnis dog salmon		
	m El-	$m \mathbf{z} l \bar{e}' k$ sockeye salmon		
	m _E t-	m et!ā'nē large clam (Saxi- domus)		
	l_{Eq} -	$\ell_{Eq} \prime_{EstE'} n$ kelp		
	ts!ēx·-	ts!ēx:i'nas elderberry		
	$t!_{E}q^{u}$ -	t! exusō's cinquefoil		

The composition of these stems with various suffixes enables us to isolate them from their completive endings. It is not improbable that in some cases by analogy forms may have developed which are not true stems, but fragmentary phonetic groups derived secondarily from longer words. The stems are almost throughout monosyllabic, as will be shown on page 550. When, for instance, the word $g\bar{e}'was$ DEER is treated as though it were a compound of the stem $g\bar{e}x^{u}$ - to HANG and the suffix -as PLACE, it is barely possible that this does not represent its true origin. The treatment of a few English loan-words makes it plausible that this process may have taken place. On the other hand, a number of polysyllabic Kwakiutl words are never reduced to monosyllabic elements in composition. As an example may be given the word $m\bar{e}'gwat$ SEAL, which never loses any of its sounds. This process shows clearly that what has often been termed "apocope," or, if occurring initially, "decapitation," is merely due to a substitution of one affix for another one.

Most suffixes in Kwakiutl add a new idea to the word to which they are added, and these are generally attached to the theme. At the same time, phonetic modifications occur, either in the theme alone, or in the suffix alone, or in both. Examples of such compounds are the following:

b ∈k*- man	<pre>bā'k!um genuine man, Indian (see no. 111)</pre>
iap- to peg	Labr'm pegging utensil, peg (see no. 173)
xuls- to long	$xu'ly\bar{a}l\bar{\imath}sem$ to die of longing 382.27 (see no. 152)
<i>mel</i> -sockeye salmon	$m_E l m \bar{a}' n \bar{o}$ head of sockeye salmon

When a significant suffix is added to a word provided with a significant suffix, the latter loses its formal, completive element, if it has one, and the new suffix is attached to the theme of the first suffix. For instance:

t! Eku- to move, -ax- down (no. 19), -g·alīl in house (no. 46), t! Ekwā'xalīl to take down in house

hël-right, -k·!ōt opposite (no. 12), -ag-crotch (no. 71), -ē* noun (no. 161), hë'lk·!ōdaqē* right side in crotch, i. e., right anal fin xunk*- child, -ad having (no. 170); -x·*īd to begin (no. 90),

xu'ngwadex'id to begin to have a child

 $L!\bar{a}q^u$ -red, copper; $-\bar{e}^e st$ - around (no. 6), $-g \cdot al\bar{\imath}l$ in house (no. 46), $-k^u$ passive participle, $L!\bar{a}'qw\bar{e}^e stal\bar{\imath}lk^u$ made to be copper all around in the house

*mel- white, -xlō hair of body (no. 76), -geml mask (no. 54a), *me'lxlōgeml white body-hair mask, i. e., mountain-goat mask

Other suffixes are added to words which retain their formal, completive elements. Examples are—

Stem.	Completive suffix.	Suffix.	
$q!\bar{a}'k^u$ - slave	-ō	-bidō€	$q!\bar{a}'k.\bar{o}bid\bar{o}^{\epsilon}$ little slave
$q!w\bar{a}s$ - to cry	-a	- $bar{u}la$	$q!w\bar{a}'sab\bar{u}la$ to pretend
			to cry
<i>sās-</i> children	- <i>E</i> m	-nuk	sā's mnuk having chil-
			$\operatorname{d}\mathbf{ren}$

In still other cases the usage is not absolutely fixed:

hank- to shoot, -bes fond of, ha'nlbes fond of shooting $\bar{e}'ax$ - to work, -ala completive suffix, -bes fond of, $\bar{e}'axalabes$ fond of work

or with slight differentiation of meaning:

 $b \not = k^u$ - man, $-\bar{a} n \not = m$ completive suffix, $-k \cdot ! \bar{a} l a$ noise $b \not = k ! w \bar{a}' l a$ man's voice $b \not = g w \bar{a}' n \not = m k \cdot ! \bar{a} l a$ voice of a man

For convenience' sake those suffixes that are attached to the stem without its formal, completive endings may be called stem-suffixes; the others which are attached to the stem with its formal endings, word-suffixes. As indicated before, the line of demarcation between these two classes is not rigidly drawn. An examination of the list of word-suffixes shows that they include largely adverbial and conjunctional ideas possessing a strong subjective element, and implying a judgment or valuation of the idea expressed in the word to which the suffix is attached.

While the word-suffixes modify the terminal sound of the stem and undergo changes of their own initial sounds in accordance with the rules of sound grouping, the stem-suffixes exert a more farreaching effect upon the stem to which they are affixed. On the whole, these changes are quite regular and consist, on the one hand, in the transformation of surds into fortes, and the other in the transformation of surds and fortes into sonants, and other parallel changes described in § 4. I have called the former group hardening suffixes, because the intensity of articulation of the terminal sound is increased, and accordingly the acoustic effect of the sound is harder; while I designate the second group as weakening suffixes, because the intensity of articulation is decidedly decreased by their action. A third group of suffixes is indifferent and causes or suffers no changes except those occasioned by the laws of sound grouping. A fourth group loses initial sounds when the stem to which they are suffixed terminates in certain sounds. These are mostly indifferent, but a few are hardening or weakening suffixes.

The only sounds thus affected are anterior palatals $(g^*, k^*, k^*!, x^*)$, the sonant velar (g), x, and s. The loss of the initial palatal or velar never occurs after vowels, m, n, and l. It occurs regularly after labial, dental, palatal, velar, and lateral surd stops $(p, t, k^*, k^u, q, q^u, L)$, and after s. The number of cases in which suffixes of this class appear attached to a sonant or fortis stop (except in cases in which terminal sounds are strengthened or weakened) are so few in number that I am not sure whether the initial sound is dropped in all cases. There are a few examples that suggest a certain variability of usage:

 $dz\bar{e}'dz\bar{o}nogotâla$ and $dz\bar{e}'dz\bar{o}nogotâla$ Dzō'noq!was on top 118.29 $megug'\bar{v}'t'\bar{e}d$ to rub on 199.11

Suffixes with initial g, x, and g lose these sounds also after the spirant palatals and velars (x, x^u, x, x^u) , while initial k! is generally retained in these cases:

```
sepe'lx-k'\cdot l\bar{a}la-g'iL\bar{e} ringing noise on water 152.34 (nos. 144, 42) ax-k'\cdot l\bar{a}'la to ask 7.5 (no. 144)
```

ts! ex-k:!i'lg-end-āla to drop in lap 258.2 (nos. 70, 2, 91)

This rule, however, is not rigid. We find, for instance,

 $g_E mx - \bar{o}t - sta^e - l\bar{u}l$ left hand side of door X 76.6 (nos. 12, 59, 46) where the initial sound of $-k'!\bar{o}t$ drops out; and

*nex-k'!ō't straight down, where it is retained

Possibly this difference is due to the fact that the x in the last-named form is changed by contact from the terminal q of $^{\epsilon}neq$ - straight.

Suffixes with initial -k lose this sound under the same conditions that govern the elision of g, x, and g. An exception is—

 $g = (kx^u kw \hat{o} ind \text{ to lift by the top } (g = lq^u - k = -nd, \text{ nos. } 38, 2)$

Terminal l of the stem has the effect of eliding all initials. Only one exception has been found:

hël-k' / ōt right side 81.2

It is interesting to note that the suffix $-g \cdot iu$, which belongs to this class, behaves differently according to its meaning. It signifies forehead, front. Whenever it appears with the specialized meaning bow of canoe, it is entirely unchangeable, even after an \bar{o} vowel, when, according to the general phonetic rules, it should be expected to assume the form -gwiu (see no. 57).

Among these suffixes the following weaken the terminal consonant:

-xta head

-xt/a seaward

-x'sa away from

Strengthening is:

-k[.]!āla noise

The suffix $-x^{-\epsilon}id$ (nos. 87 and 90), and the inchoatives in $-g\cdot al$, $-g\cdot il$ -, $-g\cdot a\varepsilon$ - (no. 197), lose the initial $x\cdot$, $g\cdot a$, or $g\cdot$ after all consonants except m, n, l, and after sonants. At the same time terminal p and t are transformed into the fortes p! and t!, and all k and s stops are transformed into their spirants, while s and s remain unchanged.

The suffix -sgem ROUND SURFACE (no. 85), which is undoubtedly related to -gem FACE, follows the same rules as suffixes in g, but it always retains its s: We find, instead of

mē'x-sgem ma⁵l-sgem $m\bar{e}'xsem$ to sleep on a round object $ma^{\epsilon}ltse'm$ two round objects

The suffix $-\bar{e}^{\epsilon}sta$ around has the form $-s\bar{e}^{\epsilon}sta$ after vowels, m, n, l, and behaves, therefore, in a manner opposite to that of suffixes in g, x, and g.

The suffix -sqwap fire loses its initial s after stems ending in s, except when affixed to the stem $t!\bar{e}s$ - stone, in which case both s's are lost, and we find the form $t!\bar{e}'qwap$ stones on fire.

The suffix -sx \ddot{a} Tooth seems to lose its initial s after stems ending in s and in k sounds. The number of available examples, however, is not sufficient to state definitely the mode of its treatment.

One phonetic characteristic of the suffixes remains to be mentioned. It is the insertion of l and the transformation of s and t into l. difficult to give satisfactory rules for the use of the l. Apparently in one of its uses it is related to the inchoative -g-ûl-, which has been referred to before (p. 450), and it is sometimes weakening, sometimes indifferent. Thus we find from the stem qas- to walk, qadzeltu'sela TO BEGIN TO WALK DOWN RIVER, and the theoretical form qāsatū's ela TO BE WALKING DOWN RIVER. Here the l weakens the terminal s of $q\bar{a}s$, while in sē'xultū'sela to begin to paddle down river (from sēxu- to paddle) the terminal x^u is not changed. This l appears with particular frequency after the suffix -o-, which has a privative significance, as in -wult!a out of an enclosed place; -wulta, out of a CANOE; -wultos DOWN OUT OF; -wults!o OUT OF (no. 37). In the suffix $-st\bar{o}^s$ eye, opening, the l is substituted for s, perhaps on account of the cumbersome form that would result, - $ltst\bar{o}^t$. The terminal t of the suffix -k: !ōt opposite (no. 12) changes regularly to l before ts!:

hëlk' ! ōlts ! āna instead of hëlk' ! ōt-ts ! āna right hand

It would seem that the l before ts! is sometimes a glide, at least I can not offer a satisfactory explanation of its occurrence:

 $ar{o}$ - something, -ig- back, -x-ts/an- hand, $-ar{e}^s$ noun, form $aw\overline{s}$ - g-ats/an- back of hand

 $d\bar{a}$ to take, -ba end, $ts!\bar{a}n$ hand, -d inchoative, form $d\bar{a}'balts!\bar{a}nend$ to lead by the hand

*neq- middle, -ts!ō in, -la verbal ending, form *negelts!d'la to be in the middle

Similar phonetic groupings occur, however, without the 1:

 ${}^{\epsilon}war{a}b$ water, - ${}^{t}s!ar{o}$ in, ${}^{\epsilon}war{a}'bets!ar{o}$ water in something

Following is a list of suffixes grouped according to their mode of attachment and effect upon the stem:

WORD-SUFFIXES

Adverbial

-emsk^u I told you so! -eng a it seemed in a dream -āna perhaps -axaa also -ē t astonishing! -wīst!a very

-wīst/a very -ul past -p/±n times $-b\bar{o}la$ to pretend

-tm indicating close connection in thought between two sentences

-*m-wis and so -ma at once

-ma at once

-t!a but

-naxwa from time to time

-*nēs t oh, if!
-nō* too much
-sō* passive
-dzā indeed
-g·anɛm perhaps
-k·as indeed
-k·as*ō beautiful, beautifully
-k·inai miserably
-q!āmas for the reason that
-q!anāk* quite unexpectedly
-q!ālam to no purpose
-x· exhortative

-xōĻ behold!

-x'dē transition from present

to past

-x·sāla carelessly

-x·sä still

-x'st!aaku apparently, like

-x'st! as usual -x'L\vec{a} very -xL\vec{e} miserably -tl it is said -lag'\vec{i}L\text{ meanwhile} -lax potentiality

-*L* future

Adjectival

 $-\bar{o}$ small

-bido small (singular)

-menēx small (plural)

-xent evidently

 $-dzar{e}$ large

-ga female, woman

Miscellaneous

-ōstq!a to use so and so often

-sdana to die of— -xa to sav—

 $-l\bar{a}l$ to dance like

-ts/Es (-dzEs?) piece of

-sgeml mask

-gamēt the one among—, ex-

cellent

STEM-SUFFIXES

Indifferent Suffixes

-Em nominal suffix -Elg'is doing for others -a verbal and nominal suffix -a wīl across -ap! neck -ap! each other -āmas to cause -atus down river -ānem class of animate beings -anō instrument, passive $-asd\bar{e}$ meat -yaga returning -aqa past -āxa down -agō extreme -āla continued position -tyāla to go to look for

-ēm's near by
-ēsō' rest
-i'läla about
-ō meeting
-ō out of
-dla on water
-dla each other

 $-\bar{o}mas$ class of animals $-\bar{o}t$, (-wut) fellow

- usta up river

-tusdes up from the beach

 $-\bar{o}k^u$ person

-ōlem nominal suffix

-ōL to obtain

-ōlela continued motion

-beta into, in -ba end

-p!a taste
-p!āla smell
-p!altō with eyes
-bes expert, fond of
-p!ēq tree
-pōl (Newettee dialect) into,
in
-manō head
-mis useless part
-mut refuse
-mp relationship

-mut refuse
-mp relationship
-d inchoative
-drms time of
-enak direction

-nd inchoative -ents/ēs down to beach -Enx edge -saqō penis -Esta water -ts!E- with hands -ts!aq long

-ts!aq 10ng -ts!ō in

-dzaqwa to speak
-k·a to happen
-k·ina accidentally
-q!ɛs to swallow
-q!ɛgē* meat
-q!ā to feel
-xsa flat
-xzä top of head

-zzō top of tree, hair on body -la verbal and nominal suffix

Hardening Suffixes

-Em genuine
-Em^eya cheek
-Es expert
-a on rock
-a to endeavor
-aqa among

-aqa among
-ēmas class of animals
-ēnē* abstract noun
-ēnox* nomen actoris

-ēs body (?)

-ēq in body -ēxsd to desire -ōs cheek -bō chest -s on ground

-g'a'l to begin to make noise

-ya-t to begin to
-xō neck
-xsd hind end
-xia bottom end

Weakening Suffixes

-em instrument
-em diminutive
-en nominal suffix
-enx season
-elku doing regularly
-eltsus down river
-ayu instrument
-abō under
-amāla along river

-ad having -abō ear

-ānem obtained by-

-aanō rope -as place -ats/ē receptacle

-ag crotch -ālas material (?) -ālisem to die of— -ē' nominal suffix (?) -id having

-inēt obtained by-

-ēs body (?)
-ēs beach
-ēg·ē back
-īl in house
-ēz into house
-ēsɛla ashore (?)
-īlba nose
-ēz!xō mouth

-ō'yō middle -ns obtained unexpectedly

-ō€l ugly

- nākula gradual motion

-nēq corner

-nõ side -ku passive participle -nōs side -xs in canoe -nulem temples -x·sā away -nulg a groins -xsēg·a front of house -nsa under water -Exsta mouth -l passive of verbs expressing -ndzem throat -dzō flat sense perceptions SUFFIXES LOSING THEIR INITIAL CONSONANTS Losing initial q: -giu forehead $-g \cdot Eg \cdot a$ inside -g'äg side of -q'it body $-q \cdot i \dot{l}$ reason -g·ila to make -g'ustâ up Losing initial k: $-k\cdot\hat{a}$, $-k\cdot au\bar{e}$ between -k:äx:ē knee -k'E top of a square object Losing initial $k \cdot !$: -k'!in body $-k!\bar{e}s$ in body -k'!îlga front of body -k'!āla noise -k'!ōt opposite Losing initial x: -x-id to begin -x'sa away from -x'-id past -x siap! arm -x'siu mouth of river $-x \cdot p / \bar{e}g \cdot a$ thigh -x'dem place -x'sīs foot $-x \cdot da^{\epsilon}x^{u}$ pronominal plural -x sila to take care of . -x·dē transition from present -x'ts!āna hand . to past -x'ra top -x'se across Losing initial $g \cdot a - :$ All inchoatives in -g·al-, such as— -g'alīl in house -g'aalela suddenly -g'alexs in canoe Losing initial g: -gem fare *-gō* meeting *-geml* mask Losing initial x: -xt/a seaward -xsēg·a front of house -xsû through -xLä top of head

-sqwap five

-sx'ä tooth

-sgem round thing

§ 18

-xta head

-stō⁵ eve

-sōku person

Losing or modifying initial s:
-sē'sta around

Although the use of these suffixes follows the rules laid down here with a fair degree of regularity, there are quite a number of exceptional compositions. A few examples will suffice here:

gene'm wife stem gEg'gwôyî'm whale stem gwôg:stem ginlg'înā'nem child xunō'ku child stem xunkustem x:is $x \bar{a}' x a' y a$ trying to disappear (s weakened to y, instead of being strengthened to p!āp!aeya trying to flatten stem p!Es- to flatten (same as last)

§ 19. CLASSES OF SUFFIXES

I have tried to classify the primary suffixes according to the ideas expressed. Classes of this kind are of course somewhat arbitrary, and their demarcations are uncertain. The general classification of suffixes which I have adopted is as follows:

- I. Terminal completive suffixes (§ 20, nos. 1-2).
- II. Primary suffixes (§§ 21-37, nos. 3-195).
 - (1) Suffixes denoting space limitations (§§ 21-24, nos. 3-85).
 - (a) General space limitations (§ 21, nos. 3-37).
 - (b) Special space limitations (§ 22, nos. 38-52).
 - (c) Parts of body as space limitations (§ 23, nos. 53-81).
 - (d) Limitations of form (§ 24, nos. 82-85).
 - (2) Temporal suffixes (§§ 25-26, nos. 86-97).
 - (a) Purely temporal suffixes (§ 25, nos. 86-89).
 - (b) Suffixes with prevailing temporal character (§ 26. nos. 90-97).
 - (3) Suffixes denoting subjective judgments or attitudes relating to the idea expressed (§§ 27-32, nos. 98-135).
 - (a) Suffixes denoting connection with previously expressed ideas (§ 27, nos. 98-104).
 - (b) Suffixes denoting degrees of certainty (§ 28, nos. 105-107).
 - (c) Suffixes denoting judgments regarding size, intensity, and quality (§ 29, nos. 108-126).
 - (d) Suffixes denoting emotional states (§ 30, nos. 127-129).
 - (e) Suffixes denoting modality (§ 31, nos. 130-131).
 - (f) Suffixes denoting the source of information whence knowledge of the idea expressed is obtained (§ 32, nos. 132-135).

- (4) Suffixes denoting special activities (§§ 33-34, nos. 136-155).
 - (a) Activities of persons in general (§ 33, nos. 135-143).
 - (b) Activities performed with special organs of the body (§ 34, nos. 144-155).
- (5) Suffixes which change the subject or object of a verb (§ 35, nos. 156-160).
- (6) Nominal suffixes (§ 36, nos. 161-194).
- (7) Adverbial suffix (§ 37, no. 195).

III. Subsidiary suffixes (§ 38, nos. 196-197).

In the following list the influence of the suffix upon the stem is indicated by abbreviations. STEM-s. and WORD-s. indicate whether the suffix is added to the stem or to the full word. IND. signifies that the suffix is indifferent and has no influence upon the stem except as required by phonetic laws. H indicates that the terminal consonant of the stem is hardened; w, that it is softened.

§ 20. TERMINAL COMPLETIVE SUFFIXES (NOS. 1-2)

1. -a[STEM-S., IND.]. This suffix is of indefinite significance. It is the most common word-closing suffix of verbs, and is very often used with substantives. Generally it disappears when the stem takes one of the primary suffixes, and it is also often dropped before syntactic suffixes. It is even dropped in the vocatives of nouns. In both verbs and substantives it follows very often the suffix-l- (no. 91), which seems to have primarily a verbal continuative character.

(a) Verbal:

mîx:qās $m\hat{a}x\cdot a'$ to strike $q\bar{a}'sa$ to walk

with -l-:

ts!ex:-

ts! exî'la to be sick

(b) Nominal:

leau-

leqwa' five

-ga female, as in $H\ddot{a}'^{\epsilon}la^{\epsilon}m\hat{a}'laga$ mouse woman 11.12 (but $H\ddot{a}'^{\epsilon}la^{\epsilon}m\hat{a}lag$ O mouse woman!)

with -l-:

*na- light
paxa- shaman

enā'la day, world paxa'la shaman

2. -d[STEM-S.]. The first impression of the suffix -d is that it transforms intransitive verbs into transitive ones.

 $q!\bar{o}xts!\bar{o}'$ to have on $l\bar{a}'ba$ to go to the end

 $q!\bar{o}xts!\bar{o}'d$ to put on $l\bar{a}'b\not\equiv nd$ to reach the end.

A closer examination shows that both forms occur in transitive as well as in intransitive verbs.

-d intransitive:

*nexwā'*xsdend to begin to be near 107.17 L!ā'qwaxōd to hand down a copper 84.3

without -d, transitive:

 $q!\bar{o}'xts!\hat{a}la$ to have on 98.27 $n\bar{e}'xs\hat{a}la$ to pull through 76.1 $d\bar{a}'dxba$ to hold at end 254.36

On the whole, it seems that the suffix -d expresses the motions connected with the beginning of an action; and, since transitive verbs express much more frequently a passing act than a long-continued activity, it seems natural that the suffix should appear frequently with transitive verbs.

Generally the suffix -d is suffixed to a primary suffix. When it follows a terminal m, it is simply added; when the primary suffix ends with a short vowel, the vowel is dropped and the terminal -d takes the form -nd. After primary suffixes ending in $-\bar{o}$ or \hat{a} , and after -axa down (no. 19), it amalgamates with the terminal vowel and becomes $-\bar{o}d$.

(a) -d:

q!mē'pmd to cover face 299.21 (from -gem face; see no. 54)

(b) nd:

dzā'k'oxiend to rub hind end 96.21 (from -xi- hind end; see
no. 15)

t/o'tseestend to cut around 138.18 (from -est- around; see no. 6)

ts!exbete'nd to throw in 365.16 (from -bet- into; see no. 28) dā'bend to take end 15.7 (from -b- end; see no. 31)

(c) $-\bar{o}d$:

nē'xsōd to pull through 53.17 (from -xsâ through; see no. 3)
L!ā'sagōd to put farthest seaward (from -ago extreme; see no. 13)

 $n E g \bar{o}'^{\epsilon} y \bar{o} d$ to move in middle 141.7 (from $-\bar{o}^{\epsilon} y \bar{o}$ middle; see no. 16)

 $n\bar{e}'xust\bar{o}d$ to pull up 184.37 (from -ustâ up; see no. 20) $q!\bar{o}'xts!\bar{o}d$ to put on clothes 15.10 (from -ts! \bar{o} in; see no. 27) $u\bar{a}'yab\bar{o}d$ to push under 80.13 (from -ab \bar{o} under; see no. 29) $l\bar{a}'xt\bar{o}d$ to reach top 196.34 (from -xtâ on top; see no. 30) $q\bar{t}x\cdot\bar{o}'d$ to take off 16.10 (from - \bar{o} - off; see no. 37)

PRIMARY SUFFIXES (NOS. 3-1946) (§§ 21-36)

Suffixes Denoting Space Limitations (Nos. 3-85) (§§ 21-24)

§ 21. General Space Limitations (Nos. 3-37)

3. -xsa through [stem-s., ind.] loses the initial x.

la to go
k!umel- to burn
qās- to walk
p!el- to fly
sēxu- to paddle
nēx- to pull

ts! Elqu- hot

laxså' to go through
k!ume'lxså to burn through
qā'tså to walk through
p!sltså to fly through 165.22
sē'x"så to paddle through
nē'xsōd to pull through 75.40
nē'xsåla to pull through 76.1
ts!e'lqumxså'la hot all through
V 366 12

kwa'xsa hole 72.39

158.30

4. $-x \cdot s^c$ ACROSS [STEM-S., IND.] loses the initial x.

wil- entirely

g·āx to come saku- to carve meat

sop- to chop
 remt- to split

155.32 g·ā'xs*a to come ashore 371.37 sɛsā'x**s*end to carve across to pieces 31.40 sō'ps*end to chop across Le'mtemx·s*end to split across, plural (see no. 196),

'wī'welx's' cut up entirely X

5. -i'la(la) about [stem-s., ind.].

 $d\bar{o}q^{u}$ - to see

q!wēs- to squeeze

pexu- to drift

ōdz- wrong

000 W10MB

dō'dɛqwi'läla to look about
459.33

q!wē'si'läla to squeeze all over

pā'xwi'läla to drift about

Aō'dzi'lälag'ilis Wrong all over the world (a name) 165.5

6. $-\vec{e}^{\epsilon}st(a)$ and $-s\vec{e}^{\epsilon}st(a)$ Around [STEM-S., IND.].

(a) After vowels, m, and n; $-\bar{e}^{\epsilon}st(a)$:

 $ar{o}$ - something k!wa to sit $g \in lq$ - to swim

mō'p!ɛn four times

awē'esta circumference 85.9
k!wē'estala to sit about
gelqamē'estala to swim around,
plural (see no. 196), 153.22
mō'p!enē'esta four times
around 13.9

lenë'esta to forget 25.3

(b) After k and L sounds, s, p; $-s\bar{e}^{\epsilon}st(a)$:

qās- to walk

qā'tsē'stāla to walk around 49.30

mix- to strike dx^{u} - to jump

mîx sē stāla to strike around d x x sē stāla to jump around 154.11

k!im_L- to adze x:ilp- to twist

k:!î'mltsē'stāla to adze around x:î'lpsē'stāla to spin around

7. -(E)g(a) Among [STEM-8., H].

sēx"- to paddle yaq"- to distribute ō- something siō'qwa to paddle among
yā'q!uqa to distribute among
ā'*wagē* the place between, inside X 87.34

x· $\hat{u}p$ - to turn

x:1/lp! Eq. Ela to turn in something 92.28

baxō't! Eq Ela pitchy inside V 490.1

naq-mind
meku- a round thing is somewhere

nd'q!agē song leader V 433.36 mā'k!ugē to be among X 29.21

g-ī- to be somewhere

 $g \cdot \bar{\imath} \cdot g \bar{e}^{i} la$ to be among X 81.35

There are apparently a few cases in which this suffix weakens the stem. I found the two forms $q\bar{a}'ts! E g a$ and $q\ddot{a}'g a$ to walk among, derived from $q\bar{a}s$ - to walk.

It is also used to express the superlative:

g'*l'l!*- long

g·î'lt/aga long among (i. e., the longest)

7 a. -gamē. This suffix may belong here, although its use as a word-suffix and the indifferent action upon the last consonant make its relations doubtful.

 $g \cdot \bar{\imath}' gam\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ head chief (= chief among others) $xw\bar{a}'k!unagam\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ excellent canoe (= canoe among others) * $n\bar{o}'last!$ Egam \bar{e}^{ϵ} the eldest one X 3.32

8. -k-a, -k-au between [STEM-S., IND.] loses initial k- after s and k and L sounds. The original form may be kw-a (see § 4).

k·im_L- to adze

k·îmzá'la to adze between V 347.19

qens- to adze

qensd'la to adze between V 363.10

k!wēx- to devise

k!wē'k!waxā'wē' inventor 222.35 Läxu- to stand

Lā'LEŢwawayaa's place of standing repeatedly between on ground 140.35 (Lā'LEŢ", -au, -s [no. 44]; -as place [no. 182])

Hamā'lak awē' 111.29 b kk'- man

 $b E k \bar{a} w \bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ man between 121.39

9. -aq(a) PAST[STEM-S., IND.] often with a reduplication. It would seem that in these cases there is sometimes a weakening of the terminal consonant.

la to go g·al- first

L!ās- seaward gwa- down river, north

[€]nā'la south

xwēl- back

lā'qa to go past
grā'laqa to go past first (=to
forestall) 246.35

L!ā' L!asaaqa to move seaward
gwā'gwaaqa to move northward X 63.32

*nā'nālaaqa to move south-

ward X 228.14 xwē'laqa to go back 28.23

In the following examples the terminal consonant is weakened:

gwās- to turn to ēt!- again

gwā'gawayaqa to turn toward aē'daaqa to go back 13.9

10. $-x \cdot s(a)$ AWAY FROM [STEM-8., W].

p!EL- to fly
qās- to walk
han- hollow object is somewhere
māx:ts- to be ashamed

'wī'l- entire sēx"- to paddle p!ā' tîx:sa to fly off
qeqā'dzîx:sa to walk off
ha'nx:send to take (kettle) off
(from fire) V 441.40
mā'x:dzax:sa to go away for
shame 316.32
'wī''lx:sa it is entirely away
siō'xusend to paddle away

472.21

After x the initial x seems to be lost:

ax- to do ax- $\bar{a}'n\bar{o}$ it is taken off

10a. -yag·a RETURNING [STEM-S., IND.]. lā'yag·a to go back X 186.18 hō'xyag·a they go back X 190.12

lā''yag elīl to re-enter house 386.11

11. -ēm's near by [stem-s., ind.]. Possibly the terminal-s does not belong to the suffix, but signifies on the ground (no. 44).

*wun- to hide k!wa to sit μax^u - to stand

'wunë'm's to hide near by k!wēm's to sit near by Laxwē'm's to stand watching

12. -k-/ δt opposite [STEM-S., IND.]. After s the initial k- disappears.

la to go

aps- side
qwēs- far

qwā- down river

lak ! lot nd to go to the opposite side 271.8

apsö't the other side 96.28

apsö't the other side 96.28 qwë'söt the far opposite side gwā'k'!ōt the opposite side down river 130.22

hël-right hand hë'lk'! ōdnëgu

hë'lk'!ōdnēgwīl the right hand corner in the house 81.2 (see nos. 18, 46)

Before the affricative ts, t changes to l.

hë'lk:!ōlts!āna the right hand 15.11 (see no. 67)

While q before this suffix changes to x in $^e n e' x k \cdot / \bar{o}t$ (from $^e n e q$ -) right opposite, the k drops out in $g = mx \bar{o}t$ left side (from g = mx-)

13. $-ag\bar{o}$ extreme [stem-s., ind.].

ëk∵!- above

ë'k: /agō farthest above X

179.32

L!ās- seaward

L!ā'sagōd to put farthest sea-

gwa- north

gwā'gawē' extreme north end 218.9

14. -xsd behind, hind end, tail end [stem-s., h].

teq- to slap ts! eku- short q!aku- notch LE'q!Exsd to slap behind ts!Ek!u'xsd a short person q!a'ku'xsde to have a notch for

a tail 279.18

ëk∵!a up

ë'k·!axsdāla to have hind end up V 325.8

 \bar{o} - something $n\bar{u}n$ wolf

ō'xsdē^e hind end V 490.28 nu'naxsdē^e wolf tail 279.13

15. -xL(a) behind, bottom, stern [stem-s., h].

'wā'las large

*wā'lats! exla (canoe) with large stern

 \bar{o} - something

 $\bar{o}'x\,\bar{\iota}\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ stern of canoe 127.23

 $\bar{o}'x$ $\bar{\iota}ax$ $\bar{s}idz\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ heel V 475.5 (see no. 75)

hanı- to shoot

ha'nı! exiend to shoot stern of

gwā1- to groan

gwā'ı/ɛxɹā'la to groan afterwards X 5.11

16. $-\partial^{\mu}y\bar{\partial}$ middle [stem-s.,	w]	
-------------------------------------------------------	----	--

$m\bar{o}k^u$ to tie	$m\bar{o}'gwo^iy\bar{o}$ to tie in middle 370.13
la to go	$l\bar{o}'^{\epsilon}y\bar{o}$ to go to the middle U.S.N.M. 670.17
$ar{o}$ - something ($\bar{o}ya'^{\epsilon}\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ the middle 273.23
k·ip- to clasp	$k \cdot lb \bar{p}' y \bar{p} d$ to clasp in the mid- dle, to embrace X 177.4
g·ōk∗ house	$g \cdot \bar{o}' k w o' y \bar{o}$ middle of house 248.28
da to hold	dá'yiwē to hold in middle V 325.7

17. -nō side. The form of this suffix is variable. On the one hand, we have the word-suffix -nō, from which are formed ā'zanāē' LANDSIDE 20.1, 'nā'lanāē' SEASIDE 272.3; and, on the other hand, we have -nō as stem-suffix, weakening the terminal consonant. From this form we have—

ax- to do	axnō'lis to place by the side
pare to stand	177.39
t/ex:- trail. door	37.9 $t! e'nn\bar{o}\bar{e}^e \text{ side door X } 171.28$

We have also -nus, sometimes indifferent, sometimes weakening the terminal consonant.

It weakens the terminal sound in the following forms:

<i>hël</i> - right side	hë'lk'!ōd enutsē right side 175.14 (see no. 12)
qās- to walk	qā'dzenō'dzendāla to walk alongside
	qä'nō ^e dzendāla to walk along- side
sēxu- to paddle	sī'wonudzē ^e paddling along- side
taxu- to stand	\[\bar{\iota}\bar{a}'vun\bar{o}dzel\bar{\ell}\bar{\ell}\to stand alongside in house 31.34 \]

It is indifferent in the following forms:

t is mamerent in the folio	owing forms:
da to take	$d\bar{a}'banus$ ela to take alongside
	152.5 (see no. 31)
dz e lx^u to run	dze'lxunu'dzē* running along-
	side

The ending -nulem (no. 54b) suggests a third form, -nul.

18. $-n\bar{e}q^n$ corner [stem-s., ind. (w.?)].

 \bar{o} - something hël- right side

aps- one side

han- hollow object is some-

19. $-\bar{a}x(a)$ down [stem-s., ind.].

la to go wa river p!EL- to fly $l\bar{o}x$ - to roll

dzelx"- to run la to go

With -ayu (no. 174) it forms $-ax\bar{o}^{\epsilon}yu$.

ts! Eq- to throw

With the inchoative (no. 2) it forms $-ax\bar{o}d$.

ax- to do uul- in vain

 $L\bar{e}l$ - to invite in *L!āq*^u- red, copper

20. -g·usta up[stem-s., ind.] loses g after s, and k and L sounds.

qa- morning, early k!wā to sit

*ne'mp!en once

 $q!\bar{o}m$ - rich

 $d\bar{o}q^{u}$ to see dex"- to jump

nēx- to pull qās- to walk plet to fly

ō'nēgwīl corner in house 56.15 hëlk:!ōdnē'gwīl right - hand corner in house 81.2 (see nos. 12, 46) apsā'nēgwēs one corner of

mind 260.40

hanē'gwīl (kettle) stands in corner of house X 125.29

 $l\bar{a}'xa$ to go down 165.29 $w\bar{a}'x \in la$ river runs down 36.39 p!elā'xa to fly down X 155.21 lōxumā'xa to roll down, plural 19.12 (see no. 196) dze'lxwaxa to run down 196.39 lā'xalīl to go down in house

 $ts! Eq\bar{a}'xo^{\epsilon}yu$ to be thrown X

187.22 (see no. 46)

 $ax\bar{a}'x\bar{o}d$ to take down 48.24 wulā'xōd to bring down in vain U.S.N.M. 727.10 Lē'laxōd to call down 185.36 L!ā'qwaxōd to hand down a copper, i. e., to sell a copper 84.3

gāg·usta' to rise early 61.5 $k!w\bar{a}'g'ustal\bar{\imath}l$ to sit up in house 50.17 (see no. 46)

"ne'mp!eng:usta (to jump) up once 390.13

Q!ō'mg'ustals wealth coming up on ground (name) 377.1 (no. 44)

 $d\bar{o}'qustala$ to look up X 167.37 $dex \cdot \bar{o}'sta$ to jump up X 179.17 x^{u} changes before \bar{o} to x^{u} , see p. 436

nē'xustōd to pull up 184.37 qā'sustâla to walk up p! ELŌ'stâ to fly up

21. -nts/es down to beach [stem-s., ind.].

la to go
qās- to walk

rēl- to invite in, to call

lents!ēs to go to beach 80.21 qā'sents!ēs to walk to beach Lē'lents!ēsela to call down to

beach 80.17

Ļō'gwala supernatural

Lō' LEgwalEnts!ēssla the supernatural ones coming down to the beach 159.18

22. - usdes up from beach [stem-s., ind.].

qās to walk

qā's usdēs to walk up from beach

la to go

ld'esdēs to go up from beach 211.15

 $x\bar{a}p$ - to grasp in talons

xā'p'usdēs to grasp and carry up the beach X 155.21

õxi- to carry on back

ō'xLōsdēsɛla to carry on back up the beach X 162.15

22a. -xt/a out to sea [stem-s., w]. Loses initial x.

ge'lget!a to swim out to sea X 144.27 dō'gut!āla to look out to sea X 117.26 kwadzet!ō'd to kick out to sea X 111.1

23. -atūs and -Eltūs down river, down inlet [STEM-s., -atūs ind., -eltūs ind. and w].

 $y\bar{a}l$ - to blow

inlet 274.5

g elq- to swim

gelqatū'sela to swim down river

yā'latū's Ela to blow down the

qamxu- down of birds

qa'mxwatōsela down coming down river 154.30

qās- to walk

qā'dzeltūsela to walk down river

lā to go

Lā'tōselag'ilis going down river (westward) through the world (name) X 84.39

 $s\bar{e}x^u$ - to paddle

sē'wultū's ela and sē' xultū's ela to paddle down river

24. - usta up river [stem-s., ind.].

 $h\bar{o}q^{u}$ - to go [PLURAL]

hō'x'usta to walk up river

eneq-straight

*nex*usta' to continue up river 70.23

 $q\bar{a}s$ - to walk $s\bar{e}x^u$ - to paddle

qā's ustāla to walk up river sē' x ustāla to paddle up river

§ 21

§ 21

25a'wīl across [stem-s., ind.].		
€mō- to load	*mā'*wīl a canoe carrying load across 131.23	
gelq- to swim	gelqaewī'lela swimming across 148.18	
26ns(a) under water [stem-s., w].		
ēt- again	$\bar{e}'d$ ensa again under water 143.19	
*neg- straight	*nege'nsela straight under water V 477.30	
k!wa to sit	k!u'nsa to sit in water 64.22	
wun- to hide (?)	$wu'ns^{\epsilon}\bar{\imath}d$ to sink 143.32 (see no. 90)	
27ts!ō in [stem-s., ind.].		
<i>mä</i> fish	mäts!ō fish inside (i. e., in trap) 184.18	
<i>mel</i> -white	*mE'lts!ō white inside	
ax- to do	axts!â'la to put into 114.36	
	axts! $\bar{o}'d$ to put into 175.27	
<i>ts/îx`</i> - sick	ts!îx ts!û'la sick inside, head- ache	
ma ^e l two	ma ^e lts!â'la two inside, i. e., two in a canoe 147.15	
$q/\bar{o}x$ - to dress	q/ō'xts/ōd to dress in, to put on garment 98.1	
$g\cdot i$ - to be somewhere	g·ī'ts! e ^t was place of going in (see no. 182)	
la to go	la'lts/alīl to come out of room in house 194.31 (see nos. 27, 46)	
wil- entirely	*wī'lōlts!d (strength) gives out entirely 141.2 (see no. 37)	
28. $-bEt(a)$ into hole [stem-s., in	ND.].	
$d_{Ex^{u}}$ - to jump	dεxubεta' to jump into 99.1	
la to go	lā'bedas place of going into (hole) 9.10 (see no. 182)	
<i>L!Enx-</i> to shove	L!E'nxbetend to shove in X 224.17	
28a. - $p\bar{o}L$ into hole, in hole (New	vettee dialect) [STEM-S., IND.].	
kul- to lie	$kulp\bar{o}'\bar{\iota}\bar{\iota}l$ to lie down in a room in the house X 207.22 (see no. 46)	
$ar{o}$ - something	$\bar{o}'p\bar{o}\dot{\iota}\bar{\imath}l$ room in house X 207.23	

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29. -alō under [stem-s., w].

Lās- to push ō- something ιā'yabōd to push under 80.13 $a^{\epsilon}w\bar{a}'b\hat{a}^{\epsilon}e$ lower side 80.13 a wā'bōts! exsdē thigh (see no.

g·īgamē[€] chief

g'ī'gabāē chief under others 151.26

gelq- to grasp

ge'lgabōsx'ä'ya to grasp the under side of the bow of the canoe 127.28 (see no. 62)

30. -xta on top of a long standing object [stem-s., w.] seems to lose x after all consonants, but may retain it after m, n, l.

 \bar{o} - something k!wā to sit

ō'xtâē[€] top of mountain 126.3 $k!w\bar{a}'xt\hat{a}$ to sit on top 182.32 k!udzetâ'ya to sit on top

k!us- to sit, plural

415.22 ē'bɛtōd to pinch at top end X 224.32

 $\bar{e}p$ - to pinch

ē'madzetāla top float V 389.8 'meguto'd round thing begins

X 71.6

ē'mas float Emeku- round thing is somewhere

31. -b(a) END OF A LONG HORIZONTAL OBJECT [STEM-S., IND.].

 $d\bar{o}q^{u}$ - to see

 $L!\bar{a}s$ - sea

 $d\bar{o}'x^{u}ba$ to see point 91.32 L!ā'sbala extending out to sea 162.42

to be on top X 121.11

 $L!\bar{e}x$ - sea-lion

L!ā'sabala to walk on beach L!ē'L!Exbāla sea-lions at ends

qanā'yu lasso dā to take

qanā'yubala lasso at end 37.13 dā'bend to take hold of end 15.7

ha'nı- to shoot

hanha'nlbend to shoot at each end 153.3

ōdz- wrong

ō'dzebax'⁵īd to turn the wrong way 227.25

hël- right

hëlbax. to cause to turn the right way 227.28 (see no. 158)

 $x \cdot iq$ - to burn

x ī'xbālag îls to burn at end on ground 251.29 (see nos. 197, 44)

la to go

tā'labendāla to go from end to end 196.35

32. $-x \cdot L(a)$ on top of a rounded object [stem-s., ind.] loses x after p, s, k, and L sounds.

This ending has assumed two specific meanings:

(a) ON THE FLAMES OF THE FIRE:

ax- to do axiā'la to put on fire axLE'nd to put on fire

 $t!\bar{e}'qwaplend$ to put stones on t!ē'qwap stone in fire

fire 20.8

ha'nx Lāla hollow object on han-a hollow object is some-

fire (=kettle) where

(b) NAMED. The meaning in this case is that the name is on top of the object, in the same way as the Mexicans and the Plains Indians, in their picture-writing, attach the name to the head of the person.

Dā'bendex La named Dā'bend 22.6 Q!a'mtalalla named Q!a'mtalal 100.1. a'ngwax Las? what is your name? 388.3

33. -(E)nx EDGE OF A FLAT OR LONG OBJECT [STEM-S., IND.].

da to take de'nxend to take by the edge 10.14

 $awu'nx\bar{e}^{\varepsilon}$ edge \bar{o} - something

qā'senxendāla to walk along $q\bar{a}s$ - to walk an edge

te'mkunxend to bite out the temku- to chop, bite out

edge 197.21

 $k'' \cdot \bar{e}'_{LEN} x$ knife 270.21 ama'Enxē youngest child 45.34

34. -nt edge of a round object [stem-s., ind.?]. qās- to walk qā'dznus entāla to walk along

35. -dzō on a flat object [stem-s., w].

 $d\bar{o}q^{u}$ to see

ōdzō'ē[€] surface \bar{o} - something

Lex- to beat time with baton $L\bar{e}'xdz\bar{o}d$ to beat time on a flat

thing 230.30

Alē'udzewē hunter on the flat $al\bar{e}'x^{u}$ to hunt sea-mammals

thing (i. e., in the sky = Orion)

t!Ep- to step $t!\bar{e}b E dz\bar{o}'d$ to step on a flat

thing X 101.18 $d\bar{o}'gudz\bar{o}d$ to see a flat thing X

226.12

xus- hill on which fortified village is built t/ēk'- to lie on back yudzedzû'lis hill on flat on beach X 227.7 t!ēg· Edzōlīt to lie on back on flat thing in house (see no. 46)

** -sg Em on a round object (see no. 85)

36. -g·Eg·a inside of a hollow object [stem-s., w.] loses initial g·E.

 \bar{o} - something $m\bar{o}q^{u}$ - yellowish

ō'gug·ē' inside of hollow thing
mō'gug·a yellowish inside (= spoon of horn of the bighorn sheep) U.S.N.M. 680.2
ts!ō'xug·ind to wash inside
V 432.42

 $ts!\bar{o}x^u$ - to wash

36a. -nuly-u HOLLOW SIDE (compound of $-n\bar{o}$ and $-g \cdot a$, nos. 17, 36). \bar{o} - something $\bar{o}'nulg \cdot a\bar{e}^e$ groins

- 37. -ō off, away from. This suffix does not seem to occur by itself, but is always combined with a following primary suffix. Nevertheless, on account of its significance, I have included it in the primary suffixes. In its simplest form it occurs with the completive terminal -d. It seems to have a secondary form -wul [stem-s., ind.] which may be formed from the inchoative -g il- (see no. 197) and -ō. It is not impossible that this suffix -ō may be identical with -wä, -ō (no. 124). This is suggested by such forms as t!ē'pâ to step off (from t!ēp- to step), but the identity of these suffixes is not certain.
 - (a) With the completive terminal -d:

ax- to do qîx- to put around Elku- blood

 $q\hat{x}\cdot\bar{o}'d$ to take off 16.10, 39.29 $E'lk\cdot\bar{o}d$ to bleed 197.21 (see p. 436) $t!\bar{o}'s\bar{o}d$ to cut off 279.13 $saq!\bar{o}'d$ to peel off V 473.27

 $ax\bar{o}'d$ to take out

t!ōs- to cut saq!- to peel

(b) With other primary suffixes:

ax- to do la to go

 $ax\bar{o}'dala$ to take off $l\bar{a}'wels$ to go out (see nos. 44, 197)

 $^{\epsilon}w^{\bar{\imath}^{\epsilon}l}$ - all

 $^{\epsilon}w\bar{\imath}'^{\epsilon}l\bar{o}^{\epsilon}sta$ all out of water 21.8 (see no. 39)

la to go $l_E x^{u_-}$

lâ'sta to go out of water 356.6 lexuste'nd to take out X 155.39 (see no. 39)

mē to load *molts!â'la to unload 55.33 (see nos. 27, 91) la to go lolts!â'lūl to go out of room 194.31 (see nos. 27, 46) ax- to do ax wults! o'd to take out (see no. 27) la to go lā'wiōd to take off from forehead 22.2 (see no. 57) $g \cdot \bar{a}' x w u q \hat{a}$ to come out of $g \cdot \bar{a}x$ to come inside of something 415.31 $q!\bar{o}$ to well up $q!\bar{o}'l^{\epsilon}w_{E}q\hat{a}$ to well up out of a hole han- a hollow thing is hanō'qâl's (box) coming out of

somewhere ground X 35.31 (see no. 44) (c) The following are evidently compounds of the suffix $-\bar{o}$ or

-wul, but the second elements do not seem to be free.

-wult!a OUT OF AN ENCLOSED PLACE:

* $w\bar{\imath}^{\imath}l$ - all * $w\bar{\imath}'^{\imath}l\bar{\imath}lt!a$ all out of the woods 42.34 $de\bar{\imath}^{u}$ - to jump $de\bar{\imath}^{u}wutt!\bar{a}'l\bar{\imath}l$ to jump out of room in house 97.29 $\bar{\imath}w\bar{\imath}'laq$ - backward * $\bar{\imath}w\bar{\imath}'laxwutt!a$ to turn back out of 62.27

-wulta out of canoe:

"wī"l- all"wī"l \bar{o} ltâ all out of canoe
217.20"m \bar{o} - to load"m \bar{o} ltâ'las \bar{o} " to be unloaded
217.13
m \bar{o} 'lt \bar{o} d to unload X 103.26

-wultos down out of:

dexulto's to jump down out of 279.15

§ 22. Special Space Limitations (Nos. 38-52)

38. -k-E TOP OF A BOX [STEM-S., IND.]; loses initial k.

 $k/w\bar{a}$ to sit $k/w\bar{a}'k \cdot e^{\bar{e}}$ seat on top X155.23 $w\bar{e}$ - not $w\bar{e}'k \cdot e^{\bar{e}}$ not fullLep- to spread $Lep ey\hat{v}'ndala$ to spread over top (see nos. 2, 91) $n\bar{a}s$ - to cover $n\bar{a}'s ey\hat{u}nd$ to cover top e n $em\bar{a}'x \cdot e\bar{u}d$ to be level e n $em\bar{a}'k \cdot e\bar{e}'$ level on top $gelq^u$ - to lift $ge'lxkw\hat{o}end$ to lift top of box

39. $-\epsilon st(a)$ water [word-s. and stem-s., ind.].

(a) Word-suffix:

q!ula' life wuda' cold $g \cdot \bar{a}' l a$ first

q!ula'esta water of life wuda'esta cold water 141.17 g-ā'lasta first in the water 62.13

(b) Stem-suffix:

ax- to do $d_{E}x^{u}$ - to jump

 $k \cdot \bar{o} x^u$ - lukewarm $g\bar{e}$ long time

la to go

ax- to do

tēq- to drop gap- to upset

axstE'nd to put into water 21.5 dexuesta' to jump into water $k \cdot \bar{o}' x^u sta$ lukewarm water 54.1

 $g\bar{e}'^{\epsilon}st\bar{a}la$ long in water X 155.38 (see no. 91) lâ'esta to go out of water 356.6

(see no. 37) $la^{\epsilon}st_{E}x^{\cdot\epsilon}\bar{\imath}'d$ to begin to go into

water 36.25 (see no. 90) lastaa's place of going into water 34.3 (see no. 182)

axstā'nō being put into water X 155.36

tē'xsta to fall into water 100.10 qapstā'nd to pour into water CS 216.7

40. -sqwap fire [stem-s., ind.].

 $q!\bar{e}$ - many

q!ē'sqwap many fires

With $t/\bar{e}s$ - stone, this suffix forms $t/\bar{e}'qwap$ stone in fire. With other stems ending in s, one of the s sounds is dropped, which would suggest a form -qwap.

 $\bar{o}^{\epsilon}mas$ large (Newettee dialect)

wālas great

ō masqwā' pelagilîs great fire in world (see no. 45) wolasqwapelis great fire on beach (poetry; see no. 45)

41. -wäla, -âla stationary on water.

(a) After n and vowels -wäla:

han- hollow object somewhere $k!w\bar{a}$ to sit $La(x^u)$ to stand

 $g \cdot \bar{\imath}$ to be $g\bar{e}$ long time

hanwä'la canoe adrift on water 127.6 k!wā'wäla to sit on water ļā'wäla to stand on water $g \cdot i' w \ddot{a} l a$ to be on water X 87.37 gē wä'la long time on water X 181.3

(b) After p, t, and anterior and posterior k sounds -âla:

k·āt- long object is somewhere

k'atâ'la long object adrift

yaqu- dead body is somewhere $y\bar{a}'q\hat{a}la$ dead body adrift

mex- hollow things are somewhere

 $mex\hat{a}'la$ canoes adrift on water

Medial k(w) sounds are transformed by this ending into the corresponding anterior sounds (see p. 436).

*meku- round thing is somewhere pexu- to float

'm Ek'â'la island, i. e., round thing on water pEx'â'la to drift

The inchoative form of this suffix is formed with -g·il- (no. 197) and is -g·iltāla.

k!wā to sitk·ād- long thing is somewhere k!wā'g'iltāla to sit on water k'ā'dEltāla to put long thing on water

42. -Lē moving on water [stem-s., w]. Inchoative form $-gil\bar{e}$ (see no. 197) loses initial gi.

han L- to shoot $d \bar{o} q^u$ - to see

 $ha'n \cancel{L} E L \overrightarrow{e}^{\epsilon}$ to shoot on water $d\vec{o}'gule^{\epsilon}y\vec{a}la$ to see moving on water

dzexk'!ā'la noise of splitting

dzexk[·]!ā'lag[·]ilē noise of splitting begins to be on water 152.19

*EPE'lx'k'!āla ringing noise of metal

sepe'lx'k'!ālag'ilē ringing noise begins to be on water 152.34

Lā'xewalēe to begin to stand on water 143.11

43. - α ON ROCKS [STEM-S., H]. Inchoative form $-g \cdot a\bar{a}^{\epsilon}la$, $-g \cdot i^{\epsilon}la$ (see no. 197) loses initial $g \cdot a$ and $g \cdot i$.

 $y\bar{a}q^{u}$ - dead body is somewhere

yaq - acaa boay is somewhere

 \bar{o} - something

 $y\bar{a}'q!wa$ to lie dead on rock 154.12 $\bar{o}'n\bar{e}q!wa$ corner on rock (see

ō- something, -ēnaku direction k!wa to sit taxu- to stand

awi'nak!wa rocky place 148.30 k!waa' to sit on rock 102.31

no. 18) 168.33

qap- upside down

Ļā'ewa to stand on rock 148.30 qap!ā'elōd to pour out on rock 179.8

g·îl- first $g \cdot \hat{i} l E' m g \cdot i^{i} l \bar{a} l a$ to be on rock, [pl.] 22.10 (see nos. 196, 197) k!wā'g'aā'la to sit down on k!wa to sit rock X 105.25 44. -8 ON GROUND, OUTSIDE OF HOUSE [STEM-S., H]. Inchoative form -q'azls, -g'îls loses initial g'a and g'. lequ- fire leq!u's fire on ground, outside of house 45.32 k!wa to sit k!wās to be seated on ground X 173.22 $k!w\bar{a}'dzas$ place of being seated on ground X 173.31 (see no. $g\bar{e}$ long time $g\bar{e}^{\epsilon}s$ long on ground 37.14 Lâts to stand on ground; tree Laxu- to stand yaqu- to lie dead yā'q!udzas place of lying dead on ground 61.8 (see no. 182) $b_E k^u$ - man $b_E k! u's$ woodman k!wā'g'aEls to sit down on k!wa to sit ground X 173.19 wā'tels to lead on ground wāt- to lead X4.5mā'g'îls to move on ground mā to crawl, swim gung E'ls to try on ground gun- to try 160.22 dā'd Eg îls id to pick up from $d\bar{a}$ - to take ground X 6.18 $l\bar{a}'w_{E}ls$ to go out 19.8 (see no. lā to go mī'sla all *wī'*lawels all outside 26.32 (see no. 37)

45. -ēs, -īs bottom of water [stem-s., w]. Generally this suffix is used to designate the beach, but it means as well the bottom of the sea, which is always covered by water. If the latter is to be clearly distinguished from the beach, the suffix -ns under water (no. 26) is added, with which it forms -ndzēs under water on the bottom. Inchoative form- g·a·līs loses initial g·.

k!us- to sit[Plural]

k!udzē's to sit on the beach 102.18

 $d\bar{o}q^u$ to see

 $d\bar{o}'xdogw\bar{e}s$ to see the bottom

ëk good han- hollow vessel is somewhere qap- upside down k!wa to sit

qap- upside down

hainē's hollow vessel on beach 102.34 qabē's upset on beach k!wā'q'a'līs to sit down on beach 96.28 $L!\bar{a}'s$ - seaward L!ā'L!Esbag'aelīs to put out on beach (in front of house), seaward 101.34 (see no. 31) qap!ā'līs to upset on beach

Here may also belong the very common suffix of names -gills signifying IN THE WORLD:

 $^{\epsilon}n_{E}m_{\bar{o}}'k^{u}$ one person ō masqwap great fire 'n em ō'kulag ilîs alone in world ō masqwa' p elagilis only great fire in world

 $\ddot{e}'g$ is good beach, sand 60.21

Inchoa-**46. -***U* in house, on the floor of the house [stem-s., w]. tive form $-q \cdot i l \bar{\imath} l$, $-q \cdot a l \bar{\imath} l$ loses initial q.

lequ- fire han- hollow vessel is somewhere Laxu- to stand $g\bar{a}$ - early, -g·ustâ up

kul- to lie, plural

yaqu- to lie dead

ax- to do LEP- to spread t!ēk:- to lie on back

 $l E g w \bar{i}' l$ fire in house ha'nī'l kettle on floor V 427.1

Lā'wīl to stand on floor 47.28 $g\bar{a}'g\cdot ust\hat{a}w\bar{\imath}l$ to be up early in house 46.12 $ku^{\epsilon}l\bar{\imath}'l$ to lie down in house 25.6

ku'lē'las place of lying down in house, bedroom 139.21 (see no. 182)

yā'qumg'a'lī'l to fall dead in house [pl.] X 110.34 $ax^{\epsilon}\bar{a}'l\bar{\imath}l$ to put on floor 137.37 LEP!ā'līl to spread on floor 24.3 t!ex. a'līl to lie down on back in house 139.18

The very numerous forms in $-l\bar{\imath}l$ are evidently to a great extent derived from continuative forms in -la.

k!wadzâ'la to sit on flat thing

gemzőtstála left side of door

LEP- to spread

k!wadzâ'līl to sit on flat thing in house 24.4 (see no. 35) qemxōtstâ^elīl left side of door in house 270.21 (see nos. 12,

LEbEqwī'lku spread out on 430.22 floor V (LEbEku spread out, see no. 172)

47. -ēL into house [stem-s., w].

 $h\bar{o}q^{u}$ - to go pl. $d \in x^{u}$ - to jump

 $g \cdot \bar{a}x$ to come

ax- to do

 $h\bar{o}'gw\bar{\iota}_L$ to enter pl. 21.1 $d_Ew\bar{\imath}'_L$ to jump into house 14.8 $g\cdot\bar{a}'x\bar{e}_L Ela$ to be in the act of

rā'xēlela to be in the act coming in 91.15

axē' L Ela to put into 48.27

47a. -ēĻē'sEla shoreward (stem-s., w.). This is evidently composed of -ēL (no. 47); -ēs (no. 45); -la (no. 91)

 $d\bar{a}'b\bar{e}L\bar{e}'sEla$ to tow ashore

48. -xs in canoe [stem-s., w]. Inchoative form -gradiexs loses initial gra.

hōqu- to go [pl.]
ō- something
da to take

k:!ip- to hold with tongs

 $m\bar{o}$ - to load $k!w\bar{a}$ to sit

'wīl- all, entire

qap- upside down

aps- other side

 $h\bar{o}'guxs$ to go aboard 224.9

 $\bar{o}xs$ inside of canoe

 $d\bar{a}xs$ to take aboard 96.32

k: ! Eb E'x S Ela to put aboard with tongs V 366.3

^emō'xsɛla to load 78.38

k!wā'g'aalexs to sit down in canoe 121.26

wilg aalexs all is in canoe V 485.2

qEp!E'lexs to pour into canoe V 473.15

apsā'xdzē^e other side of canoe V 361.22

49. $-xL\bar{o}$ on top of tree [stem-s., ind.] (compare no. 76).

han- a hollow thing is somewhere

 $g \cdot \bar{e}$ - to be somewhere

ha'nxlōd to put a box on top of a tree 278.31 g'ē'xlō it is on a tree

50. $-x \cdot si\bar{u}$ mouth of river [stem-s., ind.] loses initial x.

 \bar{o} - something wun- deep

\(\bar{o}'x^u \)siw\(\bar{e}^t\) mouth of river 29.3 wu'nx \(\siu\) deep at mouth of river

51. $-g \cdot dg$ - side, bank of river [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial g.

mak - next

mā'k:ägē next to bank of river 180.23

k!wa to sit

k!wā'g'ägend to sit on bank of river 30.6

k!wā'g'ägEls to sit down on ground by a river 64.29

ō-something ō'gwägē⁴ side of canoe 79.14 shore of lake 143.7 sē's z zwägē paddles at sides sēxu- to paddle 214.40 gēxu- to hang gēxwä'gzdāla to be suspended by the side of V 479.10 52. -xseg- outside front of house [stem-s., w]. $k'' = \bar{a}t$ - to paint $k \cdot !\bar{a}'d \, \epsilon x s \bar{e}' g \cdot i l a$ painting house-front 186.27 ō'xsēg'ē' outside front of house, ō- something 272.4 $z\bar{e}x$ - to beat time Lē'xexsēg înd to beat front boards of house 247.5 § 23. Parts of Body as Space Limitations (Nos. 53-81) 53. $-xL\ddot{a}$ on head [stem-s., h or w?]. ō-something $\bar{o}'xL\ddot{a}^{\epsilon}\bar{e}$ head of clam 134.10 nēs- to pull nēts! Exlä'lab End to pull by the head X 171.30 em E'ldzex Lä'la having white *mel- white feather on head X 114.12 $l_{\mathcal{E}}k$ - to throw legizzä'ls to throw at head outside X 116.20 nē'lexlä'x. id to begin to nēl- to show show head 143.10 54. -gEm face. This suffix is probably related to -sgem round thing (no. 85). After p, s, t, l, L, and k sounds, $-\epsilon m$; after l, n, m, and fortes, -gem. mel- white *mE'lgEm white face ë'k:!îqE'malā'mas to cause ëk'! upward, high face to be turned up (see nos. 92, 158)

q!wā'xamē' hemlock on face q!wāx hemlock (around head) 18.10 hape'm hairy face hap- hair

L! E'lg Emx'id to push from L!El- to push face 173.36 axamā'la to have on face ax- to be 271.24

Sometimes with the significance IN FRONT OF:

Lāx"- to stand Lā'xumē^e standing in front of

It occurs also as word-suffix:

 $\bar{a} Lan E'm$ wolf ālane'mgem with a wolf face, **54** a. **-gEmil** MASK [STEM-8., as no. 54, or WORD-8.].

(a) STEM-S.:

kunxu- thunder-bird

ku'nxuml thunder-bird mask

16.1 em E'lg Em l mountain-goat

*m El- white

mask 98.12

(b) word-s.: mel- white

 $^{\epsilon}m_{\it E}'lx_{\it L}\bar{o}g_{\it E}m_{\it l}$ mountaingoat mask 96.23

54 b. -nulem temples (= sides of face; compound of $-n\bar{o}$ side [no. 17] and $-g_{Em}$ face [no. 54]).

 \bar{o} - something

ō'nu⊥emē^e temples 31.40

mael two

maē'ma'lōgunū' L Emā'la persons on each side 217.29 (see nos. 82, 91)

hë'lk'!ōt right side

hëlk: !ōd enū' Lemē right side of house-front (see no. 12)

55. - $Em^{\epsilon}ya$ cheek [STEM-8., H]. L!agu- red enaxu- to cover with blanket

L!aq!u'm'ya red-cheeked 'nā'umya to cover cheek with blanket

56. - 58 CHEEK [STEM-S., H]. $L!aq^{u}$ - red

 $L/\bar{a}'q/\bar{o}s$ red-cheeked

186.32

57. -g·iu, -g·iyu FOREHEAD [STEM-S., IND.]; loses initial g. ō- something wā'dzō broad

ō'qwiwē' forehead 19.5 wā'dzōqwiyū with broad forehead (see § 4.1) $q\bar{e}'siu$ shining forehead

 $q\bar{e}s$ - to shine ëk' good

 $\ddot{e}'k'i\bar{u}$ pretty

Before vocalic suffixes the terminal u becomes w.

k-at- a long thing is somewhere

 $k \cdot \bar{a}' t \bar{e} w \bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ house beam 118.29 (long thing on forehead)

Lās- to stick

Lā'siwē what sticks on forehead 19.11

 $h\bar{o}'x^{u}h\bar{o}k^{u}$ a fabulous bird

hō'xuhōkwtwē' hō'xuhōku head mask 110.16

 $\epsilon y \hat{\imath} x^{u}$ - to dance x is- to show teeth

'yîxwî'wē' dancing-headdress x îsī'wē wolf head mask (teeth showing thing on forehead)

q!Elx- wrinkled

q! E'lxēwē wrinkles on forehead

bekwi'wala to have man on beku- man forehead 167.27 axē'wala to have on forehead ax- to do, to be 19.6 gums- ochre gu'msiwaku forehead painted red (see no. 172) $y\hat{\imath} L E y \bar{o}' d$ to tie on forehead $y\hat{\imath}_L$ to tie lā'wiōd to take off from forelā to go head 22.2 (see no. 37)

This prefix is often used to designate THE BOW OF THE CANOE. this case the g never changes after \bar{o} to gw.

ō- something Laxu- to stand

xwid- to stick out

 $\hat{a}'a'iw\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ bow of canoe 127.42 Lā'xug'iwē standing in bow of canoe 127.9 xwī'd eg ī'wala to stick out at bow 143.26

Sometimes -giu is used with the significance AHEAD, IN FRONT, in the same way as $-\bar{e}q$: (no. 69) is used to express BEHIND.

sā'yapalg'iwala to send ahead 149.22 (probably containing the inchoative -q:it- no. 197)

alē'xulgiu to paddle ahead 470.17

We have -giu also as word-suffix in g-ā'lag'iwē' LEADER 8.6.

58. -atō ear [stem-s., w].

g:ilt!- long $g_{E'}mx\bar{o}t$ left side *hël-* to hire wāxs- both sides gwās- to turn towards $q \cdot \hat{\imath}' l dat \bar{o} \log - eared$ $g_E m x \bar{o}' dat \hat{a} \bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ left ear 105.7 hë'latâ to lend ear 217.37 wā'xsōdatâē' on each ear 223.2 qwā'saatâla to turn ear to 81.43

59. - estō eye, door; more general, round opening like an eye [STEM-S., IND.]; loses initial '8.

(a) EYE:

dä to wipe kwēs- to spit *enag-* middle

dzex:- to rub

(b) poor:

ax- to do ō-something $d\ddot{a}^{\epsilon}st\bar{o}'d$ to wipe eye $kw\bar{\epsilon}'st\bar{o}d$ to spit into eye 95.30 enā'qōestâe middle between eves 168.13 dzedzex stō' x wīd to rub eyes X 57.34

 $axst\bar{o}'d$ to open door 15.6 ō'stâ'līl door of house 20.9 wāxs- both sides

wā'zsustâlīl both sides of door 51.5 (see no. 46)

mix- to strike

mîx:îltō'wē to knock at door

(c) ROUND PLACE:

 $L\bar{e}q^u$ - to miss

 $L\bar{e}'x^ust\bar{o}$ to miss a round place

(d) TRAIL. It would seem that in this case the form -ltō, which weakens the terminal stem consonant, is also used.

*nag- middle

'n exstâ'ē' middle of trail X

 $L\bar{e}q^u$ - to miss

'n Egelto' to keep on trail 19.9 Lē'gultōd to miss a trail

60. - \mathbf{i} $\mathbf{b}(a)$ nose, point [stem-s., w; from - $\mathbf{b}(a)$ point (no. 31)].

ōt- to perforate \bar{o} - something gwaxu- raven . *Lāq^u*- to push

odi'lbend to perforate nose awī'lbēe point of land 682.1 $gw\bar{a}'w\bar{\imath}lb\bar{e}^{\imath}$ raven nose 129.41 Lā'gwīlb End to shove to nose 349.20

This suffix occurs also as word-suffix.

qwē'sa far

qwē'saēlbēdzâ really far from nose 349.19 (see no. 119) 'n exwaē' lba near nose 349.21

nexwa near

61. -Exst(a) mouth, outward opening [stem-s., w].

*m Eku- round object is somewhere

 $t!\bar{o}q$ - gap, narrow opening ō- something

haem- to eat

qet- to spread

gwās- to turn to

*malt!ē- to recognize

ga- early geg - wife 'm Eguxstalë's round entrance on beach 153.29 (see no. 45) t!ō'guxsta with small mouth āwaxstē mouth of inlet 155.26, of bottle V 486.3 hā'emanōdzexsta to eat at the

side of some one 117.23 (see

q ed exsta' e sticks for spreading (mouth) of tree 99.3 gwā'yaxst to turn mouth to

*malt!ē'xst to recognize voice 250.9

gaā'xstāla breakfast X 167.6 geg î'xst woman's voice

62. -sx·ä тоотн [stem-s., ind.]; loses initial s.

 $\bar{o}'x L\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ hind end a wab ō' ē lower side

ō'x Lasx ä lower jaw 166.6 a wā'b ōsx äē lower side of bow of canoe 127.20

*wālasx: ä big toothed (=lynx)

*nexx: ä'la straight edged V

 $\bar{o}x\bar{a}'w\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ neck 149.22 (see §4.3)

genxâ'la to have around neck

 $q E n x \bar{o}' d$ to put around neck

 $t/\bar{e}'sx\ddot{a}$ stone-edged 96.18

 $L!\bar{a}'q!w_{E}x\bar{o} \text{ red necked}$

491.30

167.28

'wālas large 'neq- straight

t!ēs- stone

 $L!\bar{a}q^u$ red

 \bar{o} - something

63. $-x\bar{o}$ NECK [STEM-S., H].

 $\hat{q}x$ - to put around

 $q!w\bar{e}'ts! \, Ex\bar{o}d$ to strangle 136.32 q!wēs- to squeeze \bar{k} : !îp! \bar{k} zo'd to embrace around \bar{k} : ! $\hat{i}p$ - to hold around neck X 121.38 $s\bar{o}'p!_{E}x\bar{o}d$ to chop neck (i. e., $s\bar{o}p$ - to chop foot of tree) V 344.15 63 a. $-\bar{\imath} L x \bar{o}$ in mouth [stem-s., w; compound of $-\bar{e}L$ (no. 47) and $-x\bar{o}$ (no. 63)]. *wāp* water € 'wā'bī L!xāwē' saliva hē'lē L!xāwē mouthful X 157.20 hël- right ts! Exu- to wash ts! Ewē' L! xō to rinse mouth V 432.27 sag·ē' L!xâla to spear into sEk- to spear mouth U.S.N.M. 670.2 xwā'gwīL!xâla canoe in mouth $xw\bar{a}k!$ - canoe U.S.N.M. 670.2 ts! Ege'l! Exōd to throw into ts!Eq- to throw mouth 359.13 64. -ndzEm throat [stem-s., w; perhaps related to -ns- (no. 26)]. tō'b endzem speck in throat top-speck 65. $-\bar{a}p!$ when followed by accent $-\hat{i}p!$ NECK [STEM-S., IND.]. ō-something $a^{\epsilon}w\bar{a}'p!\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ neck piece 18.5, 39.4 $ga^{\epsilon}ya\bar{a}'p!\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ neck part 38.25 axā' p!ala to have on neck 19.6 ax- to be $d E x^u$ - to jump dā'xwap! to jump on neck 99.27 g îp!ā' L e l ōd to put into neck $g \cdot \bar{e}$ - to be somewhere piece 39.3 Also with the meaning following, Behind, like $-\bar{e}g$: (no. 69). Laxu- to stand Ļā'wap! Elis to stand behind on beach (see no. 45) han-hollow thing is somewhere ha'ng'ile'lā'p!āla canoe following on water (see no. 42) § 23

66. -x·siā'p! ARM ABOVE ELBOW. Evidently a compound of the preceding suffix; loses initial x. ō'xusiap!ē' shoulder and huō- something merus

'wēk'- to carry on shoulder

'wīx'siā'p!āla to carry

shoulder 57.16

67. $-x \cdot ts/dn(a)$ HAND [STEM-S., IND.] loses initial x.

t!ēs- stone t!ē's mx ts!āna stone-handed 131.32

ax- to do

axts!ā'n end to put on hand

198.19

lemxu- dry le'mlemxuts!ānax-tīd to dry

> hands V 430.8 $p\bar{e}'p_Ex$ ts! $\bar{a}nax$ to dry hands

by fire V 429.18

After short vowels this suffix has the form -lts/āna; with preceding t it also forms -lts!āna.

 $d\bar{a}'ba$ to hold end

 p_{EX} - to scorch

 $d\bar{a}'balts!\bar{a}n_{E}nd$ to take by hand

X 4.31 (see no. 31)

hë'lk'!ōt right side

hë'lk:!ōlts!āna right hand

15.11

68. -**bō** снеят [sтем-s., н].

 $q!\bar{a}p$ - to hit

 $q/\bar{a}'p/b\bar{o}$ to hit chest

69. $-\bar{e}g^{\bullet}(\bar{e})$ BACK [STEM-S., w]. The terminal vowel of this suffix may be -a. It appears very often, however, as -ē without any apparent grammatical reason.

at-sinew adē'g ē back sinew V 487.4 (see no. 161)

 $a^{\epsilon}w\bar{\imath}'g\cdot\bar{\epsilon}^{\epsilon}$ back 144.21, V 475.6 ō- something

(see no. 161)

menē'g ind to strike back mîx - to strike L!ās- seaward

L!ā'sig āla being with back seaward 150.9 (see no. 92)

 $g \cdot \hat{u} \bar{v}' g \cdot End$ to climb on back g'îl- to walk on four feet

279.5

g:îlīg:î'ndalap!a to climb on back of neck 279.7 (see no.

65)

 $l\bar{e}'g'a$ to follow 47.41 la to go \bar{o} -, plural $\bar{e}w$ - something

ēwig alts!anē backs of hands X 159.30 (see no. 67)

With ending -ē it appears in—

wun- to hide ts! Elk - feather *wunē'g·ē to hide behind 120.7 ts! E'lk ig īla feathers on back

It is often used to signify BEHIND, as in the examples given before.

It is also used in a temporal sense, AFTERWARDS.

hël- right

 $L!\bar{o}p$ - to roast nāg- to drink

hë'leg'ind to serve a second course at a meal 156.18 (i. e., right afterwards) $L!\bar{o}'b\bar{e}g \cdot a$ to roast afterwards nā'gēg ila to drink afterwards 41.25

Peculiar idiomatic uses of this suffix are-

'n Eq- straight

(naq-?)

 $^{\epsilon}n_{E}g\bar{e}'g\bar{e}'$ midnight 85.27 (i. e., straight behind) nā'nagēg'ē to obey 26.13

70. $-k^{\bullet} R lg(a)$ front of body [stem-s., ind.].

 \bar{o} - something

 $g \cdot \bar{\imath}$ to be somewhere

ts! Eq- to drop

ō'k!wulgē⁴ front of body g·ē'k·!îlgɛnd to put in lap V 478.25

ts! Exk: !î'lg Endāla to drop in lap 258.2

71. -aq crotch [stem-s., w].

 \bar{o} - something

awā'qē crotch of a tree, hollow in foot of a tree awā'gōx Ļä small of back V 490.32 (see no. 15)

 $ts!\bar{o}p$ - to tuck in

g·ī'g·ä tooth ts! et- crack, split ts!ō'bagē* something tucked into crotch X 175.6

 $g \cdot \bar{i}' g \cdot aq \bar{a} la$ teeth in crotch 96.17 ts! Edā'q woman (i. e., split in crotch ?)

72. -saqō penis [stem-s., ind.].

mōku- to tie

 $m\bar{o}'x^{u}segewak^{u}$ with tied penis (see no. 172) 138.11

73. $-x \cdot p/\bar{e}g \cdot (a)$ Thigh (compounded of $-x \cdot p/\bar{e}$ and $-g \cdot a$ inside [no. 36]). $q\hat{\imath}x \cdot p! \bar{e}'g \cdot \hat{\imath}nd$ to put around

qîx - to put around

thigh 89.37

74. -k·dx·ē knee [stem-s., ind.].

 \bar{o} -something Lem-scab

 $\bar{o}kw\ddot{a}'x\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ knee 87.12 $L Emk \cdot \ddot{a}'x \cdot \bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ with scabby knees 154.11

§ 23

75. $-x \cdot s \bar{\iota} s$, $-x \cdot s \bar{\iota} dz(\bar{e})$ foot [STEM-S., IND.]; loses initial x. ō'xusīdzē' foot of mountain \bar{o} - something 19.12 ben- under $b E' n x \cdot s \bar{\imath} dz \bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ under foot 118.30 hëx sīdzendāla right down to hë that foot 19.12 $q!\bar{a}'x$ * $\bar{s}idz\bar{e}$ to lead 24.4, 50.10 $\bar{e}p$ - to pinch ē'psīdzend to pinch foot 96.3 76. $-xL\bar{o}$ hair on body [stem-s., w] (compare no. 49). $L!\bar{a}q^{u}$ - red $L!\bar{a}'guxL\bar{o}$ red-haired Em El- white me'lxlō mountain-goat (i. e., white-haired) 7.3 77. $-q/Eg\bar{e}^c$ MEAT [STEM-S.; probably from -q and -ga Among (no. 7)]. Em E'lEm Elq! Ege "m El- white (see "m E'lxLo" under mountainno. 76) goat meat wiyō'q!ugēt the inside V 490.13 78. - es in body [stem-s., w]. g:ût!- long $g\cdot ild\bar{e}s$ long-breathed *megwi's stomach (i. c., round EmEku- round thing is thing in body) ts!îx:ilī'sEla (ts!îx:î'la-īs-la), *ts/îx* - sick ts!îx:ts!Enē's sick in body 78 a. -k-/es is probably a secondary form of the last, which loses its initial k, and hardens the terminal stem-consonant. "nemk'! es one down in belly *nem* one. (= swallowed)pe'nt!ēs stout belly 50.15 pent- stout Here belongs probably also a form -k.'aēs. $\bar{o}'k!wa\bar{e}dz\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ branch side of tree V 344.15 $l\bar{a}'k$ '! $a\bar{e}dz$ end to enter the body 77.20 79. $-g \cdot it$ BODY [STEM-S., IND.]; loses initial g. ö'gwitē^ε body 202.24 V 366.13 ō-something qupē't!ēd to sprinkle over body qup- to sprinkle 112.19 (see no. 90) $x\bar{o}'sit$ to sprinkle body 105.38 $x\bar{o}s$ - to sprinkle ë'k ·ētela well grown (tree) V ëk good 496.6 *tēku*- to hang tē'kwēt!ēdayu to be hung to body U.S.N.M. 667.7 $dz = k \cdot i't$ to rub body 199.20 dz Ek - to rub

In a few cases -g'it appears as word-suffix.

enā'la day

 $^{\epsilon}$ nā'lag'i'tasō $^{\epsilon}$ Day - on - Body 196.4 (see no. 159)

t!ē'sĸm stone

T!ē's mg it Stone-Body 200.9

In one case the ending $-g \cdot it$ appears with its $g \cdot$ preserved after a $g \cdot$

"meg"- to put on [PLURAL OB- "megug i't

JEOT] [PLURAL

*megug·i't to put on body [PLURAL OBJECT] 199.11

80. -k-ln body, consisting of (relating to the surface of the body) [STEM-S., IND., also WORD-S.]; loses initial k-l, replaced by l.

(a) STEM-S.:

ō- something *mɛl- white L!Emq!- yew tree ō'k!winē^e surface of body

*me'lk:!în with white body

L!e'mq!ek:!în made of yew V

*lemx*⁴- dry

lemle'mx'unx''id to get dry V 483.6

 $x \cdot \bar{\imath} x$ - to burn

x·ī'x·ɛnāla being like fire V 196.35

 $dEw\bar{e}'x$ cedar withe

dewē'xen cedar-withe rope

Sometimes used to express Log.

k!wā to sit

k!wā'k:!înīl to sit on log in house 272.29 (see no. 46) g:ī'k:!îndāla to put on log

272.33 (see nos. 2, 91)

enexa- to cover with blanket

*nex*u'nd to put on blanket 65.1

(b) word-s.:

 $L!aq^{a}$ - red a'la real

L!ā'qwak'!în copper body (i.e., entirely copper) 80.12 a'lak'!în able-bodied 208.39

81. -ēq in mind [stem-s., h, often with reduplication].

ō-something ëk: good

a^ewēqē'^e inside of body ëk[·]!ē'qɛla to feel good 123.12

(see no. 91)

 $\ddot{e}'k\cdot \bar{e}x^{\epsilon}\bar{i}d$ to begin to feel glad

e'k'ex''id to begin to 34.30 (see no. 90)

wâ'⁴nēqa revengeful

lælaē'qela to long (i. e., to

feel dead) 63.14

letaë'x'ed to yield (i. e., to

begin to feel dead)

 $l \mathbf{z}^{t} l$ - dead

g·ī- to be la to go q/ē- many ^enēk·- to say g·ī'g·aēqala to think 52.5 lē'laēqala to think of going q!ā'yaqala to bother 54.38 *nē'nk'!ēx*īd to begin to think (see no. 90) 184.3

§ 24. Limitations of Form (Nos. 82-85b)

82. -ōk" and -sōk" HUMAN BEINGS [STEM-s., with doubtful influence upon stem].

ma'î two
ëk: good
g'în- how many?
hō'lal a few
q!ē- many

 $ma^{\epsilon}l\bar{o}'k^{\mu}$ two persons 48.21 $\ddot{e}'x * \bar{o}k^{\mu}$ handsome 48.29 $g'in\bar{o}'k^{\mu}$ how many persons $h\bar{o}'lal\bar{o}'k^{\mu}$ a few persons $qley\bar{o}k^{\mu}$ many persons

83. -xs(a) flat [stem-s., ind.].

enem one

*ne'mxsa one (day) 18.2

84. -ts/aq long [STEM-S., IND.].

enem one

^en E'mts!ag one (horn) 17.9

85. -sg Em round surface [STEM-S., IND., and WORD-S]; loses s and g.

(a) stem-s.:

enem one

mel- white

k!wā to sit

q! enēp- to wrap up

*ne'msgem one round thing 8.1

em E'lsg Em white - surfaced 61.26

k!wā'sgem to sit on round thing

q!enē'pemd to cover face 299.21

Here belong also—

 $L!\bar{a}'s$ - seaward

la to go

L!ā'sgemāla to face seaward 61.16

lā'sgem to go facing (i. e., to follow) 8.9

(b) word-s.: blanket.

 $m \, \mathbf{z} t \mathbf{s} a' \,$ mink $q! w \bar{a} x \,$ hemlock

alā'g'îm dressed skin

mā'tsasgem mink blanket q!wā'xsem house of hemlock branches 45.24

alā'g'îmsgem dressed - s k i n blanket X 57.3 85a. -dEn finger-width [word-s., ind.].

*nz'mdznxsa one finger-width thick V 491.6 (see no. 3)
yaēyū'dux*dznī*läla everywhere about three finger-widths (see no. 5)

85b. -xwais day.

hë'lop! Enxwaes the right number of days 355.26

This class of suffixes does not fit in the present place particularly well, since nos. 82-84 are used almost exclusively with numerals, indicating the class of objects. My reason for placing these suffixes at the present place is that suffixes denoting space limitations may be used in the same way as this class. We have, for instance, with -ts!o (no. 27), *ne'mts!o one inside; and with -âla stationary on WATER (no. 41), a Leba'la seven in a canoe afloat. Since, furthermore, $-\bar{o}k^u$ human beings is used with a number of intransitive verbs, and since -sgem is in its application quite analogous to all the other local suffixes, it seemed best to keep the whole series together. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that there is a distinct contrast between $-dz\bar{o}$ on a flat thing (no. 35) and -xsa a flat THING; the former indicating the place of an action, while the latter is used only as a classifier of nouns. Furthermore, the few suffixes given here are in a wider sense classifiers than the local suffixes. is indicated by combinations like ene'mxsats!o one flat thing INSIDE (-xsa a flat thing, -ts!ō inside); and *ne'msgem*stō one DROP, literally "one round thing in round thing" (-sgem round, -sstō round opening [no. 59]).

Temporal Suffixes (Nos. 86-97) (§§ 25-26)

§ 25. Purely Temporal Suffixes (Nos. 86-89)

86. -ul remote past [stem-s., ind., and word-s.]. This suffix has the form -ul after words ending in a, m, n, l, x^u ; after p, t, s, k^u , x, it assumes the form -wul. At the same time terminal k^u is aspirated as before a consonant. After \bar{e}^t it has the form -yul.

*nEqā'p!Enk:îmōl the dead 'nEqā'p!Enk:îm 283.9

Yā'xLEnul the dead Yā'xLEn 285.11

 $l\bar{o}l$ he went long ago (from la to go)

 $^{\epsilon}m\bar{a}'x\bar{o}l$ the dead $^{\epsilon}m\bar{a}'x$ wa 470.36

 $g\bar{e}$ - long time $\bar{o}mp$ father

lens- one day remote

as thy father

geyō'l long ago 12.4 ō'mpwul dead father 113.16 le'nseul yesterday 31.6 d'swul thy dead father 142.16 hayō't*wul former rival

*nemō'x*u*wul past friend 271.23

g-ā'xwulen I came long ago 142.19 (g-āx to come; -en I)

Ō'*magasema*yul the dead Ō'*magasemē* 142.17

In a few cases this suffix modifies the terminal sound of the stem. $d\bar{a}'g \cdot i^e n\bar{o}lwul$ DEAD FELLOW-WIFE 142.18, which contains the suffix $-\bar{o}t$ (no. 167, p. 506) changes its terminal t to l (see also

p. 451)

wa'yul OLD DOG, from wa'ts!ē DOG, is treated as though the stem were was- and the terminal s were weakened.

87. $-x^{*id}$ RECENT PAST[STEM-S., IND.]. The initial x drops out after p, t, s, l, and L and k sounds; p and t are at the same time strengthened; L and k stops are aspirated.

ax- to be $ax^{\epsilon}\bar{a}'s^{\epsilon}\bar{\imath}d$ place where he had been (see no. 182) 42.4 la to go $l\bar{a}x^{\epsilon}\bar{\imath}d$ he went 190.29

88. - L FUTURE [WORD-s.].

 $xw\bar{a}'k!una$ canoe $xw\bar{a}'k!unal$ a future canoe 83.33

\(\bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \) \(\bar{\varepsilon} \bar{\varepsilon} \) \(\bar{\varepsilon} \) \(\bar{varepsilon} \) \(\bar{varepsi

89. $-x \cdot d\bar{e}$ TRANSITION FROM PRESENT TO PAST, or rather from existence ence to non-existence [STEM-S., IND., and WORD-S.]; loses the initial x.

 $g\cdot\hat{\imath}l$ first $g\cdot\hat{\imath}lx\cdot d\bar{\imath}$ what had been first 8.11

 $w\bar{a}'ld\mathit{Em}$ word $w\bar{a}'ld\mathit{Emx}'d\bar{e}$ what he had said 25.4

x îsā'la to have disappeared x îsā'lax dē the one who had disappeared and was no

 $y\bar{a}'q!udz\bar{a}'s$ place of lying dead $y\bar{a}'q!udz\bar{a}'sd\bar{e}$ place where he had lain dead 61.8 (see nos.

44, 182)

 $k!w\bar{\imath}l$ to feast in house $k!w\bar{\imath}'ld\bar{e}$ those who had been feasted, but ceased to feast 22.4

§ 26. Suffixes with Prevailing Temporal Character (Nos. 90-97)

90. -x^{*}****Id inchastive. The initial x is dropped after p, t, s, l, and L and k sounds except the fortes; p and t are at the same § 26

time strengthened; L and k stops are aspirated. This suffix is evidently compounded with the terminal completive -d (no. 2). It can not be used with all other suffixes, many of which have a different way of forming inchoatives (see no. 197). It can also not be used with all stem-verbs.

It was stated before (no. 2) that verbs with primary suffixes ending in -a generally form an inchaative in -nd. Nevertheless cases occur in which the full suffix $-x^{-\epsilon}\bar{\imath}d$ is used. We have—

la'stax''id to begin to go into water 36.25
gwë'xtux''wid to begin to have a direction on top (=to steer)
ö'dzɛbax''id to begin to turn the wrong way
k'!îpts!â'lax''id to begin to hold (in tongs) inside 192.38
k'!a'stā'lax''id to begin to place into water 95.8

Examples of the use of the inchoative with simple stems are the following:

g-îl- to walk on four feet $q \cdot \hat{\imath}' l x \cdot \hat{\imath} \bar{\imath} d$ len- to forget $l_{E'}nx^{\cdot\epsilon}\bar{\imath}d$ k!u'mlx'sīd k!uml- to burn wu'nx' ād wun- to drill wun- to hide €wu'nx · €īd xek'!- to stay $x = k \cdot ! = x \cdot \epsilon \bar{\imath}' d$, L!Ep- to climb (a pole) $L!Ep!\tilde{\imath}'d$ $\int d\bar{a}p$ to dig $^{\epsilon}l\bar{a}'p!\bar{\imath}d$ $x\bar{o}'s^{\epsilon}\bar{\imath}t$ to sprinkle body (see no. $x\bar{o}'s^{\epsilon}\bar{\imath}t!\bar{\imath}d$ 79) $q\bar{a}s$ - to walk $q\bar{a}'s^{\epsilon}\bar{\imath}d$ p!Es- to flatten p! $Es^{\varepsilon}\bar{\imath}'d$ $n\bar{e}l$ to tell $n\bar{e}'l^{\epsilon}\bar{\imath}d$ $g \cdot \hat{u} = \hat{v} \cdot \hat{v}$ to steal g`îlō′l⁵īd $k \cdot ! \hat{l}' m L -$ to adze $k \cdot !\hat{\imath}' m l^{\epsilon} \bar{\imath} d$ k·ēz- to fish with net $k \cdot \bar{e}' l^{\epsilon} i d$ dzē'k'- to dig clams $dz\bar{e}'x^{\cdot\epsilon}\bar{\imath}d$ $d\bar{o}k^{u}$ - to troll $d\bar{o}'x^{\epsilon}w\bar{\imath}d$ $d\bar{o}q^{u}$ - to see $d\bar{o}'x^{\epsilon}w\bar{\imath}d$. nāq- to drink nā'x⁵ūd awu'lq- to want more awu'lx tid yā''wix'- to act ya'Ewix'Eid Lîx- to turn bow of canoe $L \hat{\imath} x^{\cdot \epsilon} \bar{\imath}' d$ qamxu- to put on down qa'mx wīd Ema'xEwīd maxu- potlatch denx- to sing $dE'nx^{\epsilon}\bar{\imath}d$

It appears from the rules and examples here given that the inchoatives of stems in k and x, k and x, q and x, q and x, q and x, L and l can not be distinguished. The number of stems ending in a fortis is very small, but all those that I have found take the ending $-x^{-\epsilon}id$ preceded by a release of the vocal cords. I have no examples of stems ending in a sonant and taking the ending $-x^{-\epsilon}id$.

A few cases are apparently irregular, presumably on account of secondary changes in the stem.

 (tax^{u}) to stand $t\bar{a}'x^{t}w\bar{t}d$ $(t\bar{o}x^{u})$ to go forward $t\bar{o}'x^{t}w\bar{t}d$

Both these stems are often treated as though they ended in $-\bar{o}$, not in $-x^u$, but the relationship of these two sounds has been pointed out before.

91. -l(a) continuative. In stems ending in a long vowel, it is added to the terminal vowel. With stems ending in a consonant, it is generally connected by an obscure ε , but also by a long \bar{a} . Terminal p and t sounds, including nasals in suffixes and stems, seem to require long \bar{a} , while s occurs both with ε and \bar{a} . In stems ending in a k sound with u or i tinge, it is added to the vocalized tinge. In all suffixes that may take a terminal -a (no. 1), it is added to this -a.

wu L- to hearwu L E' la to hear 11.10 $la \bar{e}' L$ to enter $la \bar{e}' L E la$ to be engaged in entering 24.2 $y \bar{a}' L \bar{o} d$ to tie $y \bar{a}' L o d \bar{a} la$ to be engaged in tying 28.33

This suffix is evidently contained in the suffixes -*nākula (no. 94), -k·lāla (no. 144), -i*lāla (no. 5), -g·aalela (no. 96), -ōlela (no. 93), -g·ila (no. 136).

Examples of its use after various classes of sounds are the following:

After long vowels—

pd'la to be hungry 7.4 $m\bar{o}'^{\epsilon}la$ to thank 21.2 hamg' $\bar{i}'la$ to feed 7.6 d'la real 9.5 $w\bar{i}'^{\epsilon}la$ entirely 10.8 $axk''!\bar{a}'la$ to ask 7.5

After stems ending in a k sound with u or i tinge— $g \cdot \bar{o}' k u l a$ to live 7.1 $t s \cdot l \hat{u} \cdot \hat{v}' l a$ sick 32.27

 e^{i} e^{i

After consonants of k and l series—

wule'la to hear 11.10 wu'nqela deep 11.1 xe'nlela very 7.3 k·ilela' to be afraid 10.2 țē'qela to name 9.13 de'nxela to sing 13.2

After consonants of p and t series—

axā'p!āla to be on neck 19.6 hë'lō'māla to be on time 15.10 quaximā'la to be on head $h\bar{o}'lem\bar{a}la$ to obtain easily 7.3 $\bar{a}'x\bar{o}d\bar{a}la$ to handle 32.41 $d\bar{a}'la$ to hold 14.9 $len\bar{a}'la$ to forget $q\bar{a}'ts\bar{e}'st\bar{a}la$ to go around 23.13

After s—

mē's Ela to have a smell

lē'stalī's ela to go around on beach 12.7

qwē'sala far 26.43

ring 18.4

After suffixes that may take terminal a-

Sā'gumbala (name of a place) 7.1 (no. 31) ts!ē'slāla tongs 21.3 (no. 32) qanā'yobala having lasso at end 37.13 (no. 31) gē'stāla long in water X 155.38 (no. 39)

92. -āla continuative [STEM-S., IND.]. This differs from the preceding in that it indicates the continued position implied in an act, not the continued activity itself.

x.ōs- to rest

'wun- to hide
g.û- to move on four legs

'nexu- near
da to take

x·ō'sāla to be in the position of rest 274.7 'wunā'la to be in hiding 161.2 g·îlā'la to be on four legs 'nɛxwā'la to be near 36.10 dā'la to hold 16.5 bɛkwā'la character of a person

With stems ending in \ddot{e} , \bar{e} , and $\bar{\imath}$ it is contracted to - $\ddot{a}la$:

gē long hë that

beku- man

gä'la 129.14 hä'la being that 14.3

93. $-\delta l(Ela)$ continued motion [stem-s., ind.].

ë'k∵! above

ë'k'!ōlela to continue to go up 126.40

nāla south

"nā'lōlela going south, down river 125.7

gwās-direction

gwā'sōlela to approach 9.9

94. $-^{\epsilon}n\bar{a}ku(la)$ gradual motion, one after another [stem-s., w]. tē'qu'nā'kula to hang one after $t\bar{e}k^{u}$ - to hang another pe'n Le nā'kula to grow stout pent- stout 49.15 qäinā'kula to walk along 115.3 qās- to walk 95. -naxw(a) sometimes [word-s.]. la to go lā'naxwa to go sometimes 11.3 x·iā's place of disappearance x iā'snazwa place where he disappears sometimes 28.8 96. - $g \cdot a^{\epsilon}a L E l a$, after k and L sounds - $^{\epsilon}a L E l a$, suddenly. Used often with verbs denoting sense-impressions (see p. 514). $d\bar{o}q^{u}$ - to see $d\bar{o}x^{\epsilon}wale'la$ to discover 19.10 plaq- to taste p!exeale'la to learn by taste 31.5 $q!\hat{a}_L$ to know $q!\hat{a}l^{t}alE'la$ to learn 135.4 $g \cdot \bar{a}' x' a \iota \varepsilon' l a$ to come suddenly $g \cdot \bar{a}x$ to come 33.41 The following is apparently irregular: wu_L - to hear wulā'x'alr'la to learn by hearing 35.23 The following probably belong here also: ax- to do axeale'lod to take out suddenly 38.13 kwēx- to strike kwēxale'lōd to strike suddenly 99.3 Lāseale'lād to push in sud-Lās- to push denly 19.5 97. - $t\hat{a}^{\epsilon}$ to do at the same time while doing something else, WHILE IN MOTION [STEM-S., IND.]. $d\bar{a}'lt\hat{a}^{\epsilon}ya$ laughing at the same dāl- to laugh time 284.5 denx- to sing d E'nx Etâ€ya singing while walking 355.15 $y\hat{x}^{u}$ - to dance ^εyîxutâ'^εya dancing as she came 435.20 With terminal -ē (see § 49, p. 530) this suffix has the form -te*wē: ^enē'q'itĒ'wē he says while— 285.6 hā'malā'g'ita'wē to eat walking 134.2

yā'q! ent!ālaxte wē to speak while— 374.9

The elements -g'i- and -x- preceding this suffix in the last two instances are not clear as to their origin.

Suffixes Denoting Subjective Judgments or Attitudes Belating to the Ideas Expressed (Nos. 98-133) (§§ 27-32)

§ 27. Suffixes Denoting Connection with Previously Expressed Ideas (Nos. 98-104)

98. -xaa also, on the other hand [word-s.].

 $d\bar{a}'x^{\epsilon}idaxaa$ he also took 8.13

d'emlxaas and only you on your part 397.3 (-em no. 103; -e no. 88; -s thou)

Ļō'gwalaxaɛn I on my part have supernatural power 399.3 (-en I)

99. $-x \cdot s\ddot{a}$ still, entirely [word-s.].

Lā'siwalax:sä it still stuck on his forehead 24.5 dā'lax:sä still holding on 14.11 L!EL!ā'gexusä entirely cedar-bark 86.24

99a. -q!āla perfectly, completely [stem-s., ind.].

 $^{\epsilon}n\bar{a}'q!\bar{a}la$ it is full day 441.13 $n\bar{o}'lq!\bar{a}la$ entirely uneasy

100. -lag·il in the mean time [word-s.].

**sek·ā'lag·il to spear in the mean time CS 44.25

101. -t/a BUT [WORD-S.].

'nē'x''lat!a but he said, it is said, 100.22

102. - La but [word-s.].

 $l\bar{a}'$ μa but he went 14.10

The difference between -1a and -t!a is difficult to define. On the whole, the latter expresses an entirely unexpected event in itself improbable; the former implies that the event, although not necessary, might have been expected.

qap!ē'dēda xwā'k!una la'mē's Ļa hë'ldik ama the canoe capsized but he came out well

qap!ē'dēda xwā'k!una la mē'st!a hë'ldik:ama the canoe capsized and against all expectation he came out well (qap!ē'd to capsize; -ēda prenominal subj. [p. 530]; xwā'k!una canoe; la to do, go, happen; -ɛmēs no. 104; hë'ldik:ama to come out right)

la mē'stla wulekwa' it has antlers (although they do not belong to it) (wule'm antlers; -ku passive participle, no. 172)

103. - m indicates that the subject has been referred to or thought of before.

 $g \cdot \bar{a} x^{\epsilon} E m$ he came

laz'm^claē gwāl then, it is said, he finished (what has been mentioned before) 141.34

 $l\bar{e}'x$ arm $da\bar{a}'x$ s K. and it was only carried by K: 403.28 $y\bar{u}'$ men—this (what has been mentioned before) is my—211.20

104. - mes [word-s.; compounded of - m-wis and so, indicating that a certain event is the effect of a preceding event].

hëx'ida m'lā'wis and so, it is said, it began to be (passim) (hëx'id it begins to be, -'la it is said, -m-wis)

g'i'gamē' Emxaa' wīs En and so I, on my part, am also a chief

This suffix evidently contains - m (no. 103); the intimate connection between the expressed idea and the preceding idea being first indicated by -m, and their causal relation being indicated by -wis. In a few cases, when following -āna Perhaps (no. 106), it occurs without - m.

§ 28. Suffixes Denoting Degrees of Certainty (Nos. 105-107)

105. -lax POTENTIALITY, used in all uncertain conditional sentences [word-s.].

a^emē'lalax it might spoil 131.17 yl'lkwalaxōL you might be hurt 29.35

106. -āna perhaps [word-s.].

*mā'dzâā'nawis what, indeed, may it be? (see no. 119) 11.12 lā'g'îls'laxā'nawis (what) may he perhaps be doing on the ground? 95.20 (-g'îls on ground [no. 44]; -lax [no. 105]; -wis [no. 104])

107. **-g·anEm** PERHAPS [WORD-s.]. $s\bar{o}'qwanem$ you perhaps 146.28

- § 29. Suffixes Denoting Judgments Regarding Size, Intensity, and Quality (Nos. 108-126)
- 108. -k·as REALLY [WORD-s.]. In the dialects of northern Vancouver Island, particularly in that of Koskimo, this suffix is used throughout, and has lost its significance entirely.

gä'lak'as really a long time 7.4

ng'nwalak!winēk'asōs your real supernatural quality 479.11 (see no. 171)

 $g \cdot \bar{a}'xk \cdot asden$ really I came 478.4 (see no. 89; -en I)

§§ 28, 29

108 a. -k·as·ō FINE AND BEAUTIFUL, used particularly in poetry [word-s.].

Lō'qwalak'as'ō a really fine magic treasure 111.1, 478.9

109. -ot ugly, awkward [stem-s., w].

wā'yā'l a big ugly dog

"wī $\bar{o}^i l \bar{o} l w i s \bar{\iota} \bar{e}$ where is the past, ugly, miserable thing? ("wīwhere, -ul past [no. 86], $-\bar{o}^i l$ ugly, $-wi^i s$ [no. 104], $-x \bar{\iota} \bar{e}$ miserable [no. 115]) 99.31

 $l\bar{a}'k \cdot adz\bar{o}^{\epsilon}l$ that really bad one X 207.16 (see no. 108)

110. -dzē large [word-s.].

L!ā'qwadzē large copper 84.16 q!ā'sadzēk'as a great number of sea-otters (-k'as no. 108) g'ō'x*dzē large house 483.27

110a. -Em diminutive [STEM-S., W] always used with reduplication (see § 45, p. 526).

neg ē' mountain te! edā'q woman g ōk" house g înl- child nā'nag'im small mountain ts!ā'ts! Edag Em girl g'ā'g'ogum little house g'ā'g'înlEm little child

In $s\bar{a}'yobem$ LITTLE ADZE (from $s\bar{o}p$ - to ADZE) the initial s is weakened (see § 43.6).

111. -Em GENUINE, REAL [STEM-S. and WORD-S., H, lengthens vowel of stem].

bā'k!um genuine man, Indian bā'gwanɛm'ɛm full-grown man K'kwā'k!um real Kwakiutl wī'wāp!ɛm fresh water V 365.33

112. -bidō' small [singular, word-s.]; see no. 113.

 $q/\bar{a}'k \cdot \bar{o}bid\bar{o}^{\epsilon}$ a little slave 99.31 $s\bar{e}'rwabid\bar{o}^{\epsilon}$ to paddle a little $gg'lw\bar{a}lbabid\bar{o}^{\epsilon}$ little hooked nose 271.29 $bgw\bar{o}'^{\epsilon}lbid\bar{o}^{\epsilon}$ ugly, little man (see no. 109)

Very common are the compounds—

amā'bidō^e small one 18.10, 38.14

*næṣwā'labidō^e quite near 19.13, 107.20

With verbs this suffix, as well as the following, signify rather that a small person, or small persons, are the subject of the verb, than that the act is done to a slight extent, although the latter is often implied.

ē'p/ēbidō^e the little one pinched, he pinched a little CS 12.13

113. -mEnēx^u small [Plural, word-s.]. Possibly this is etymologically related to the preceding, since m and n are the nasals belonging to b and d; and a similar relation of stops and nasals may be observed in the northern dialects of the Kwakiutl, where we have, for instance, $-idex^u$ corresponding to $-\bar{e}nox^u$ (no. 162).

enēene'mgēsmenēxu the little ene'mgēs 135.34

114. **-ō** small [word-s.].

q-ā'xelelaō little ones entering U.S.N.M. 670.14

115. -x Le miserable, pitiful, too bad that, loses the initial x after s.

 $m\bar{e}'xax\mu ay\hat{n}$ too bad that I was asleep! $l\bar{a}'x\mu\bar{e}$ unfortunately X 162.39

116. -x·La very [word-s.].

ts! E'lqwax Lä it is very warm q!E'msq!Emts!Ex Lä very lazy 45.9

117. -wīstla very (perhaps a compound of -wīs [no. 104] and -tla [no. 101] BUT so).

ts!ō'ltowīst!a very black

118. -ma at once, without hesitation [word-s.]. Used in the most southern Kwakiutl dialect, the Lē'kwilda'x", with great frequency. In this dialect the suffix has lost its significance entirely.

 $g \cdot \bar{a}' x m \hat{a}$ he came at once

119. -dzâ emphatic [word-s.].

 $g\bar{e}'ladz\hat{a}$ come, do! 13.3 (like German "komm doch!") $\bar{e}m\bar{a}'dz\hat{a}$ what anyway? 11.12 $y\bar{u}'dz\hat{a}$ emzent evidently this is it (see nos. 103, 135) $k!\bar{e}'dz\hat{a}$ em not at all X 3.29 (see no. 103)

120. -k·inal nicely [word-s.].

dr'nxalak inal singing nicely

121. $-x \cdot sa(la)$ carelessly [word-s.].

 $^{\epsilon}n\bar{e}'k\cdot ax\cdot sala$ to speak carelessly

122. -k·ina Accidentally [STEM-s., with reduplication].

dā'doxkwinala to see accidentally wā'walk·inē obtained by luck CS 42.8 ιδ'mak·inālaιē will be by chance very much CS 36.7 123. $-q!\bar{a}la^{\epsilon}m(a)$ to no purpose [word-s.].

q!ä^enā'kulaq!ā'la^ema walking along without object bē'begwānemq!āla^em common men V 441.15

124. -wd, -d in a wrong manner, to fail, to make a mistake, off [stem-s.]. This suffix may be identical with no. 37.

After n and vowels, $-w\ddot{a}$; after p, t, and anterior and posterior k sounds, $-\hat{a}$ (compare no. 41).

lā'wä to go off from road V 491.24
dā'wä to fail to hold V 478.21
t!ē'pā to step off
sōpā'la to chop off V 345.18
tēlō'la to have the bait off V 479.9
k ēxā'layu to be scraped off V 487.12

125. $-b\bar{o}l(a)$ to pretend to [word-s.]

q!wā'sabōla to pretend to cry 155.34

ts!ɛx'q!abō'la to pretend to feel sick 278.26 (see no. 148)
ha'māpbōla to pretend to eat 257.23

'wi'labōla to pretend to pinch 260.33

This suffix occurs also with nouns:

ha mē'b olax de past pretended food (what had been made to look like food) 260.36

126. -x*st! as usual; -x*st!aak* apparently, seemingly, it seems like.

la'mx'st!as you do as usual U.S.N.M. 670.7 ladzō'lisax'st!aā'xumaē apparently reaching up to the sky 238.5 lā'x'st!aa'ku it seems to be 50.25

§ 30. Suffixes Denoting Emotional States (Nos. 127-129)

127. -q!anāk^u Quite unexpectedly [word-s.].

lā'q!anā'kwaē k:!ē'lax:eīd eq he struck her, although you would not expect it of him

128. -ēĻ astonishing! [word-s.].

så'ē i ti is you! 149.12, U.S.N.M. 725.11
ē'dzāē i ak behold not this! 198.37 (ēs- not; -dzā no. 119; -ak this [see p. 530])

129. -xōL astonishing! o wonder! [word-s.].

k !ē'sxōṛ oh, wonder! not 17.7 hë''maa'laxōṭ oh, wonder! it was he 138.43 ēaɪa'nr'maxōṭ behold! wolves X 57.15

§ 31. Suffix Denoting the Optative (Nos. 130-131)

130. **-ne**'sL он, if! [word-s.].

g-āxnē spe oh, if (he) would come!

131. -x. LIKELY HE WOULD! exhortative (see § 66, p. 549).

§ 32. Suffixes Denoting the Source of Information (Nos. 132-135)

132. $-\epsilon l(a)$ IT IS SAID [WORD-S.].

xE'nLElael very much, it is said 7.3

 $k' \cdot |\bar{e}'s^{\epsilon}|$ but not, it is said 8.10 (see no. 101)

lā'elaē then, it it is said, he—(passim)

133. -Emsk^u as I told you before [word-s.].

g·ā'xɛmsku he has come—as you ought to know, since I told you before

134. -Eng·a in a dream [word-s.].

lar'ng a in a dream it was seen that he went X 173.40

135. -xEnt evidently (as is shown by evidence) [word-s.].

k:!eâ'saaxent evidently nothing 73.18

k:!ē'sxent evidently not 148.15

Suffixes Denoting Special Activities (Nos. 136-155) (§§ 33-34)

§ 33. Activities of Persons in General (Nos. 136-143)

136. $-g \cdot ila$ to make [word-s. and stem-s., ind.]; loses initial g.

L!ē'nag'ila to make oil 37.5

 $m\bar{o}'masila$ to hurt 29.28

Lā'wayugwila to make a salmon-weir 26.39

leqwē'la to make a fire 98.8

 $gw\bar{e}'g$ ·ila to do so (to make a certain kind of thing) 15.12 $s\bar{e}'xw\bar{\iota}la$ to make a paddle V 496.2

This suffix occurs also with neutral stems as an indifferent stemsuffix.

beku- man

bekwē'la to make a man

103.20

 $l\bar{o}k^{u}$ - strong

lōkwē'la to make strong 104.7

This suffix in its passive form -g'i'lak" is used very often to form names of men, in the sense BORN TO BE—

Gu'ntē laku born (literally, made) to be heavy

Neg'ä'īsī'lak" born to be mountain on open prairie

Hä'emasīelaku born to be a chief

L!ā'qwasgemg'ī'laku born to be copper-faced

§§ 31-33

Peculiar is the mythical name of the mink $L!\bar{e}'selag'i^ela$, which retains the glottal stop of the passive forms, although it lacks the passive suffix $-k^u$ (no. 172), with which it would mean BORN TO BE THE SUN.

137. -x*sīla to take care of [stem-s. also word-s. Used with reduplication]; loses initial x.

ts!ēq- winter-dance

naq- mind $b \not = k^u$ - man (?) $g \cdot ig$ - chief

panā'yu hook

ts!ē'xts!ēxsīla to take care of winter dance 16.12
nand'qēx'sīla to resolve 184.2
bā'baxusīla to use 36.7
g'ā'g'ixsīla to treat like a chief 360.42
pā'panayuxusīslats!ē receptacle

pā' panayux"sī'lats!ē receptacie (i. e., canoe) for fishing with hooks V 484.14 (see no. 184)

138. -lat to be occupied with [word-s., generally with reduplication or lengthened vowel].

mä salmon

ō'ma' chieftainess

wilk* cedar
pes- to give a potlatch

hamē'yalal to be occupied with salmon (i. e., to dance the salmon dance) 84.5
a'ō'malal chieftainess dance 84.8
hawī'lkulal cedar dance pā'salal potlatch dance

139. - exst to desire [stem-s., h].

nāq- to drink ax- to do nā'qēxst to desire to drink axeē'xst to desire to do 17.3

140. $-\overline{o}L$ to obtain [STEM-S., IND.].

 q/\bar{e} - many la to go $q/\bar{a}k^u$ - slave

wi- nothing g·ī- to be

mē'gwat seal gwô'yō' the thing referred to q!eyō'L to obtain many 139.36
 lōL to obtain 59.34
 q!ā'k'ōṭānɛm obtained by getting a slave 136.25 (see § 4, p. 436, no. 179)
 wiō'L not to obtain 459.34

 $wi\bar{o}'L$ not to obtain 459.34 $g.\bar{a}'y\bar{o}Las$ place where one obtains something 26.22 (see no. 182)

mē'gwatōr to obtain seals gwô'yō'ras place where one obtains the thing referred to 45.31 (see no. 182) 141. -a to endeavor [stem-s., H, always with reduplication with a vowel] (see § 46).

dōqu- to see x·îs- to disappear nā'qō to meet yîxu- to dance dō'xewasela to discover

tsä to draw water nē's to pull

dā'doq!wa to endeavor to see xā'x'a'ya to try to disappear nā'naqa'wa to try to meet yā'ya'wa to try to dance dā'dōx'wasɛlaa to try to discover tsā'tsa'ya to try to draw water nā'nēts!aayu hook for pulling up red cod V 332, 18 (see no. 174)

This suffix is used very often with nouns.

ts! Elk:- feather

sās- spring salmon

g'īxu- steelhead salmon

xunku- child

xwāku- canoe

ts!ā'ts!elk'!a to try to get feathers 157.3
sā'yats!a to catch spring salmon
g'ā'g'iwa to try to catch steelhead salmon
xwā'xunk!wa to try to get a child
xwā'xwak!wa to try to get a canoe

It also occurs quite frequently with other suffixes.

lōL to obtain (see no. 140)
laē'L to enter (see no. 47)
lā'wels to go out (see no. 37)
wī'lōL to obtain all (see no. 140)

lā'lōL!a to try to obtain 73.21 lā'laēL!a to try to enter lā'lawults!a to try to go out 'wā!'wīlōL!a to try to get all CS 10.30

142. - vāla to go to look for [stem-s., ind., always with reduplication with a vowel] (see § 46).

t!ēs- stone

xwaku- canoe

t!ā't!ēsɛ'yāla to go to look for stones xwā'xwaku'yāla to go to look

for a canoe

142a. -mala to go [stem-s., ind.].

q!ē'emâla many walking 16.2

waō'xumâla to go in company with several 44.19

Hä'elamâlaga right going woman (mythical name of mouse) 11.12 (see no. 192)

142b. $-s^{\epsilon} \hat{a} l a$ deserted [STEM-S., IND.].

kwasta'la to sit deserted CS 40.4

142c. -gō to MEET [STEM-S., IND.]; loses initial g, used with reduplication or lengthening of stem vowel.

la to go g'îl first

lz'lgō to meet
g'ig'î'lgō meeting the first
time (i. e., newly married

couple)

k'iq- to strike together q!ul- alive 'yak'- bad

 $k \cdot \bar{a}' q \bar{o}$ canoes meet $q! w \bar{a}' l a q \bar{o}$ to meet alive 193.29 ${}^{4}y \bar{a}' k \cdot a m a s$ to vanquish 131.24

(see no. 158)

143. -ōst!qa to use, only with numeral adverbs.

*nɛ'mp!ēnōst!qa to use once. q!ē'p!ēnōst!qa to use many times ma*lp!ē'nōst!ɛqa it happened twice 470.41

§ 34. Activities Performed with Special Organs of the Body (Nos. 144-155)

144. $-k^*/\bar{a}la$ continued noise, continued action with the voice [STEM-S., H]. After t, ts, k stops, $L, l, -\bar{a}la$, with hardened terminal consonant; after s, generally $\bar{a}la$.

da to hold

denx- to sing

dā'k'!āla to ask for something 18.9

dr/nxk:!āla noise of singing
11.10

sepelk - noise of metal

sepe'lx'k'!ālag'izē ringing noise on water 152.34

ax- to do

tēk*- to joke

Lēl- to call

ō'dzeq- wrong

 $axk' !\bar{a}'la$ to ask 7.5 $t\bar{c}k' w\bar{a}'la$ to joke 24.6 $L\bar{c}'^{\epsilon}l\bar{a}la$ to invite 23.2

ō'dzeq!āla to say something wrong X 101.30

-- sāl- love song

sā''slāla to sing love song X

· ō''mis curious

8.36 ō''mits!āla curious sound

gint-child

196.20 a'î'nlāla noise of child

In a few cases $-k \cdot \bar{a}la$ appears as word suffix.

begwā'nem man

begwā'nemk'!āla noise of a man 148.26

âla really

d'lak'!āla to speak really X

Irregular is—

yā'q!antlāla to speak (see yā'q!eg'a't to begin to speak, no. 145)

144 a. -ala To Persuade To. I doubt very much if this suffix belongs with the preceding, since its rules of attachment are quite different. It is always used with reduplication.

gin- to add to a price

 $m\bar{e}x$ - to sleep

g·ig·î'newala to ask for a higher price

hamē'x'ala to persuade to sleep

145. -g·a·t,-k·!îg.a·t beginning of a noise, to begin with the voice [generally stem-s., h.]. No rule can be given for the use of the two forms of this suffix. The second form loses initial -k·.

kwē'g'a't to begin to cry kwē 49.33

mîx - to strike dzelx"- to run

hë that

gwē thus

 $y \bar{o} g^u$ - wind $\bar{e}' dz a q wa$ to say again

wul- to ask (xwā- to croak?) me'ng a'l sound of striking dzelō'gwa'l it sounds like run-

ning

 $h\ddot{e}'k''!\hat{i}g'a''l$ it sounds thus 443.33

gwē'k: lig-a*l it sounds thus 174.26, 202.26

yō'gwuk'!ig'a'l it sounds like rain

yō'k!ug'a'l it sounds like wind ē'dzaq!ug'a'l it begins to sound like speaking again X 231.9 wu'r! Eg'a'l to question X 5.16 xwā'k!ug'a'l to croak 174.29 yā'q!eg'a'l to begin to speak 12.3

146. -xa to say [STEM-S., IND.].

mā'lexa to say mā'le 34.27

yē'xa to say yē 35.40

pexa' to utter sound of paxala (shaman) 100.10

yō'xwa to say yō X 176.19

malē'xela to continue to say mā'le X 226.22

147. -dzaqwa to speak [stem-s., ind.?].

 $\bar{e}t$ - again $m\bar{o}'p!$ $\bar{e}n$ four times

^ewīl− all ^enax^u− all

148. -q/a to feel [stem-s., ind.].

pōs- hungry

ŏdz- wrong

ē'dzaqwa to speak again 18.13 mē'p! Endzaqwa to speak four times 73.31

'wi'ldzaqwa all spoke 319.12 'nā'xudzaqwa all spoke X 197.7

 $p\bar{o}'sq!a$ to feel hungry 36.38 $p\bar{o}'sq!\bar{e}x^{\cdot\bar{e}i}d$ 54.8 $\bar{o}'dzeq!ala$ to feel wrong 30.34

· § 34

149. -qlEs to EAT [STEM-S., IND.]. This suffix seems to be very irregular.

g'i'lq!Es to eat first 193.4

149a. -g. to Eat [WORD-s., IND.; also STEM-s.], always used with reduplicated stem.

gē'was deer L!a'ē' black bear āLanE'm wolf laq hemlock sap q!a'mdzEk" salmon berry

 $g \cdot \bar{a}' w \bar{e} g \bar{a} n \epsilon m$ clam $m \epsilon s \bar{e}'^{\epsilon} q^{\epsilon}$ sea egg $k \cdot ! \bar{a}' w a s$ dried halibut

zo'lē' mussel bîsk'î't biscuit See also § 43, p. 525. gegē'wasg to eat deer

L!EL!ē'g to eat bear meat

aālane'mg to eat wolf's meat

lelâ'xg to eat hemlock sap

q!aq!a'mdzexugu to eat salmon

berries

g'ig'ā'wîxg to eat clams

memesē'exgu to eat sea eggs

k'ik'!ā'wasg to eat dried

halibut

xexō''lēg' to eat mussels bibisk'i'tg' to eat biscuits

150. -pla to taste [stem-s., ind.].

 $\ddot{e}'x \cdot p/a \text{ good taste}$

150 a. -p!āla to smell [STEM-S., IND.].

 $\ddot{e}'x^{\cdot}p/\bar{a}la$ good smell $Q/\bar{a}'n\bar{e}xp/\bar{a}la$ it smells of $Q!\bar{a}'neq!\bar{e}'lak^{u}$ 95.21

151. $-(a)k\cdot a$ to happen [stem-s., ind.?].

 $\bar{o}'dzak'a$ it happens wrongly (= to die).

 q/\bar{a} to find $q/\bar{a}/k \cdot a$ to happen to find 348.13

152. -ālīsEm to die of [stem-s., w].

q!wās- to cry

q!wā'yālīsɛm to die of crying 367.35

xuls- to long

xu'lyālīsɛm to die of longing 382.27

mek- round thing is somewhere *megwā'līsem to choke to death V 428.20

153. -sdana to die of [word-s.].

pō'sdana to die of hunger 21.6

· *nā'lasdana to die of the weather (i. e., by drowning) 251.42

154. -ts/E WITH HANDS.

wits! xg·usta not able to climb up with hands ($w\bar{\imath}$ - not, g·usta- up [see no. 20]).

155. -p!āltō with eyes.

 $h\ddot{e}p/\bar{a}'tt\bar{o}$ to look at once 63.8 $awE'lp/att\bar{o}$ to discover 154.16 $g\cdot\hat{i}'lp/att\bar{o}$ to see first X 197.2

- § 35. Suffixes which Change the Subject or Object of a Verb (Nos. 156-160)
- 156. -ap!(a) EACH OTHER [STEM-S., IND.], with reduplication or lengthening of vowel.

qās- to walk *kwēx*- to strike qā'qasap!a to race walking kwā'kwēx'sap!a to strike each other 292.6

 $s\bar{e}x^u$ - to paddle $k!w\bar{e}'las$ feast

sā'sēxwap!a to race paddling k!wā'k!wēlasap!a to vie giving feasts 397.16

In the following cases the vowel is lengthened into \bar{a} :

wur- to ask

wā'zap!a to ask each other 162.6

tek:- to throw

tā'k'apla to throw each other 215.10

mîx:- to strike nep- to throw mā'x'ap!a to strike each other nā'pap!a to throw each other X 6.23

(tō-) to attack

tā'wap!a to meet fighting 288.10

sek- to spear

 $s\bar{a}'k\cdot\hat{a}la$ to spear each other.

Long vowels remain unchanged:

wī'n- to make war

wi'nap!a to make war upon each other 270.4

lē'n≡m- to quarrel

lē'nemap!a to quarrel together 121,13

lā'xula to love

lā'xulap!a to love each other lā'xulap!ōt beloved friend 267.37 (see no. 167)

157. - a(la) EACH OTHER, TOGETHER [STEM-S., IND.], with reduplication or change of vowel; original meaning probably Jointly.

"nemo'k" friend

*nā'muk'āla friends to each other 147.20 (see p. 436).

q!wās- to cry

q!wā'q!usâla to cry together 157.8

After vowels it takes the form -sâla.

ts!ā'⁵ya sister

ts!ā'ts!a'yasâla sisters to each other 47.42 Frequently it appears combined with ga among (no. 7).

hō' Lēla to listen

xâ to split

hā'wa Lelagâla to listen to each other 26.10 xōxugâ'la broken to pieces among itself 27.7

158. $-\bar{a}mas$ to cause [word-s.].

a^emēlā'mas to cause to be spoiled 13.4
le^elā'mas to cause to die 39.1
q!ulā'x^eidāmas to cause to come to life 48.14 (see no. 90)
gē'was^eīdā'mas to cause to become a deer (see no. 90)
ë'k^e!igemālā'mas to cause face to be turned up 144.20 (see nos. • 54, 92)

lāwä'mas to cause to be off 441.32 (see no. 37)

 $^{\epsilon}w\bar{v}'^{\epsilon}l\bar{o}lt!\bar{a}'mas$ to cause all to come out of woods 40.17 (see no. 37c)

159. $-s\bar{o}^\epsilon$ Passive [word-s.]. A comparison between the use of $-s\bar{o}^\epsilon$ and -ayu (no. 174) for expressing the passive shows that the former expresses the idea to be the object of an action, the latter to be the means of performing an action. This is brought out clearly by the forms $q\bar{a}'s^\epsilon\bar{\imath}ts\bar{o}^\epsilon$ to be pursued (literally, to be the object of going) and $q\bar{a}'s^\epsilon\bar{\imath}da'yu$ to be carried along (literally, to be the means of going).

mēl- to tease

wul- to ask

*nēk to say

l!ō'pa to roast

ax*ē'd to take

q!a'mt!ēd to sing

p!elxelax**īdā'mas to cause to

become fog (see nos. 91, 90,

158)

k!wēl feast (see no. 46)

mē' Lasō^e to be teased 28.37
wulā'sō^e to be asked 100.23
^enē'x·sō^e to be told 100.19
L!ō' pasō^e to be roasted 37.27
ax^eē'tsō^e to be taken 43.16
q!a'mt!ētsō^e it was sung
p!elxelax·ēīdā'matsō^e to be
transformed into fog (s-s
becomes ts) CS 2.18
k!wē'ltsō^e to be feasted 32.32
(s after l becomes ts)

With following -ē, this suffix becomes -8 E we (see § 4, p. 438).

160. -t, passive of words denoting sense experiences and emotions [STEM S., W].

doqu- to see
do'xuule'la to discover by
 seeing
q!âl- to know
p/ēxu- to feel
ē'xul- to desire

dō'gul to be seen 8.10
dō'xewale'l to be discovered
41.34
q!â'lel known 136.23
p!ē'xul and p!ayō'l to be felt
ē'xul and êyō'l to be desired

emelqu- to remember wāl- to wish L!ēs- to hate

'm E'lgul to be remembered $w\bar{a}'lag \epsilon l$ to be wished 17.7 $L\bar{e}'dzEl$ to be hated

Here belongs also—

q!aya'la to talk (from $q!\bar{e}$ MUCH)

 $q!\bar{a}'y\bar{o}l$ to be spoken of

§ 36. Nominal Suffixes (Nos. 161-194b)

161. -e^e [word-s.]. This suffix serves to form substantives of neutral stems and suffixes. It occurs generally with a demonstrative a or \bar{e} (see § 56), and then takes the forms $-a^{\epsilon}ya$ and $-a^{\epsilon}\bar{e}$.

xâ to split ax- to do k'!āt- to paint -x La hind end (no. 15) -q'iu forehead (no. 57) $x\hat{a}\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ what has been split 27.13 axa'ē work 28.1, 79.18 $k \cdot ! \bar{a}' t \bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ painting 50.2 $\bar{o}'xL\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ stern of canoe 79.9 Lā'siwē' what sticks on forehead 22.11

A number of nouns are also found which occur only with \bar{e}^{ϵ} , but which are not known as neutral stems, except in composition.

L!a'e black bear enâgēe mind lē'wē⁴ mat

Here belongs the ending of abstract nouns in $-\bar{\epsilon}n\bar{\epsilon}^{\epsilon}$ (see no. 171). L!ē'slālaē'nes the calling 17.2

162. - Enoxu A Person who does an action professionally [STEM-S., H].

 sak^{u} to carve meat $al\bar{e}'x^{u}$ - to hunt in canoe $s\bar{e}'x^u$ to paddle

sak:wē'noxu meat-carver 32.1 alē'wīnoxu sea hunter V 496.2 sē'xwīlaēnox" paddle maker V

tewi'x a to hunt goats *ma'x"- to give potlatch tewī'enēnoxu goat hunter 7.4 *ma*wī'nox" potlatch giver 144.3

This suffix is also used to designate tribal names, and placenames derived from these.

Awi'g'a country in back (?) Awī'k:!ēnoxu (Rivers inlet)

Gwa'dzē' north

ma what?

Grva'ts!ēnoxu

ema'enoxu of what tribe?

The tribal name Gō'sg'īmux" contains a similar suffix, although no reason can be given for the change from n in $-\bar{e}nox^{u}$ to m in -imuxu. A similar change occurs in the ending -mp (no. 168).

162a. ($-\bar{e}dEx^u$) The suffix corresponding to the Kwakiutl $-\bar{e}nox^u$ in the Bella Bella dialect is $-\bar{e}dEx^u$, which may be of the same origin, the t and n being related sounds.

He'staēd ex 429.33 A'wi'llēd ex 431.26 Nō'lowid ex 436.30

163. -bis FOND OF, DEVOTED TO [STEM-S., IND.; and WORD-S.].

(a) STEM-S.:

nāq- to drink wāx- to smoke nā'zbîs drunkard wā'zbîs smoker

(b) word-s.:

ë'axala to work ë'x·p!a sweet ē'axalabîs fond of work ë'x:p!abîs fond of sweets

164. -Es CAPABLE OF, used particularly with words denoting sense impressions [STEM-S., H, generally used with reduplication].

 $d\bar{o}q^{u}$ to see

dō'dzq!us with good power of
seeing

mēs- to smell

mē'mts!zs with good power of smelling

*Lēlk*u− to lie

Lē'lk!us liar

Irregular seem to be-

 $h\bar{o}'$ taqlus with good power of hearing X 57.20 (from $h\bar{o}'$ tēla to listen)

 $d\bar{o}'xts/es$ seer (from $d\bar{o}q^u$ - to see)

165. -Elk" DOING REPEATEDLY [STEM-S., W].

nāq- to drink

nā'gɛlk" drunkard (=one who drinks often and much)
ha'mɛ'lk" eater

haem- to eat

 $a^{\epsilon}y\hat{\imath}'lk^{u}$ attendant of chief

166. -Elg·is one who does an act for others [stem-s., ind.; and word-s.].

sēxu- to paddle

dā'dōq!wāla to watch

zō's- to sprinkle ṛā' ṭawayuxusīla to take care of salmon-weir zēk- to sweep sē'xulg'îs one who paddles for others dā'dog!wāle'lg'îs watchman

228.12

xō'sɛlg'îs sprinkler X 4.8

tā' tawayuxusīle'lg'îs watchman of salmon-weir CS 6.10

xē'kulg'îsɛ'ml sweeper mask

389.25

167. $-\delta t$ FELLOW [WORD-S., and STEM-S., IND.].

(a) word-s.:

 $g \cdot \bar{o}kula$ to live in house $y\bar{a}'q!ant!\bar{a}la$ to speak

 $a^{\epsilon}m\bar{a}'l\hat{a}la$ to play together $l\bar{a}'xwalap!$ to love each other

g·ō'kulōt house-mate yaē'q!ant!ālōt fellow-speaker 31.2 a'mā'lâlōt play-fellow X 201.4 lā'xwalap!ōt loving friends 267.37

(b) STEM-S.:

begu- man g·ēg- chief

kul- to lie down

bexewōt fellow-man 113.12 g'ē'xeut fellow chief hayō't rival 248.12 kulō't person with whom one lies down X 5.16

168. -mp relationship [stem-s.].

gag- grandfather
ab- mother
(wo-) father
p! Elwu- husband's sister, brother
er's wife

gage'mp 134.2 abe'mp 35.76 ōmp 22.6 p!e'lwump

neg- parent-in-law, child-in-law negu'mp

Here belongs also $g \cdot \hat{i} n p$ wife's sister. It may be that the m is here assimilated by an n of the stem. A change between m and n has been mentioned in the suffix $-\bar{e}nox^u$, which assumes in one case the form $-\bar{i}mux^u$ (see no. 162). The stem for father appears in the possessive second person without this suffix.

169. -nuk" HAVING [STEM-S., IND.; WORD-S.].

 $s\bar{a}'s_{\it Em}$ children

ax- to do $w\bar{a}'ld\kappa m$ word

170. -ad having [stem-s., w].

lāw- husband

 \bar{k} · ! $\bar{e}d$ - chief's daughter

xu'nku- child

sā's mnuku having children 45.7 axnuku possessor 103.12

wā'ldemnuku to have word, i. e., to talk to 46.30 dō'x'wa Lelnuku one who has

dō'x'waṇɛlnuk' one who has seen things 41.34

lā'wad having a husband 48.37

ṛē'gad having a name 19.1
k'!ē'dad to have a chief's daughter 133.6
xu'ngwadex'ēd to become pos-

sessed of a child

ab- mother qā'yas place of walking $ab\bar{a}'yad$ having a mother 25.16 qā'yadzad having a walking place (i. e., words of a song) $X_{6.12}$

This suffix has a secondary form in -id which seems to be more nominal in character than the form -ad. It is used in forms of address.

 $q!\bar{a}k^{u}$ - slave

q!ā'gwid slave-owner! (i. e., O master!)

'wa's- dog

'wa'dzid dog-owner! (i. e., O master! [who has me for a dog])

The same form is used in names.

ha'emsa to eat

Ha'mdzid food-owner

171. $-\bar{e}n(\bar{e}^s)$, suffix forming abstract nouns [STEM-S., H, WORD-S]. Never used without possessive pronouns.

k: !ē'lak:a to club k:/ēs not

ē'axela to work

awi'nagwis country

begwā'nem man

 $k \cdot !\bar{e}' lak \cdot !\bar{e} n\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ the clubbing $k'' \cdot \bar{e}' t s \cdot \bar{e} n \bar{e}^{\epsilon} 10.9, 262.15$

ē'axelaēnē' 83.3

awī'nagwits!ēnē a kind of

country 258.23

manhood a. beqwā'ne mēnē 131.35

172. -k" passive past participle [STEM-S., W].

 $L!\bar{o}p$ - to roast

 $g \cdot \hat{u} \bar{o} \mathbf{L}$ to steal

legwi'l fire in house

wāt- to lead

q!Els- to put under water

emens- to measure

qamxu- to put on down

 $L!\bar{o}'bEk^u$ roasted 155.22

 $g \cdot \hat{u} \bar{o}' L_E k^u$ stolen

legwi'lku fire made in house

187 25

 $w\bar{a}'dek^u$ led 109.7

 $q! E l\bar{e}' k^u$ sinker V 488.9

 $\epsilon_{mEn\bar{e}'k^u}$ measured V 477.1

 $qam\bar{o}'k^u$ covered with down 153.35

173. -Em instrument [stem-s., w].

 $k i \mathbf{z}$ - to fish with net

Lap- to peg

. *mā'yuz- to be born

q! Emt- to sing

 $\mu ab \, \epsilon' m \text{ peg } 79.13$

*mā'yuLem what is born 77.18

q! E'md Em song 15.6

174. -ayu instrument [stem-s., w].

'lap- to dig

dēqu- to drive, to punch

'lā' bayu digging-stick $d\bar{e}'gwayu$ pile-driver 100.9 This suffix is also used to express a passive. The difference between this and $-s\bar{o}^{\epsilon}$ (no. 159) is, that $-s\bar{o}^{\epsilon}$ is the passive of verbs that have a direct object, while -ayu is the passive of verbs that are accompanied by an instrumental.

qā's'ād to begin to walk

qā's tadayu he was a means of walking (i. e., he was taken away)

dxnx- to sing

dr'nxidayu it was sung 13.14

175. -anō INSTRUMENT [STEM-S., IND.]. This suffix is used with a few words only, and is not freely movable.

wusē'g'a to put on belt ha'nx'lend to put on fire wusē'g·anō belt ha'nx·lanō kettle

la stano to be put into water

It seems that suffixes in -nd (see no. 2) may take this form; but they take also the forms in -ayu; for instance,

axLE'ndayu to be put on 43.14

176. $-g \cdot \mathcal{U}$ REASON OF [WORD-8.]; loses initial g.

 $l\bar{a}'g'il$ reason of going 14.3 $g'\bar{a}'x\bar{e}l$ reason of coming 16.7

177. $-q!\bar{a}mas$ reason [word-s.].

nō'gwaq!āmas I am the reason of U.S.N.M. 669.9 laq!ā'maā'qōs you were the reason of X 229.3

178. -LEN CAUSE OF [STEM-S., IND.].

 $y\bar{a}q^u$ - to distribute

yā'xlen property (what induces one to distribute)

 $ts!\bar{e}'lwala$ to be famous

ts!ēlwazzen fame (what causes one to be famous)

yä'laqwa to sing sacred song

yä'lax*LEN sacred song X 69.30 (what induces one to sing sacred song)

179. -ānem obtained by [stem-s., w, and word-s., w].

hanz- to shoot

ha'n Lān Em obtained by shooting 138.25

q!āk·ōz to obtain a slave

q!ā'k'oṇānɛm obtained by obtaining a slave 136.25 (see no. 140)

 $L\bar{e}^{\epsilon}l$ - to invite

už'lānem guest (obtained by inviting) 163.9

sen- to place

ss'nā'nsm obtained by planning 278.75

n- to pian se na

179a. -inēt obtained by [stem-s., w].

 $d\bar{o}'k^u$ to troll $d\bar{o}'gwin\bar{e}t$ obtained by trolling

 $k \cdot \bar{e}x$ - to scrape $K \cdot \bar{e}'xin\bar{e}t$ Obtained-by-scraping X 179.9

180. -ns Arriving UNEXPECTEDLY [STEM-s., w, and lengthens vowel of stem].

 $b E k^u$ - man $b \bar{a}' q u n s$ visitor

 $k \cdot /\bar{e}x^u$ - to escape $k \cdot /\bar{e}'wuns$ obtained by escaping, runaway slave X 197.5

181. -mūt refuse [stem-s., ind., with reduplication] (see § 43).

 $g \cdot \bar{o}k^u$ house $g \cdot \bar{o}' g \cdot ax^u m \bar{u}t$ remains of a house 146.8

 $s\bar{o}p$ to hew $s\bar{o}'yapmut$ chips (with weak-ened initial s)

132. -ās place of [stem-s., w].

sēx"- to paddle sē'was place where one paddles 129.32

 $l\bar{a}'b$ zta to go in $l\bar{a}'b$ ztas place where one goes

L!ōp- cormorant *L!ō'bas* cormorant rock 369.29

 $q\bar{a}$ - to walk $q\bar{a}$ 'yas walking place 11.3 $q\bar{a}$ 'yasnaxwa place where he would walk 38.39 (see no.

95)

tā'wayugwila to make a weir tā'wayugwilas place of making a weir 27.24
yā'xyîq!wa to lie dead on rock yā'xyîq!waas place of lying

dead on rock 40.12

183. -dEms Place where something is done habitually [word-

s., IND.]. $kw\bar{e}'las feasting$ -place $kw\bar{e}'las d \ \epsilon ms$ place where feasts

are held habitually $q \cdot \bar{o} k^u$ house $q \cdot \bar{o}' x^u d \ ems$ village site 51.22

183a. - Enaku country lying in a certain direction [IND.].

qwēs- far qwē'sēnak" far side 11.2

*nāla south

*nā'lēnak south side X 144.7

gwa- down river

gwä'nak" country down river

X 3.11

 $ar{o}$ - something awi'nagwis country 142.4 (see no. 45)

١

184. -ats/e receptacle [stem-s., w].

nāq- to drinkwīn- to go to wark!wē'las feasting place

Lēl- to inviting

ts!ēq- winter dance

nā'gats!ē cup, bucket 20.10
wī'ēnats!ē war canoe 129.25
k!wē'ladzats!ē, k!wē'layats!ē
feast house
Lē'LE*lats!ē inviting receptacle, i. e., feast house
ts!ā'gats!ē dance house 11.13

185. $-x \cdot dEm$ TIME OF [STEM-S., IND., and WORD-S.]. The initial x is dropped after s, k, and L sounds.

qā'sdem time of walking 146.41
yîxwā'x'dem time of dancing 72.27 (also yî'xudem)
begwā'nemx''idex'demōl time long ago of becoming a man CS
8.4 (see nos. 90, 86)

186. - Enx season. The rule of attachment is not clear. There may be a secondary form -x Enx.

mō'x'unx four years 18.3 hë' enx summer 194.20

In a few cases the suffix seems to weaken the terminal consonant. $m\bar{a}s$ what $m\bar{a}'yenx$ what season X 166.28

187. -alas material [STEM-S., W?].

 $s\bar{e}x^u$ - to paddle

sē'walas material for paddles (sē'xwālas V 496.5)

188. -ts/Es or -dzEs (?) PIECE OF [WORD-s.]. xwā'k!unats! Es piece of a canoe

b = gwa'n = mdz = s pieces of a man 32.42

188a. -ēsō^e remains of [stem-s., ind.].

 $x\bar{a}'q\bar{e}s\bar{o}^{\epsilon}$ remains of bones 94.21 $al\bar{a}'kwis\bar{o}^{\epsilon}$ blood from a wound U.S.N.M. 669.13 $k\cdot\bar{a}'p\bar{e}s\bar{o}^{\epsilon}$ pieces cut out with shears

189. -mis useless part [stem-s., ind.].

d enā's cedar-bark

d nā'smis useless part belonging to cedar-bark (i. e., cedar-tree [yellow cedar])
ts nail-stones 121.24

ts Elx-hail

190. -p/ēq stick, tree [stem-s., ind.; also word-s.].

emaxu- to give a potlatch yîl- to tie

*ma'x**p!ēq potlatch pole yî'lp!ēgendā'la to tie to a stick 158.32

Here belongs also

 $y\bar{e}'q!$ ent! eq speaker's staff (from $y\bar{a}'q!$ ent!āla to speak) 186.39

190a. - $aan\delta$ rope, line [stem-s., w].

sek:- to harpoon

seg·a'anō harpoon line V 493.19

q!Els- to put under water q!Eld

q!eldza'anō anchor line V

487.33

 $m\bar{a}k$ -near to $m\bar{a}'g$ -aan \bar{o} a line next to—V 493.26

190b. -man δ head [stem-s., ind.].

dzezu- silver salmon

dzexema'nō head of silver sal-

mon 93.12
mel- to twist mā'lēgamanō

mā'lēqamanō halibut head xu'lqumanō head of dogfish

93.13

191. $-asd\bar{e}$ meat of [stem s., ind.].

beku- man

xulqu- rough

 $s\bar{a}s$ - spring salmon

 $b\bar{a}'kwasd\bar{e}$ flesh of a man 32.1 $s\bar{a}'sasd\bar{e}$ meat of spring salmon 225.32

192. -g(a) WOMAN [WORD-S.].

leqwā'ga brain woman 48.23

Häelamalaga right going woman 11.12 (see no. 142a)

k îxelā'ga crow 47.30

This suffix occurs in combination with -ayu MEANS OF (no. 174) very often in names of women.

*mā'xulayūgwa woman being means of giving potlatch 38.15

A secondary form, -gas, belongs at present to the Bella Bella dialect, but occurs in a few proper names and in a few terms of relationship in the Kwakiutl dialect.

*ne*mē'mgas sister 48.31

193. -Em, a frequent nominal suffix of unknown significance [STEM-S., in some cases w.].

 $t/\bar{e}s$ - stone $t/\bar{e}'s$ ϵm $t\bar{e}q$ - name $t\bar{e}'g$ ϵm $s\bar{a}s$ - spring salmon $s\bar{a}'ts$ ϵm $s\bar{a}s$ - children of one person $s\bar{a}'s$ ϵm k: $l\bar{u}$ - tonguek: $l\bar{u}$ ℓm

193a. -nEm, an irregular nominal suffix, probably related to 193.

gEg- wife gEnE'm $q!\bar{e}$ - many $q!\bar{e}'nEm$

193b. -anEm, irregular, apparently designating animate beings.

 $b \in k^u$ - man $b \in gw\bar{a}'n \in m$ $g \cdot inl$ - child $g \cdot in\bar{a}'n \in m$ $g \cdot \bar{a}'w\bar{e}q$ - clam $g \cdot \bar{a}'w\bar{e}q\bar{n} \in m$

193c. -olem, nominal suffix.

ts/xx·q/a' to feel sick mēg- to calk

le'l- dead el- fast, tight ts/ex'q/o'lem sickness 284.18
Mē'mg'olem canoe-calking

285.2**3**

le'lö'lem death 244.22 elō'lem ballast 311.25

194. -omas, -emas. This suffix is used to designate classes of animals, but occurs also in a few other words.

g-ûl- to walk on four feet

p/EL- to fly ma- to swim

(ts/ē'sayasdē clam-meat)

 $l\bar{o}k^{u}$ - strong

zl- new haem- to eat

gʻi'lgʻaōmas quadrupeds plē'plaLōmas birds mā'maōmas fish

ts!ē'ts!ek!wēmas shell-fish.

lõ'k!wēmas strong wâ' r!ēmas weak ā'lōmas new hē'maōmas food

194a. -En, a nominal suffix [STEM-S. W].

Llēx- sea lion

dzax^u- silver salmon

hanx^u- humpback salmon

t!ē'x*£n 81.16 dza*wu'n ha*nō'n

194b. -Ina nominal suffix [STEM-S., W].

gwax*- raven

gwa''wīna 46.13

§ 37. ADVERBIAL SUFFIX

195. -p!En TIMES [WORD-S.]. I place this suffix with some reluctance in a group by itself, since it seems to form almost the only adverb that exists in the language. Perhaps it would be better to consider it a classifier of numerals (§ 24).

mōp!en four times 12.5

ne'mp!enx'stō one time (span) across 72.39

 $m\bar{o}'p/\epsilon n\bar{e}'sta$ four times around 13.9

hë'lop! Enqua's the right number of days 355.26

§ 38. SUBSIDIARY SUFFIXES (NOS. 196-197)

196. -Em-. The plural of all suffixes denoting space limitations seems to be formed by the subsidiary suffix -Em, which precedes the primary suffix.

-xs \hat{a} through $k!w\bar{a}'xs\hat{a}$ hole -x's across LE'ml- to split

k!wā'xumxsā holes 100.29 Lemlemx:seend to split

-ësta around ge'lq- to swim

cedar-trees 158.30
ge'lqamē'stāla to swim
about [PLURAL] 153.22.

-axa down	lōx- to roll	lō'xumāxa they roll down 19.12
-ts!ōd into	ts! em- to point	ts! em e'mts! ōd to point into several things 46.37
a on rock	gil- to walk on four feet	g'ile'mg'i'lāla to walk on rocks[PLURAL] 42.4
-s on ground	$y\bar{a}'q^u$ - to lie dead	yā'qumg'azlslying dead on ground [PLURAL] 32.12
-xs in canoe	nēx- to pull	nē xemxsela to pull several into canoe 208.18
-x'sīs foot	<i>t!ēp</i> - to step	t!ē'pemx:sīdzend to step on feet 184.35

In purely distributive expressions reduplicated forms are used.

197. -g·ll- MOTION, used in combination with a number of primary suffixes denoting space limitations of rest. To these they seem to add the idea of motion. Like other suffixes beginning with g·, this suffix loses its initial g·. It seems to be indifferent. The following suffix modifies the terminal l of the suffix; and two forms appear, -g·ll- and -g·ael-, which are not clearly distinct. The accent seems to change the vowel into a.

With -âla stationary on water (no. 41):

 $k!w\bar{a}'w\ddot{a}la$ to be seated on water (from $k!w\bar{a}$ to sit)

n

k!wā'g·îltala to sit down on water , ' "."

"mek'û'la round thing on water (from "mek"- a round thing is somewhere) *mE'gultala round thing alights on water

With -Let moving on water (no. 42):

tā'x'wa Lē' to move about standing on water

ha'ng aa Lē canoe comes to be on water 130.10

dzexk' lā'lag'i Lē' sound of splitting comes to be on water 152.19

With -a on ROCK (no. 43):

k!waa' to be seated on rock 102.31

axfa'lōd to put down on rock
171.22

 $m\bar{e}'x^a$ to be asleep on rock $m\bar{e}'x^aa^ala'$ to go to sleep on rock

g-île'mg-ilala to walk on rock [PLURAL] 22.10 taō'deg-aā'lōd to put on rock 153.28

With -8 ON GROUND (no. 44):

gē's being a long time on ground 37.14 k!wa's to be seated on ground

gē'g:îls to move a long time on ground 30.21

k!wā'g'a els to sit down on ground 37.3

61.8

With -es on beach (no. 45):

ha'nē's canoe is on beach 102.34 ha'ng a'lis canoe comes to be on beach 101.40

With -il in house (no. 46):

k!waī'l to be seated in house 173.20

k!wā'g'alīl to sit down in house 24.5

 $y\bar{a}'qumg'al\bar{u}l$ to fall dead in house [PLURAL] X 110.34

With -xs in canoe (no. 48):

 $h\bar{o}'$ guxs they have gone aboard 224.9

hō'x walexs they start to go aboard 84.37

With -ga AMONG (no. 7):

dā'g'îlgala to carry among them 240.6 le'elg'îlgala to kill among them X 14.21

With -xL(a) BEHIND (no. 15):

dā'g'îlx tāla to take secretly 99.18

g ō'kulz taē house following behind; i. e., house obtained in marriage 220.41

The explanation of these forms is not beyond all doubt. While in most cases the distinction of motion and position is quite clear, there are other cases in which the form in -g·il- is not applied, although motion seems to be clearly implied. We have lass to go aboard 147.38; dass to take aboard 114.25, while the two examples of hō'gass and hō's'waless 22.9 and 84.37, bring out the distinction with the same suffix.

The same element is evidently combined in -'g-aalela (no. 96) which may thus be a compound of -g-il and a suffix -le(la).

On the whole, -g·il seems to serve as a kind of inchoative, and the suffixes which take this suffix do not often take -x·id (no. 90), or the inchoative completive -d. Still we have axid'lts!ōd TO PUT INTO 178.8.

§ 39. ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SUFFIXES

The following list of suffixes is arranged alphabetically, the letters following by groups the order here given:

E	dz, ts, ts!
$a, \ddot{a}, \hat{e}, e, \ddot{e}, i, \hat{i}, y$	$g^{\cdot}, k^{\cdot}, k^{\cdot}!$
\hat{a} , \hat{o} , o , u , w	$g^{u}, k^{u}, k!^{u}$
b, p, p!, m	g, q, q!
d, t, t!, n	x^{\cdot}, x^{u}, x
8	l, l, L, L, L!

-Em (for -gEm) face 54, 85 -em genuine 111 -Em instrument 173 -Em diminutive 110a -em nominal 193 -em-plural of locative suffixes 196 -emeya cheek 55 -emsk" as I told you 133 -Eml mask 54a -En nominal 194a -en (for -k'!în) body 80 -enga in a dream 134 $-(\epsilon)$ Enx season 186 -Es capable of 164 -exsta mouth 61 -Elku one who is in the habit of 165 *-elg is* one who does for others -Eltus down river 23 -a verbal suffix 1 -a on rock 43 -a tentative 141 -aanō rope 190a -a'ya nominal 161 -ayu instrument 174 -au (for -kau) between 8 $-a^{\epsilon}w\bar{\imath}l$, $-a^{\epsilon}w\bar{\imath}l$ across 25 $-\bar{a}p!$ neck 65 -ap! each other 156 $-ab\bar{o}$ under 29 -āmas to cause 158 -ad having 170 -ato ear 58 -atus down river 23 $-\bar{a}nem$ obtained by 179 -ānem nominal 193b -āna perhaps 106 -anō instrument 175 -ās place of 182 -asdē meat of 191 -ats!ē receptacle 184 -aq crotch 71

-aqa towards, past 9

-agō extreme 13 *-axa* down 19 $-\bar{a}la$ (for $-k!\bar{a}la$) sound of 144 -āla to persuade 144a -alas material for 187 $-\bar{a}lisem$ to die of 152 -calela (for -g-aalela) suddenly 96 -āla continued position 92 -ē' nominal 161 -yaga returning 10a -(*)yāla to go to look for 142 -iu (for -g·iu) forehead 57 $-\hat{i}p!$ (for $-\bar{a}p!$) neck 65 -ip! (for -ap!) each other 156 -ēmas classes of animals 194 $-\bar{e}m^es$ near by 11 -id (for $-x^{-i}id$) to begin 90 -id (for $-x^{-i}id$) recent past 87 *-id* having 170 -it (for -k:/it) body 79 $-\bar{e}dEx^u$ people 162a-īna nominal 194b -ēnē[€] abstract noun 171 -ēnaku direction 183a -inēt obtained by 179a -ēnox^u skillful in, people 162 -ēs in body 78 -ēs beach, open place 45 -ēsō^e remains of 188a $-\bar{e}^{\epsilon}sta$ (also $-s\bar{e}^{\epsilon}sta$) around 6 $-\bar{e}q$ in mind 81 $-\bar{e}g\bar{e}$ back 69 -äga (for -g·äga) side of 51 -ēxsd to desire 139 -ila (for -g·ila) to make 136 -i'läla about 5 -īl in house 46 -il (for $-g \cdot il$) reason 176 -ēĻ astonishing! 128 -ēL into house, into mouth 47 -ē Lē's Ela ashore 47a $-i \mathbf{L} / x \bar{o}$ in throat 63a-tlba nose 60 $-\bar{o}$ (for $-g\bar{o}$) meeting 142c

-d (also $-w\ddot{a}$) in a wrong manner, off 124 -ō small 114 -ō- off, away from 37 -wuqa out of a hole 37b -wels out of house 37b -wults!od out of 37b -wult!a out of an enclosure 37c-wulta out of cance 37c -wultos down out of 37c -wä (also -a) in a wrong manner, off 124 -wäla (also -ala) stationary on water 41 -wis and so 104 -wīst!a very 117 .-wul (also -ul) remote past 86 -ō[€]yo middle 16 -omas classes of animals 194 $-\bar{o}d$ to begin 2, 37a $-\bar{o}t$ (for -k!ot) opposite 12 $-\bar{o}t$ fellow 167 -ōs cheek 56 -eusta up river 24 -•usdēs up from beach 22 -ustâ (for -g·ustâ) up 20 $-\bar{o}stq!a$ to use (so and so often) 143 $-\bar{o}k^u$ (also $-s\bar{o}k^u$) person 82 -ōlem nominal 193c -dla (also -wäla) stationary on water 41 -ala (also -sala) each other 157 $-\bar{o}^{\epsilon}l$ ugly 109 -ul remote past 86 $-\bar{o}L$ to obtain 140 -ōlela continued motion 93 -beta into a hole 28 -p/En times 195 -ba point 31 -p!a to taste 150 $-p!\bar{a}la$ to smell 150a $-p!alt\bar{o}$ with eyes 155

-bidō[€] small, singular 112 -bîs fond of, devoted to 163 $-p!\bar{e}g\cdot a$ (for $-x\cdot p!\bar{e}g\cdot a$) thigh 73 -p/ēq pole, stick 190 $-b\bar{o}$ chest 68 $-b\bar{o}la$ to pretend 125 -pōL into a hole (Newettee dialect) 28a -m and 103 $-men\bar{e}x^u$ small, plural 113 -mānō head 190b -mis useless part 189 $-\epsilon m\bar{\epsilon}s$ and so 104 -ma at once 118 -mūt refuse 181 -mâla moving, walking 142a -mp relationship 168 -d to begin 2 -dem (for $-x \cdot dem$) time of 185 -dems place where something is done habitually 183 -den finger width 85a -t!a (for -xt!a) out to sea 22a*-t!a* but 101 $-da^{\epsilon}x^{u}$ (for $-x\cdot da^{\epsilon}x^{u}$) pronominal plural (see § 68) $-d\bar{e}$ (for $-x\cdot d\bar{e}$) transition from present to past 89 -tat to do a thing while doing something else 97 $-t\bar{o}$ (for $-\epsilon st\bar{o}$) eye, round opening 59 -nem nominal 193a -enākula gradual motion, one after another 94 -naxwa sometimes 95 -nē^es Ļ oh, if! 130 $-n\bar{e}q^u$ corner 18 $-n\bar{o}^{\epsilon}$ too much, too often (see § 66) $-n\bar{o}$ side 17 -nus side 17 -nuku having 169 -nulem temples 54b -nulga groins 36a

-nd to begin 2 -ntedge of a round object (?) 34 -ns arriving unexpectedly 180 -nsa under water 26 -ndzem throat 64 -nts!ēs down to beach 21 -nx edge of a flat thing 33 -s on ground 44 $-s^{\epsilon}$ (for $-x \cdot s^{\epsilon}$) across the mid--sem round surface 85 -saqō penis 72 $-si\bar{a}p!$ (for $-x\cdot si\bar{a}p!$) shoulder 66 $-si\bar{u}$ (for $-x\cdot si\bar{u}$) mouth of river 50 -sē^esta (also -ē^esta) around 6 -sīs (for -x·sīs) foot 75 -sīla (for -x'sīla) to take care of 137 -så (for -xså) through 1 -sō[€] passive 159 $-s\bar{o}k^u$ (also $-\bar{o}k^u$) person 82 -sala (also -ala) each other 157 -stala deserted 142b -esta water 39 -sdana to die of 153 -estō eye, round opening 59 -sgem round surface 85 -sqwap five 40 -sx ä tooth 62 -ts! E with hands 154 -dzes, -ts!es piece of 188 -ts! \bar{a} na (for -x'ts! \bar{a} na) hand 67 -ts!aq long 84 -dzagwa to speak 147 *-dzē* large 110 *-dzâ* indeed 119 $-dz\bar{o}$ on a flat thing 35 -ts!ō in 27 -g' to eat 149a -k top of a square object 38 $-g \cdot a$ (for $g \cdot ig \cdot a$) inside of a hollow object 36 -(a)k·a to happen 151

-k'!aēs inside of body 78a-k·au between 8 -g'anem perhaps 107 -k as really 108 -k as o beautiful 108a ↑ -k·!āla continued noise 144 $-g \cdot al\bar{u}$ in house 46 $-g \cdot a^{\epsilon} l$ to begin to make a noise -giu forehead 57 *-g*·*it* body 79 -k∵!în body 80 -k ina accidentally 122 -k'inal nicely 120 -g:îg:a inside of a hollow object 36 *-k:!îg:a•l* noise 145 -k'!ēs in body 78a -g'äga side of 51 -k äx \bar{e} knee 74 *-g·ila* to make 136 -k:!îlga front of body 70 -g'îlx țāla following secretly 197 *-g il*- motion 197 $-g \cdot il$ reason 176 $-g\cdot itt\bar{a}la$ stationary on surface of water 41 -k'âla between 8 \times -k:!ōt opposite 12 *-g*·*usta* up 20 -k^u passive participle 172 $-g_{Em}$ face 54, round 85 -geml mask 54a *-q!Es* to eat 149 $-q!Eg\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ meat 77 -ga, -qa among 7 *-ga* woman 192 -q!a to feel 148 *-q!āmas* reason 177 -gamē among others, excellent 7a -q!anāku quite unexpectedly 127 § 39

-g·aarela suddenly 96

-gas woman 192 -q!āla entirely 99a -q!ālaema to no purpose 123 -kwô (for -k'E) top of square object 38 $-g\bar{o}$ to meet 142c-qwap (for -sqwap) fire 40 -gâla among themselves 157 -x exhortative 131 (see § 66) -xent evidently 135 -xa to say 146 $-x\ddot{a}$ (for $-sx\ddot{a}$) tooth 62 -x-id to begin 90 $-x^{-\epsilon}id$ recent past 87 -xaa also 98 $-x\bar{o}$ neck 63 -xwa's days (number of) 85b -xōĻ oh, wonder! 129 $-x \cdot p / \bar{e}g \cdot a$ thigh 73 -x'dem time of 185 -x'da'x" pronominal plural (see § 68) -xt!a out to sea 22a -x de transition from present to past 89 -xtd on top of a standing obiect 30 $-x \cdot s^{\epsilon}$ across the middle 4 -xs in canoe 48 -x'sa away from 10 -xsa flat object 83 -x sala carelessly 121 -x'sä still, entirely 99 -x'siāp! shoulder 66 $-x \cdot si\bar{u}$ mouth of river 50

[BULL. 40 -x'sīs foot 75 .-xsēg·a in front of house 52 -x sīla to take care of 137 -xsa through 3 -xsd behind, tail-end 14 -x'st! as usual 126 · -x'st!aaku seemingly 126 -x:ts!āna hand 67 -x'La, -xLä top of a round object, on head 32, 53 -xia bottom, stern 15 -x Lä very 116 -x_Lē miserable, pitiful, too bad that 115 -xLō top of tree, hair of body -la verbal and nominal, continuative 91 $-{}^{\bullet}l(a)$ it is said 132 -lagiz in the mean time 100 -lax uncertainty, in conditional and potential sentences 105 -lal to be occupied with 138 -l passive of verbs denoting sense impressions and emotions 160 -L future 88 -LEN cause of 178 -La (for -x'La) top of a round object 32 -*La* but 102 $-\underline{\iota}\bar{e}$ (for $-x\underline{\iota}\bar{e}$) miserable 115

-Lē[€] moving on water 42

Modification of Stems (§§ 40-46)

§ 40. METHODS

Stems are modified by the phonetic influences of suffixes, by reduplication and change of vowels. The first of these phenomena was noted in § 18.

Reduplication and change of vowel indicate principally (1) an iterative, (2) distributive plurality, and (3) unreality. The manner

dze'lxwa to run

of reduplication differs according to the function it performs, but great irregularities are found in some of the reduplicated forms.

§ 41. ITERATIVE

Duplication of the whole stem is used to express the idea of occasional repetition of an action. The accent tends to be thrown back to the first syllable.

 $m\bar{e}'xa$ to sleep now and then ha'nla to shoot now and then .

 $dze'lx^{u}dzelx^{e}wa$ to run now and then

Stems ending in vowels, and probably those ending in m, n, l, take in this form a suffix -k which is included in the duplication and becomes x before consonants.

tsä to draw water tsē'x:tsēk:a to draw water now and then $l\bar{a}'x\cdot lak\cdot a$ la to go tō to attack $t\bar{o}'x^{u}t\bar{o}kwa$ ts!ō to give ts!ō'xuts!ōkwa $x\bar{o}'x^{u}x\bar{o}kwa$ xō to split nō to aim nō'xunōkwa tēnuxutē'nukwa $t\bar{e}'n\bar{o}$ to pole q!wa to stand spread out [PLU $q!w\bar{a}'x\cdot qwak\cdot a \ (= umbrella)$ RAL ha^{2m} to eat ha'mx:hamk:a k!um E'lx k!um Elk a k!um el- to burn

§ 42. DISTRIBUTIVE PLURALITY

Distributive plurality is expressed by reduplication of the first few sounds of the word, the form of reduplication showing great variations, according to the phonetic character of the word. In some cases modifications of the vowel take the place of reduplication; but it would seem that most of these cases are due to secondary modification, perhaps to phonetic decay, of reduplicated forms. Probably in all forms of these reduplicated plurals there remains a hiatus between the reduplicated syllable and the stem.

(1) Reduplication of the first consonant with e vowel is used when the accent of the reduplicated word remains on the word itself, and does not move back to the reduplicated syllable. To this class

belong all words with monosyllabic stem and short vowel terminating in a single consonant.

nâ'qē mind nēnā'gē* 152.31 hā'nal!em arrow hēhā'nar!em 139.12 (compare $ha'n\iota!\bar{e}nox^{u} \S 41.3$ 'nō'last! Eg Emē *nē*nō'last! Eg Emē* 176.14(compare 'nō'la § 41.2) Lām post $L\bar{e}L\bar{a}'m$ 186.24 q!ō'lats!ē kettle q!ēq!õ'lats!ē 20.10 $\bar{a}'l\bar{e}$ recent ēā'lē 43.36 xats e'm box $x\bar{e}xats E'm$ ₹£la' dead *lē⁴lEla′* 157.21 $^{\epsilon}n_{E}m_{\bar{o}}'k^{u}$ friend $en\bar{e}^{\epsilon}n em\bar{o}'k^{u}$ q!ula' alive q!wēq!ula' 158.37 g·ōku house g·ig·ō'ku

(2) Reduplication of the first consonant followed by the first vowel, and shortening of the vowel of the first syllable of the unreduplicated word, takes place when the accent is thrown back to the first syllable, and the first vowel is long.

 $xw\bar{a}'k!una$ canoe $xw\bar{a}'xwak!una$ 222.21 $q!\bar{a}'k:\hat{a}$ slave $q!\bar{a}'q!ek:\hat{a}$ 209.43 $ts!\bar{a}'^{\epsilon}ya$ younger brother $ts!\bar{a}'ts!a^{\epsilon}ya$ 47.2 $\epsilon n\bar{o}'la$ elder brother $\epsilon n\bar{o}'\epsilon nela$ 174.20 (compare $\epsilon n\bar{o}'last!egem\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ § 41.1) $p\bar{o}'sdana$ to die of hunger $p\bar{o}'pesdana$ 177.12

(3) Reduplication of the first syllable takes place when the accent is thrown back to the first syllable, when the first vowel is at the same time short, and when the first syllable of the stem has an m, n, or l following its vowel and as the first sound of a consonantic cluster.

 xu'mdē otter
 xu'mxumdē

 1. sems mouth
 se'msems

 q!e'mdem song
 q!e'mq!emdem 194.37

 ha'nı!ēnox" archer
 ha'nhanı!ēnox" 155.37 (compare hā'naı!em § 41.1)

 e'lkula bloody
 e'l'elkula 46.38

 g:înā'nem child (stem g:înl-)
 g:î'ng:înānem 134.4

(4) A number of irregular forms are related to the last group. These contain words both with long and short initial vowel. They are characterized by the insertion of a consonant at the close of the reduplicated syllable, which may sometimes be explained as the terminal consonant of the stem modified by contact phenomenon, but

There is a marked tendency to which is often due to other causes. introduce s.

(a) With s:

g'i'lt!a long ¿'qa witchcraft $k \cdot l \bar{e}' d\bar{e} l$ princess le'xa large round opening ëk good LEK" thick dā'la to laugh lå'lēnôx" ghost

q!u'lyaku grown up

q!ulsq!u'lyaku (stem probably q!uls-) 145.18

g î'lsgîlt!a 150.38

ēs⁴ē′ga

k:!ē'sk:!ēdēl 230.3 lē'slēxa 199.28 ë'stëk. 151.16 LE'8LEku 27.15 dā'sdala 244.25 $l\bar{e}'sl\hat{a}l\bar{e}nox^u$ (also $l\bar{e}^{\epsilon}l\hat{a}'l\bar{e}n\hat{o}x^u$)

Įāxª- to stand Ļās Ļā'la legs 43.36

(b) With 1:

g ō'kulōt tribe *nem one $x\bar{a}q$ bone deg ega' grave

g·ō'lg·okulōt 135.43 anā'lan em xā'lxaq 324.22 dē'ldek: ele'ls 323.27

(5) Words beginning with m, n, l, l, except those the first syllable of which closes with a consonant of the same group, which have their accent on the initial or on the reduplicated syllable, reduplicate by repeating the initial consonant and the following vowel, while the first vowel of the stem is elided and the initial consonant voiced. At the same time l in the weakened syllable is transformed into El.

mā'x'ēnoxu killer-whale $m\bar{e}'gwat$ seal mak'â'la island neg·ē' mountain 'n ex'une' blanket Lē'gwilda'x (name of a tribe)

ma E'mx'ēnoxu mē' emgwat ⁴ma E'mk'âla na E'ng Ē ena e'nxeun ē

Lē' elgwilda 'x (the class of the Lē'gwilda'xu

lē' Elōt crew łee′lk!wanē€

lek!wā'nē' old woman

(6) A number of words reduplicate the first consonant with short vowel, but no definite rule can be given for the application of this mode of reduplication.

dā'la to laugh dz Ets! E'nd to tear across dā to hold sakwa' to carve meat

 $d\mathbf{z}d\bar{a}'l\mathbf{z}lal$ 231.23 (see 4 a) dzedzets! E'nd 240.3 d Edā'sx'ä 243.40 8 E8axu8 E'nd 23.9

qut!a fullququt!a' 195.27 (but also
 $q\bar{e}q\bar{o}'t!a$ 235.27)gene'm wifegegene'm 467.41 $ad\bar{e}'$ my dear $aad\bar{e}'$

(7) The vowel a when initial, or when preceded by h or y, shows many peculiarities. When accented in the distributive plural, it takes the form $a\bar{e}$.

hap- hairhaë'p!ōma skins, animals'yā''yats!ē canoe'yaē''yats!ē 136.5'yixu'ml mask'yaē'xuml 226.7

Here may be grouped also forms like-

alk" attendant a'yîlk" 136.15 a'mlāla to play a mlāla 134.24

In the same way \ddot{e} accented becomes $a^{\epsilon}ya$:

 $h\ddot{e}'l^{\epsilon}a$ youth $ha^{\epsilon}y\bar{a}'l^{\epsilon}a$ 151.3

A transformation of initial a into \bar{e} takes place in $ab\,E'mp$ mother $\bar{e}b\,E'mp$ 151.14

The same, combined with change of a into \bar{e}^{ϵ} , is found in— $a^{\epsilon}yas\bar{o}'$ hand $\bar{e}^{\epsilon}\bar{e}^{\epsilon}yas\bar{o}'$ 175.25

Initial \bar{o} and wa take sometimes the forms $a\bar{o}$; viz, $wa\bar{o}$.

 $wa'ts!\bar{e} \ dog \ wa\bar{o}'ts!\bar{e}$

Among those forms in which reduplication gradually assumes the character of change of vowel, may be classed—

 $w\bar{a}'ld$ em word $w\bar{o}'ld$ em

 $ts/\bar{e}d\bar{a}'q$ woman $ts/\bar{e}'d\bar{a}q$ (but in the dialect of northern Vancouver island,

northern Vancouver isla regularly $ts/\bar{e}ts/\bar{e}d\bar{a}'q$)

ts/ā'ts/ɛdagɛm girl ts/ā'ts/ēdāgɛm 48.21

Quite irregular, perhaps derived from a stem wo-, is-

 $ar{o}mp$ father $war{o}'mp$ father's generation

§ 43. SUFFIXES REQUIRING REDUPLICATION OF THE STEM

A number of suffixes are used either regularly or frequently with reduplicated forms of the stem or with stems expanded in other ways. The general and underlying idea seems to be that of extent in time or in space by repetition. In these cases reduplication is generally by repetition of the first consonant with \bar{a} vowel; but in many cases the short stem vowel is expanded into \bar{a} or into other long vowels.

Suffixes treated in this manner are, for instance—

-ap! each other (§ 35, no. 156)

-a(la) each other (§ 35, no. 157)

-āla becoming more and more

-aaga motion in a certain direction

-x sila to occupy one's self with something

-ōt fellow

-em genuine

-alal always acting like

-k·ina accidental result of an action

-ns obtained unexpectedly

-deqa only by the performance of an action

-k-awē among; probably meaning one among a number of objects, with emphasis of the relation to other surrounding objects.

(1) Stems with long vowel are reduplicated—

sē' xwa to paddle

q!wā'sa to cry

ts!ā'ē' younger sister

nō'mas old $q!\bar{e}$ - much

 $L!\bar{a}'sa$ seaward

ēt- again

 $L/\bar{o}'p$ - to roast nâ'qē mind

ōema chieftain

qā'sa to walk

 $L\bar{a}x^{u}$ - to stand

Here belongs also—

yîxa' fast

sā's exwap! to paddle, racing against each other.

q!wā'q!usâla to cry together 157.8 ts!ā'ts!a'yasâla sisters together 55.13

nā'n ōmasāla getting old q!ā'q!äla getting more

L!āL!asaaqa to carry seaward

aē'daaga to return

L!ā'L!ōpsīla to take care of roasting nā'nāqēx sīla to make up mind 184.2 a'ō malal to dance the chieftainess

qā'qask:inala to find accidentally by walking

qaqā'sdeqa only by walking

Lā' L Exawē one standing between

 $y\bar{a}'y\hat{i}xap!$ to speed, racing against each other

(2) Stems with short vowel transform it into \bar{a} .

mîx a' to strike

unula' to ask

"nemō'k" friend

sek'a' to spear *neq-straight

meku- round thing is somewhere

 $m\bar{a}'x\cdot ap!$ to strike each other wā'zap! to ask each other 162.6

'nā'mōk'âla friends 147.20 $s\bar{a}'k\cdot\hat{a}la$ to spear each other

nā'qawē right among

'mā'k'awē round thing among

Here belongs also-

hō' Lēla to listen

hā'wazēlagâla to listen to each other 26.11

(3) There are, however, also reduplicated forms with short reduplicated syllable.

*lāg"- to wail, to cry la to go 'le'lgwalâla to cry together 244.36 le'lgâla to go to each other (= to quarrel)

(4) Irregular reduplication or vowel modifications are not rare.

yā'q! ent!āla to speak wā' ļa sweetheart ts!ē'gawinter dance yē'q! entâla to speak together wō' zâla sweetheart

ts!ē'qawinter dance

ts!ē'xts!ēxsīla to use winter dance 16.12

g·ōk[∗] house

 $g \cdot \bar{o}' g \cdot ak \cdot aw \bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ a house in middle of other things

 $g \cdot \hat{\imath}' l t ! a \text{ long}$

g·i'lg·atawē a long thing in middle of other things

(5) Forms without reduplication occur also.

lē'nemap! to quarrel together 121.13
 ha'nıap!a to shoot each other
 ë'k'aqawē' good among others

(6) A peculiar form of reduplication is found with the suffix -mut REFUSE (§ 36, no. 181). It expresses evidently the multiplicity of pieces left over. It would seem that we have here a reduplication with lengthened stem-vowel, or with \bar{e} and with softened initial consonant of the stem.

sō'pa to chop
sɛkwa' to carve meat

sē'yapmut chips (y for softened s) sē'yaxumūt what is left over from carving (y for softened s)

k·ā'xwa to chip xwā' La to cut salmon

 $k \cdot \bar{a}' g \cdot axm \bar{u}t$ chips

xwā'xulmūt what is left over from cutting salmon

(7) The suffix $-\bar{e}qala$ in the Mind (§ 23, no. 81) generally takes reduplication with \bar{e} vowel, which is quite analogous to the form of reduplication treated in § 42.1.

la to go •nē'k· to sav lē'laēqala to think of going
'nē'nk'!ēqala to speak in one's
mind (i. e., to think) 18.6

There are cases, however, in which this suffix appears without reduplication.

ëk:!ēqala to feel good 123.12

- (8) The idea to eat may be expressed by verbs denoting to chew, to break, to swallow, etc., with nominal object; by the suffixes -q!es and -g (see § 34, nos. 149, 149a) or by reduplication. The last method is most frequently used with words with monosyllabic stem. This form of reduplication differs from those previously described in that the first syllable retains the stem form almost unmodified, except by contact phenomena, while the second syllable has always an a vowel, accented and long, when the stem vowel is short, unaccented and short when the stem vowel is long. Stems ending in a consonantic cluster have also the second syllable unaccented. The syllable loses at the same time all those consonants of the terminal cluster that precede the last one.
- (a) Monosyllabic stems with single terminal consonant and short vowel.

Noun	To eat—
t! Eqa' dried berries	$t!$ Ex $t!ar{a}'q$
<i>begwā'nem</i> man	b E $x^{m{u}}bar{a}'\hat{k}^{m{u}}$
<i>t! Ex^usō's</i> cinquefoil	$t!Ex^ut!\bar{a}'q^u$
leq!este'n seaweed (kelp)	lexlā′q ¯
$\textit{\textit{Lex}} \cdot \textit{\textit{se}}' m \text{ clover}$	$lex^{\cdot}Lar{a}'k^{oldsymbol{\cdot}}$
<i>met!ā'nē</i> large clam	m e $tmar{a}'t$
xete'm (a plant)	$oldsymbol{x}$ et $oldsymbol{x}ar{a}'oldsymbol{t}$
peta' medicine.	p e t p $ar{a}'t$
nexusk:î'n (a plant)	$n_E x^u n \bar{a}' x^u$
$m E l \bar{e}' k$ steelhead sal-	$m E l m ar{a}' l$
mon	
ale'la dentalia	$al^{\epsilon}ar{a}_L$
	t!eqa' dried berries begwā'nem man t!ex**sō's cinquefoil leq!este'n seaweed (kelp) Lex*se'm clover met!ā'nē large clam xete'm (a plant) peta' medicine. nexusk'i'n (a plant) melē'k' steelhead salmon

(b) Monosyllabic stems with single terminal consonant and long vowel.

Stem	Noun	To eat—
lās-	$laar{e}'s$ small mussel	lā'sles
8ā8-	sā'ts em spring salmon	$s\bar{a}'sses$ (not $s\bar{a}'tses$)
ts!āx=	$ts!\bar{a}'we^{\epsilon}$ beaver	ts!ā'xuts!Exu
gwād-	$gwar{a}'d{arepsilon}m$ huckleberry	gwā'dgud
L!ēx-	$L/\bar{e}'x\bar{e}n$ sea-lion	$L!\bar{e}'xL!ax$
ts!ēx'-	ts!ē'x inas elderberry	$ts!\bar{e}'x$ t $s!ax$
t!ē8-	t!ē'sem stone	$t!\bar{e}'st!as$
gwēg·-	$gwa^{\epsilon}y\hat{\imath}'m$ whale	gwē'x:gwak·
q!ē8-	q!ē'sēna (a berry)	q!ē'sq!as
nō'x"-	^e nō'xwa (a berry).	[€] nō'x ^u nax ^u
lōl-	lâ'elēnoxu ghost	lō'llal to eat a corpse
∟!ō} -	<i>Li Ewu' l^es</i> elk	L!ō'lL!al

Stem	Noun	To eat
k'!ōt- to sta edge	and on k'!ō'tzla fish, salmo	on k:!ō'tk!wat to eat salmon
dzâs-	<i>dzâ'lē</i> cockle	dzâ'sdzas
$oldsymbol{x}ar{o}oldsymbol{l}$ -	$xar{o}^{\epsilon}lar{e}^{\epsilon}$ large mussel	$oldsymbol{x}ar{o}'oldsymbol{l}oldsymbol{x}oldsymbol{w}oldsymbol{a}$
(c) Stems end	ing in consonantic clusters.	
Stem	Noun	. To eat—
xams-	$xa^{\epsilon}mar{a}'s ext{ dry salmon}$	n xa'msxās
t!E ls	t!Els crabapple	t!E'lst!ās
tselxu-	(8)	ts e' lxutsāxu
q!ans-	q!ā'nas large chitor	$q! e' nsq! \bar{a}s$
g·în l -	g înā'n m child	g·î'nlg·āl

UNREALITY (§§ 44-46)

§ 44. General Remarks

The concept that a word approaches the idea conveyed by its stem, without really being that idea, is often expressed by reduplication. Two principal forms may be distinguished: (1) the diminutive, and (2) the tentative.

§ 45. The Diminutive

The diminutive is formed by the suffix $-\varepsilon m$, which softens the terminal consonant (§ 29, no. 110a); and by reduplication with \bar{a} vowel. Generally the stem is reduplicated, but in cases of ambiguity the whole word may be reduplicated.

$g \cdot \bar{o} k^u$ house	$g \cdot \bar{a}' g \cdot ogum$ little house
<i>Ļōs</i> tree	Ļā' Ļōdzem
$gw\bar{e}g$ - whale	<i>ġ</i> wā′gwēg∙ î m
$sar{e}'x^u$ - paddle	sā'sewum
g·înl- child	$g \cdot ar{a}' g \cdot \hat{\imath} n l$ Em
$b \mathcal{E} k^u$ - man	$b\bar{a}'bagum$ boy

Irregular is $s\bar{o}'bayu$ ADZE; $s\bar{a}y\bar{o}b_{E}m$, which softens its initial s to y (see § 42).

The whole word is reduplicated, and takes the suffix -Em, in-

 $m\bar{e}'gwat$ seal $m\bar{a}'m\bar{e}gwad$ em $k\cdot!\bar{o}'l\bar{o}t$ purpose $k\cdot!\bar{a}'k\cdot!\bar{o}l\bar{o}'dem$ $ts!\bar{e}d\bar{a}'q$ woman $ts!\bar{a}'ts!\bar{e}d\bar{q}em$ $g\bar{e}'was$ deer $g\bar{a}'g\bar{e}wadzem$

The same forms with added a are used to express the idea of TO PLAY WITH.

sā'sewuma to play paddling
hā'na i ema to play shooting
§§ 44, 45

§ 46. The Tentative

The tentative is formed by the suffix -a, which hardens the terminal consonant of the stem (§ 33, no. 141); and by reduplication with a vowel. These forms are used both with nouns and verbs. With nouns they signify to try to get.

$xun\bar{o}'k^u$ child	xwā'xunk!wa to endeavor to
	get a child
$gw\bar{e}g$ - whale	gwāgwēk:!a to endeavor to
•	get a whale
gek:- wife laē'ı to enter	$g\bar{a}'gEk\cdot /a$ to woo
$la\bar{e}'L$ to enter	la'laela to endeavor to enter
$d\bar{o}'kwa$ to troll	$d\bar{a}'d\bar{o}k!wa$ to endeavor to troll

The forms in $-^{\epsilon}y\bar{a}la$ to go to look for (§ 33, no. 142) are similar in form to the preceding.

t!es- stone	t!a't!esE'yala to go to look for
	stones
$g \cdot \bar{o} k^u$ house	$g \cdot \bar{a}' g \cdot \bar{o} k u^{\epsilon} y \bar{a} l a$ to go to look for houses
hanı- to shoot	hā'nhanle'yāla to go to look
	for a gun

Syntactic Relations (§§ 47-69)

§ 47. Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns

In the Kwakiutl sentence, predicate, subject, object, instrument, cause, and purpose are distinguished. Since pronominal representatives of all nouns that form part of the sentence are used for expressing their syntactic relations, the discussion of the syntactic structure of the sentence is essentially a discussion of the pronoun.

The following pronouns are distinguished:

Speaker ·				٠.						1st person.
Speaker and person	1 01	r p	ers	ons	ad	ldr	esse	ed		Inclusive.
Speaker and person	1 01	r p	ers	ons	sp	ok	en e	of		Exclusive.
Person addressed										2d person.
Person spoken of										3d person.

The strong tendency of the Kwakiutl language to strict localization appears very clearly in the development of the third person, which is almost always combined with the demonstrative pronoun. Three positions are distinguished—that near the speaker, that near the person addressed, and that near the person spoken of; and each of these

is subdivided into two forms, according to visibility and invisibility. Therefore we must add to the five forms given before the following forms of the third person:

Demonstrative of 1st person, visible. Demonstrative of 1st person, invisible. Demonstrative of 2d person, visible. Demonstrative of 2d person, invisible. Demonstrative of 3d person, visible. Demonstrative of 3d person, invisible.

On the whole, the syntactic functions of the pronominal elements which are added to the verb—as subject, object, instrumental, final, causal—are determined by certain syntactic elements that precede them. The subject has no specific character; the object has -q, the instrumental -s-. The finalis is always characterized by q, the causal by qa-. The two last-named forms are evidently closely related. The objective character -q is found only in the third person and in its demonstrative development; and the instrumental is also regularly developed only in the third person. Subject, object, and instrumental coalesce with the verb to a unit, and appear in the order here given. For instance: HE STRIKES HIM WITH IT is expressed by the combination STRIKE—HE—HIM—WITH-IT, where the short dash indicates that the equivalent in Kwakiutl is a single element, while the long dash indicates phonetic coalescence.

When nouns with or without possessive pronouns are introduced in the sentence, they are placed after the syntactic and pronominal elements which indicate their functions. In these cases the phonetic coalescence of the syntactic and pronominal elements with the preceding part of the verbal expression persists, but the pronouns are phonetically separated from the following nouns. We find, for instance, the sentence THE MAN STRUCK THE BOY WITH THE STICK expressed by struck—he—the man—him—the boy—with-it—the STICK. The separation between the pronoun and the following noun is justified only by the phonetic character of the sentence. the whole seems to form one verbal expression. The pronoun and the following noun can not be separated by any other words. The pronoun may, however, close the sentence, and thus perform the function of a nominal demonstrative. In a few cases it may be separated from the verbal expression; namely, when a number of subjects, objects, or instruments are enumerated.

We may revert here once more to the lack of differentiation of verb and noun. In sentences like the one just described there is a perfect freedom in regard to the selection of subject and predicate. Instead of saying came—he—the man, the Kwakiutl may say as well it was-the-man—it—the coming (257.20). The words to come and man may be used equally as nouns and as verbs, and by syntactic means either may be made subject or predicate.

Whenever the pronoun is followed by a noun or when used as a nominal demonstrative, its form is modified. When the noun contains a possessive pronoun, this pronoun is also incorporated in the modified pronominal form. We may therefore distinguish between purely pronominal and prenominal forms. It must be borne in mind that both are verbal in so far as they determine the function of the complements of the verb, and also because they are firmly united with the verb. The prenominal forms belong, of course, exclusively to the third person, and have demonstrative significance. While in the pronominal forms visibility and invisibility are distinguished, this division is not made in the prenominal forms. In the possessive prenominal forms the second and third persons are not clearly differentiated.

The demonstrative idea expressed in these verbal forms is supplemented by a parallel postnominal form, which is suffixed to the noun following the prenominal pronoun. These postnominal forms are closely related to the pronouns and prenominal forms, but show a certain amount of differentiation in the demonstrative of the second and third persons.

§ 48. Table of Pronouns

We may summarize these statements in the following tables:

							Pronom	INAL.	P	PRENOMINAL.						
						Subject.	Object.	Instrumental.	Subject.	Object.	Instru- mental.					
1st person	•		•		_	- E n(L)		-En(L)								
Inclusive						- En s		-Ens								
Exclusive						-Enuiju		.Enutju		ĺ						
2d person						-ES	-ÕL	-08		}	}					
3d person						—	, -q	- s	-₹	-z	-8					

I. VERBAL SUFFIXES

II. DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

	D	em	on	stra	itiv	e 6	r								VE	Prenominal.	Postnomi- NAL.
	-				-			٠.	-						!	' -	
1st person, visible.								•							-k·	Joa	∫- k ·
1st person, invisible																الم الم	1-9-6
2d person, visible .													٠,		-ōz	-āx	j-čz
2d person, invisible														3	-5e	\	}-āz, -aq!
3d person, visible .																՝ե	الحا
3d person, invisible	•	٠	•	•	٠	٠	٠	•	٠	•	•	•	٠	٠	-2e) -	\\-a \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\ \\

§ 49. Compound Pronouns

From these fundamental series originate a great number of forms by composition and further modification. The pronominal demonstrative forms occur as subject, object, and instrumental, and are formed, on the whole, by adding the demonstrative suffictor the personal endings. In the objective series a number of secondary changes have taken place.

II (a). PRONOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

			De	mo	nst	rat	ive	of-	-					Subjective.	Objective.	Instru- mental.
1st person, visible .	_	-				-									-qEk	-set-
1st person, invisible															-	-80°C
2d person, visible .														-őz	-q*	-sōz
2d person, invisible														-ős	-qu!, -qō4	-90°
3d person, visible .				. •										-řq	- q	-8
3d person, invisible														-24	qē	-sē

The demonstrative prenominal forms show an analogous development. In this case we find, furthermore, a double form, a vocalic, characterized by a terminal -a, and another one which is used preceding proper names, indefinite nouns, and possessive forms of the third person when the possessor is a person different from the subject of the sentence. For brevity's sake we will call this form the consonantic.

II (b). PRENOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

	Subj	ECTIVE.	OBJE	CTIVE.	Instrumental		
Demonstrative of	Vocalic.	Conso- nantic.	Vocalic.	Conso- nantic.	Vocalic.	Conso- nantic.	
lst person	-g-ada	-g·a	-rg·ada	-zg·a	-sg-ada	-eg-s	
2d person	-ōzda	-ōz	{-zōzda -zwa	}-zōz zu	}-sōxda }-sa	-ecz -ec	
3d person	-ēda	`-ē	-13	`-z	`- s a	i` - ≇	

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In the Dzā'wadɛēnoxu dialect, the forms -xwa and -sa do not seem to occur; and in place of -xa and -sa, we find $-x\bar{e}da$ and $-s\bar{e}da$, which are analogous to $-\bar{e}da$ of the subjective. In the Koskimo and Newettee dialects, -xa and -sa are replaced by $-x\bar{e}$ and $-s\bar{e}$.

The possessive suffixes are also formed from the fundamental series of forms.

III. POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

III (a). First Person, Inclusive, Exclusive, Second Person

	Prenominal.	Postnominal.		
Demonstrative of—	lst person, inclusive, 2d person. exclusive.			
1st person, visible	-g-in, -g-ins, -g-inu ^t z=	-g		
2d person, invisible	-En, -Ens, \begin{aligned} -Enu^zu \\ -Enu^zu \\ -Es	-q!- mental of the various - persons.		
3d person, invisible	1	∥-a- J		

The three forms for the second person for the demonstrative of the second person seem to be used indiscriminately.

In place of the double use of prenominal and postnominal possessive forms, the prenominal or postnominal demonstrative possessives alone are also in use for the first person, inclusive, and exclusive.

III (b). Third Person

Demonstrative of—	Possessor	SUBJECT OF ENCE.	POSSESSOR NOT SUBJECT OF SENTENCE.	
	Prenominal.	Postnominal.	Prenominal.	Postnominal.
1st person, visible	-g·as	{-k· }-g·a	}-g-a	-g·as -g·aEs
2d person, visible	}-ōe	{- q {- q !	-ōz	-18 -q/E8
3d person, visible	}-čs	{- -a	;}-ē	[-8 as

It will be noticed that in the third person, when the possessor and the subject of the sentence are the same person, the instrumental -s is added to the prenominal element, leaving the postnominal demonstrative to be added to the noun. When the possessor and the subject of the sentence are different persons, the instrumental -s is added to

the postnominal suffix, leaving the prenominal elements identical with the prenominal demonstratives.

The possessive prenominal forms for the objective and instrumental are formed from the forms given here in the same manner as the prenominal demonstratives from the corresponding table (II, § 48).

§ 50. Irregular Pronominal Forms

These endings give rise to all the syntactic forms expressing the relations of subject, object, instrumental (viz, genitive), and predicate. Evidently the history of the development of these forms is a long one. This is indicated by the irregularities described in § 49, and by others which appear as soon as these endings enter into combinations. The most important irregularities are as follows:

PRONOMINAL AND PRENOMINAL SUFFIXES

- 1. The first person, when followed by the objective or instrumental, takes the form -EnL. This probably represents an older form of the first person. It is the ordinary form of the first person in the Koskimo dialect, where we find, for instance, $g \cdot \bar{a}' x E n L$ I came. It will be noted (Table I, § 48) that the objective forms of the first person, and those of the inclusive and exclusive, have been lost. They persist in the Hë'ldzaqu dialect of Milbank sound, where we find for these forms -EnLa, corresponding to the -EnL of the Koskimo. Examples of the form -EnL will be found below, under 2.
- 2. The first person, the inclusive, and exclusive, when followed by the objective or instrumental of the third person, take a connective -a-; so that we find the forms -enlaq i—him, -ensaq we[incl.] —him, -enuexwaq we[excl.] —him; and -enlas i—with him, -ensas we[incl.] —with him, -enuexwas we [excl.] —with him.
 - $h\bar{a}'^{\epsilon}$ maswut! $\bar{e}lts\bar{o}x$ 'denlas I was asked to eat with him 480.10 ($ha^{\epsilon}m$ to eat; -s-[?]; -ot companion; $-\bar{e}l$ [?]; $-s\bar{o}^{\epsilon}$ passive; -x' $d\bar{e}$ transition from present to past)
 - dō'qula mēsenlaxwa Gwē'telax and so I saw the Northerners 473.27 (dō'qula to see; mēs and so; -xwa obj. 2d pers. dem.; Gwē'tela northern tribes; -x 2d pers. dem.)
 - *nē'k·ɛnlaxa *nɛ'mgēsē I said to the *nɛ'mgēs 473.26 (*nēk· to say)

 Lawe'lgamēk·asenlas lâ'laēnox^u I am the prince of the ghosts

 X 131, note 3 (Lawe'lgamē^e prince; -k·as real; lâ'laēnox^u ghosts)

 bō'lxsda^eyînlas L!ē'sɛlag·i^ela I am the musk-bag of mink

 CS 158.22 (bōl- musk-bag; -xsd hind end; -ē^e nominal; L!ē'sɛla

 sun; -g·ila to make)

- 3. The second person takes a connective $-\bar{e}$ before the objective and instrumental of the third person; so that we have $-s\bar{e}q$ thou—HIM, and $-s\bar{e}s$ thou—with him. With the instrumental of the first person, inclusive, and exclusive, the second person forms $-s\bar{e}ts\,En$, $-s\bar{e}ts\,Enu^ex^u$. Examples of this kind are very rare in our texts.
- 4. When a nominal subject is followed by an objective or instrumental, or when a nominal object is followed by an instrumental, it takes a connective -a- analogous to that following the first person (see under 2).

dō'x'wale'lē Dzā'wadalalîsaxa e'lkwa Dzā'wadalalîs saw the blood 99.7 (dōq'- to see; -'alela see no. 96, p. 490; elk' blood)

kwē's tīdē Q. 'ā'nē qē lakwasa. L. 'āq.'ut Q!a'nē qē taku spit out the alder bark 99.5 (kwēs- to spit; (x) tīd to begin; L. 'ā'qu- red)

*nē'x:sō'laē Q!a'mtalalas Q!ā'nēqē'laku it is said, Q!a'mtalal was told by Q!ā'nēqē'laku 100.19

ts! Ek'!ā'lelaxēs lā'ewunemas wā'ldemas she reported to her husband (with) the word 135.28

gwē'x-tîdēda begwā'nemax Lā'qulayūgwa the man woke Lā'qulayūgwa 251.4 (gwēx-tîd to wake; begwā'nem man)

5. Verbs which have the future suffix -L (no. 88, p. 486) generally form the subjective by the suffix -a, which takes the place of $-\bar{e}da$. Evidently the process of contraction by which the objective -xa and the instrumental -sa have developed from the older $-x\bar{e}da$ and $-s\bar{e}da$ has affected in this case also the subjective. The second person future, when the verb has a pronominal ending, is generally $-L\bar{o}L$ instead of $-L\bar{o}s$, which is used only as a possessive form.

g·ā'xıa g·î'ng·înānɛmē the children will come X 17.8 la·mōx q!āq!ɛxutō'x·wīdla ts!ō'ts!ō·max the barnacles shall show their heads X 97.40

lae'ms ba'ne'nxēlūl you shall be the lowest X 91.5.

POSTNOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE AND POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

6. Nouns ending in -a, $-\bar{e}$, $-\ddot{a}$, and -d, when followed by the connective -a- (rule 4), by the postnominal -a of the third person invisible, by -ax, -aq!, and $-q^u!$ of the second person invisible, and by $-q^u$ of the second person visible (Tables II, III, §§ 48, 49), take the endings $-\ddot{a}$, $-\ddot{a}x$, $-\ddot{a}q!$, $-\ddot{a}q!$ -, $-\ddot{a}q$ -, in place of -a, $-\bar{e}$, $-\ddot{a}$, $-\ddot{a}$, followed by the ordinary endings. In nouns ending in -a, the forms $-a^eya$, $-a^eyax$,

 $-a^{\epsilon}yaq!$, $-a^{\epsilon}yaq!^{u}$, $a^{\epsilon}yaq$, are sometimes found instead of the forms in $-\ddot{a}$. The forms in $-a^{\epsilon}ya$ - seem to be preferred in the case of many proper names.

*nē'x: *laē Qwē'smōlidze'mgāq said Qwē'smōlidze'mga to him 116.1 nē'lasɛ*wē L!a'qwadzās wā'ldɛmas L!a'qwadzē was told of his word 116.21

- lā'alaē dō'xawale'lē Lā'qulayūgwāxa g'ō'kwē then, it is said, Lā'qulayūgwa saw a house 251.8
- *nē'x *laē Ha'mdzīdäxēs ō'mpē it is said Ha'mdzīd said to his father 55.19
- 7. Nouns ending in $-\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ take, in the cases enumerated under rule 6, the endings $-a^{\epsilon}ya$, $-a^{\epsilon}yax$, $-a^{\epsilon}yaq!$, $-a^{\epsilon}yaq!$, $a^{\epsilon}yaq^{u}$.
 - $g \cdot \bar{i}' g \cdot \bar{i} y a m a^{\epsilon} y a s a B \epsilon' l \bar{x} u l a$ the chiefs of the Bella Coola 223.33 $(g \cdot \bar{i}' g a m e^{\epsilon} \text{ chief})$
- 8. Nouns ending in $-\bar{o}$ take, in the cases enumerated under rule 6, the endings $-\hat{a}$, $-\hat{a}x$, $-\hat{a}q!$, $-\hat{a}q!^u$.
 - lar'mra qō't!ē 'yā''yats!äs K!wā'qaxsānāxa qā'g'îkwē K!wā'qaxsānō's canoe was full of heads 153.33 (-ra but; qō't!a full; 'yā''yats!ē canoe; qā'g'îku head cut off)
- 9. Nouns ending in -a and $-\bar{o}$, when followed by the demonstrative second person visible, take the ending -x instead of $-\bar{e}x$.
 - lae'mx'den lē'stalī'sela lā'xens 'nā'lax I have been around this our world 12.7 (-em and; -x'd past; -en I; la to go; -ē'sta around; -la continuative; -īs world; -la continuative; lā to go [here prepositional]; -xens our; 'nā'la world)
 - we'g'a wē'x''ādxwa mē'me'lxlōx go on, carry these mountain goats 41.5 (we'g'a go on!; wē'x''ād to carry; me'lxlō mountain goat)
 - ĻĒ wō'xda halā'yux and this death-bringer 50.36 (Ļō and; halā'yu death-bringer, means of killing)
- 10. Nouns ending in -a do not take the postnominal $-\bar{e}$ of the third person (see § 56).
- 11. $\bar{\iota}\bar{o}$ AND never takes the form in $-\bar{e}da$, except in the Dzā'-wadeēnox" dialect, but forms $\bar{\iota}_{E}e^{u}$ even before common nouns (see § 49, II).
 - $\underline{\iota}_{E^{\epsilon}wa} \quad a^{\epsilon}y\hat{i}'lkwasa \quad g\cdot\bar{i}'qam\bar{e}^{\epsilon} \quad \text{and the attendants of the chief} \\
 159.22$
 - $L^{\epsilon}wa$ $l\bar{a}'k'!$ $\epsilon nd\bar{\epsilon}$ $L!\bar{\epsilon}L!\ddot{a}'sg\epsilon m$ and one hundred bear-skin blankets 223.37
 - ĻĒwa nā'xwa ts!ē'lts!Ēk!wa and all the birds 295.2

- 12. The -s third person possessive, when followed by an objective or instrumental, takes a terminal \bar{e} .
 - t! r'm'yâsēxēs xwā'k!una his means of sewing his canoe (see p. 555, note 62)
 - lā''laē dā'lē k!weyî'masēxa 'wā'lasē g'î'ldasa then his crew took the large box 226.39 (dā'la to take, carry; k!weyî'm crew; 'wālas large; g'î'ldas box)
- 13. The objective -q and instrumentalis -s, when followed by the temporal subordinating elements, are followed by $-\bar{e}$. Examples will be found in §64 (p. 547).

§ 51. Sentences with Pronominal Subjects and Objects

In sentences with a single verb and with pronominal subject, object, and instrumental, the pronominal suffixes are attached to the verb in the order subject, object, instrument.

1. Intransitive sentences:

 $l\bar{a}'dz\hat{a}_{LE}n$ indeed I shall go 146.7 (la to go; -dzâ indeed [no. 119]; -L future [no. 88]; -En I)

la mens we do 179.35 (la to go; - m [no. 103]; -ens[incl.])

 $q\bar{a}'qak'!anu^ex^u$ we are trying to marry 225.43 (q_Ek' - wife [reduplication with a vowel and hardened terminal, tentative]; $-nu^ex^u$ [excl.])

hëm' enala em Les thou wilt always 182.41 (hë'm enala always; - m [no. 103]; -L future [no. 88]; -Es thou)

hōqawels they go out 179.17 (hōq- to go [PLURAL]; -wels out of house [nos. 37, 44])

 $g \cdot \bar{a}' x g \cdot a$ he [near 1st person invis.] comes

 $la^{\epsilon}m\bar{o}x \ q\bar{o}sL$ this [near 2d person vis.] will be thine 228.42 (la to go; $-^{\epsilon}m$ [no. 103]; $-\bar{o}x$ [dem. 2d person vis.]; $q\bar{o}s$ thine; -L future [no. 88])

 $g \cdot \bar{a}' x^{\epsilon} m \bar{o}^{\epsilon}$ this [near 2d person invis.] comes 370.24 ($g \cdot \bar{a} x$ to come; $-^{\epsilon} m$ [no. 103]; $-\bar{o}^{\epsilon}$ [dem. 2d person invis.])

hë'emēq that is it 60.6 (hë that; -em [no. 103]; -ēq [dem. 3d person vis.])

2. Transitive sentences with a single verb and with pronominal object:

gā'gak'!înlōl I try to marry thee 97.4 (gɛk'- wife [tentative § 46];
Enlōl I — thee [§ 50.1])
L!ɛlē'wa'yînlaq I forgot it 102.15 (§ 50.2)
wule'nsaq we [incl.] ask him (§ 50.2)
wulā'nu'xwōl we [excl.] ask thee

In place of the object of the first person, inclusive, and exclusive, which are not in use in Kwakiutl, periphrastic expressions are used (see § 61).

3. Transitive sentences with a single verb and with pronominal instrumental:

```
lā'wad en Lasîk' I have him for my husband 97.20 (lāw- husband;
-ad having [no. 170]; -en Las I — of him (§ 50. 2); -k' [dem. 1st person vis.])
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â'yad en lōs I have you for my father (âs- father; -ad having [no. 170]; -en lōs I of you [§ 50. 1])

lā'xulanux sēts en thou lovest me (lā'xula love; -nuk having [no. 169]; -sēts en thou — of me [§ 50.3])

4. Transitive sentences with a single verb and pronominal object and instrumental. These are rare, since periphrastic expressions are preferred (see § 61).

mix î'n L ō Las I strike thee with it (see § 50. 1)

§ 52. Sentences Containing Co-ordinate Verbs

When the verb is accompanied by a co-ordinate verb and in a few related cases the more general verb, which precedes the special verb, takes the personal endings of the intransitive verb; and when the special verb is transitive, the latter retains its objective or instrumental endings, which are suffixed to the stem.

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g \cdot \bar{a}' x^{\epsilon} m \, \epsilon n u^{\epsilon} x^{w} \, \iota \bar{e}'^{\epsilon} la l \bar{o} \iota we came to invite thee 66.17 (g \cdot \bar{a} x to come; -\epsilon m \, [\text{no. } 103]; -\epsilon n u^{\epsilon} x^{w} \, [\text{excl.}]; \, \iota \bar{e}'^{\epsilon} l \bar{a} l a to invite; -\bar{o} \iota thee)
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lā'laxens xwē'x*ītsek should we shake with it 57.40 (la to go; -lax uncertainty [§ 28, no. 105]; -ens we, xwē'x*id to begin to shake; -sek with this)

 $l\bar{a}' LES n\bar{a}'^{\epsilon} nax^{\epsilon} m\bar{e} LEq$ thou wilt answer him 264.28 (la to go; -L future [no. 88]; -ES thou; $n\bar{a}'^{\epsilon} nax^{\epsilon} m\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ to answer; -L future [no. 88]; -q him)

xe'nlelen mîx:ā'q I strike him too much (xe'nlela very, too much; -en I; mîx:a' to strike; -q him)

g·ā'x'ɛms 'wī''elaēLa you have all come in 131.22 (g·āx to come; -'m[no. 103]; -s you; 'wī''ela all; -ēL into house[§ 22, no. 47]) k·!ē'sɛn hamx''i'da I did not eat 258.17 (k·!ēs not; -En I; hamx''i'd to begin to eat)

Also-

 $q \, \epsilon n \, g \cdot i^{\epsilon} w \bar{a}' l \bar{o}_L$ that I may help thee $(q \, \epsilon n \, \text{that I}; g \cdot i^{\epsilon} w \bar{a}' l a \, \text{to help}; -\bar{o}_L \, \text{thee})$

qen lā'wadēsik that I marry this one (S 72.11)

§ 53. Sentences with Nominal Subject and Object

When the sentence has a nominal subject, object, or instrumental, these are placed following the prenominal forms which take the place of the pronominal forms. The noun itself takes the required postnominal demonstrative ending.

- 1. Intransitive sentence with nominal subject.
 - *nē'x: *laē Ts!ē'ts! Esg finē Ts!ē'ts! Esg fin said, it is said 31.9 (*nēk' to say; -*la it is said [§ 32, no. 132]; -ē [subj. dem. 3d person consonantic])
 - g·ā'x*laēda ma*lō'kwē two persons came, it is said 261.33 · (g·āx to come; -*la it is said [§ 32, no. 132]; -ēda [subj. dem. 3d person vocalic])
 - lā' Lōxda 'na E'nx' una 'ēx these blankets will go (= be given) 213.11 (la to go; -L future [no. 88]; -ōxda [subj. dem. 2d person voc.]; 'n Ex' u'nē' blanket; -ēx [postnom. dem. 2d person vis.])
 - g·ā'x²mōx Wulā'sɛ²wēx Wulā'sō² has come 161.27 (g·āx to come; -²m[no. 103]; -ōx[subj. dem. 2d person cons.]; -ēx[postnom. dem. 2d person vis.])
 - hë'k'!ālag'ada x'îsā'lax'dg'a these who have disappeared make a noise 85.31 (hë that; -k'!āla to sound [§ 34, no. 144]; -g'ada [subj. dem. 1st person voc.]; x'îs- to disappear; -āla continuative [§ 26, no. 92]; -x'dē past [§ 25, no. 89]; -g'a [postnom. dem. 1st person invis.])
- 2. Transitive sentences with nominal subject and pronominal object or instrumental.
 - nā'enaxema'ē Xā'nāts! emg'ielakwaq Xā'nāts! emg'ielaku replied to him 131.7 (nā'enaxemē to reply; -ē, [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; -q[obj. 3d person, § 50.4])
 - bâ'wē Q!ā'nēqē'lakwas Q!ā'nēqē'lakw left him 169.28 (bō to leave; -ē [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; [-s instr., § 50.4])
 - k·il·ē'dēda bē'b Egwan Emas the men became afraid of him 127.21 (k·il- to be afraid; -x·id [inchoative, no. 90]; -ēda [subj. dem. 3d person voc.]; b Egwā'n Em man; -s [instr., § 50.4])
- 3. Transitive sentences with pronominal subject and nominal object or instrumental.
 - dā'x εid εn Laxa l εxa' ε̄ I took the basket (da to take; -x ε̄ id [inchoative, no. 90]; -n Laq I—it [§ 50.2]; -xa [obj. dem. 3d person voc.]; l εxa' ε̄ basket)
 - *nē'x's E'wunlasa begwā'nem I was told by the man (*nēk' to say; -sō [passive, § 35, no. 159]; -nlas I—by it [§ 50.2]; -sa [instr. 3d person voc.]; begwā'nem man)
 - $mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = gwa'n = m$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = mix$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = mix$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = mix$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = mix$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i dexa b = mix$ he struck the man $(mix \cdot i de$

4. Transitive sentences with nominal subject, object, and instrument.

xu'ngwadē Q!ē'xwaq!anākwas O'emag ī'lîsē Q!ē'xwaq!anaku had Ō'emag ī'lîs for her child 133.11 (xunku-child; -ad having [no. 170]; -ē [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; -as [instr., § 50.4])

yō'sēda lē'lqwala La'yaxa gwā'xnisē the tribes ate the dog-salmon with spoons 133.34 (yō'sa to eat with spoons; lē'lqwala Lē' tribe; gwā'xnis dog-salmon)

kwēxidēda begwā'nemaxa q!ā'säsa t!e'lwagayō the man struck the sea-otter with the club (kwēx- to strike; -xiād [inchoative, § 26, no. 90]; begwā'nem man; q!ā'sa sea-otter; t!e'lwaga to club; -ayō instrument[no. 174])

§ 54. Sentences Containing Co-ordinate Verbs and Nominal Subject or Object

When there are two co-ordinate verbs, the former takes the pronominal or nominal subject, while the latter takes the nominal object and instrumental.

lā''laē K!wāqaxsānō wule'lax 'nemō'gwisē then, it is said, K!wā'qaxsānō questioned 'nemō'gwis 153.39 (la to go; -'la it is said; -ē [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; wule'la to question) lā'len ax'ē'dlex t!ē'sema I shall go and get a stone (la to go; -lefuture [no. 88]; -en I; ax'ē'd to take; -lefuture [no. 88]; -x [cons. obj.]; t!ē'sem stone; -a [indef., see § 59.2])

 $l\bar{a}'^{\epsilon}la\bar{\epsilon}\;q'a'ms\bar{\epsilon}da\;m\bar{a}'k\cdot il\ddot{a}q\;{
m than}\;{
m the}\;{
m one}\;{
m next}\;{
m to}\;{
m her}\;{
m was}\;{
m lazy}\;{
m 54.24}$

§ 55. Sentences Containing Possessive Elements

When the nominal subject, object, or instrumental contains possessive elements, these are expressed by means of prenominal and postnominal endings, which take the place of the simple demonstrative elements.

lā'lg'în k'!ē's*ōx'dEk' this my crest will go 209.31 (la to go; -L
future [no. 88]; -g'în [prenom. subj., dem. 1st person, § 49];
k'!ē's*ō crest; -x'd~past [no. 89]; -k' [postnominal dem. 1st
person vis.])

wule'laxēs abe'mpē he questioned his mother 141.37 (wule'la to question; -xēs [pronom. obj., dem. 3d person subj. and possessor identical, § 49, III]; abe'mp mother; -ē [see § 49, III])

lā'was'īdē nâ'qā'yas his mind became wild 142.38 (lā'was'īd to become wild; -ē [dem. 3d person indef.]; nâ'qē' mind; -as [nominal subj., dem. 3d person, subj. and possessor not the same person, § 49, III])

 $qe'lsaxen g \cdot \bar{o}'kw\bar{e}$ he painted my house (qe'ls- to paint; -xen [prenom. obj., § 49]; $g \cdot \bar{o}k^u$ house; $-\bar{e}$ [see § 56])

yā'x saēmēs nâ'qaēyōs your mind is bad 71.35 (yā'x saēm bad;
 -ēs [prenom. subj., § 49]; nâ'qē mind; -ōs [postnom. possess.
 2d person, dem., § 49])

The following examples illustrate possessive forms:

1st person, dem. 1st person, visible:

lae'ms a'xlexg'în lē'gemx'dîk take my past name! 125.31 lō'gun g'ō'kulotg'în and my tribe 451.28

1st person, dem. 1st person, invisible:

*mā's*ā'nawisēg'în tek'!ē'g'ae'n? what may be the matter with my belly? 172.20

1st person, dem. 2d person, visible:

wë'g'a dō'qwalaxwa g'ō'kwaqen look at this my house! 409.38 lā'xen gene'maqen to my wife 410.33 lā'xen a'wī''nagwisēx to my country 259.30

1st person, dem. 3d person, visible:

k:!ē'sen wiō'lxen wā'ldemē I did not obtain my wish 454.3

1st person, dem. 3d person, invisible:

lā'xen g·ā'g·imāx·daen to my past loans 452.1 lā'xen g·ō'kwa to my house 409.12 gwā'gwa'yagasen gewe'maen my wife's way of going 300.33

Exclusive, dem. 1st person, visible:

hā'mēk'a'yā'lagemlaxsg'anu'x' g'ī'gamēk' the food-obtaining mask of our chief 35.38

Exclusive, dem. 2d person, visible:

alē'wats!äxsenuexu g·ī'gamaeēx the hunting canoe of our chief U.S.N.M. 665.12

Exclusive, dem. 2d person, invisible:

nâ'qa'yaxsens 'nō'läx the heart of our elder brother 325.11

Exclusive, dem. 3d person, visible:

 $L!\bar{a}'san\hat{a}^{e}yasenu^{e}x^{u}\ g^{\cdot}\bar{o}'kw\bar{e}$ outside of our house 120.31

Exclusive, dem. 3d person, invisible:

lā'xenuexu nō'sa aewī'enagwisa to our country 259.41

Inclusive, dem. 1st person, visible:

dō'qwaxg'ada wā'g'îns look at our river 147.37 lae'mk' 'wī''laēlg'îns 'nē''nemō'kwigäi' now all our friends are in the house 459.16

Inclusive, dem. 2d person, visible:

yîsens g'î'gama'ēx of our chief 453.11

Inclusive, dem. 2d person, invisible:

hā'g'a, axk'!ā'laxens g'ō'kulōtax go and ask our tribe 310.8

Inclusive, dem. 3d person, visible:

wä'ldemasens enemö'kwe the word of our friend 461.40

Inclusive, dem. 3d person, invisible:

lā'xens a'wī'anagwisaens to our country 261.12 k:!ō'telag:asens wī'wōmpdäens this salmon of our ancestors 451.40

- 2d person, dem. 1st person, visible: lā'xg'as gene'mg'ōs to your wife 234.22
- 2d person, dem. 2d person, visible:

 lāxs qō'quma'yaqōs to your face 306.20

 lā'xōs a'wō''nagwisaqōs to your country 259.39
- 2d person, dem. 2d person, invisible:

 gā'gak'!intaxs k'!ē'dēlaq!ōs I will woo your princess 119.22
- 2d person, dem. 3d person, visible: ë'x·mis wā'ldɛmōs good is your word 259.35
- 2d person, dem. 3d person, invisible: $d\bar{o}'qwalaxs \, ax^{t}\bar{e}'xsdxs\bar{o}^{t}xa\bar{o}s \text{ see what is desired by you 409.29}$ $l\bar{a}'x\bar{e}s \, xun\bar{o}'x^{u}xa\bar{o}s \text{ to your future child 51.36}$
- 3d person, dem. 2d person, visible; possessor subject of sentence:
 - $-d\bar{o}'x^{\epsilon}w\bar{\imath}dx\bar{\imath}\bar{o}s\ xun\bar{o}'kw\bar{\imath}x$ (let her) see her child 134.16
 - $-l\bar{a}'x\bar{o}s\ y\bar{a}'^{\epsilon}yats!\bar{e}x$ in his canoe 230.18
- 3d person, dem. 3d person, visible; possessor subject of sentence: dedā'x"sāxēs le'k!wisē they held their bows 243.40
- 3d person, dem. 2d person, visible; possessor different from subject of sentence:
 - la mē's en geg·a'des ōxda k·!ē'dēlaxs and so I have married his princess 193.35 (- mēs and so; geg·a'd to have for wife; k·!ē'dēl princess)
- 3d person, dem. 3d person, visible; possessor different from subject of sentence:
 - $-\bar{a}'xex\ y\bar{a}'nems$ he took his game 294.27
 - lō'xumaxa lāx ō'xusīdza'yas they rolled down to its base 19.12

§ 56. Irregular Forms

While this system of forms is quite clear, there remain a number of irregularities in the third person which somewhat obscure its syntactical functions. This is particularly true of the forms without ending. It is difficult to decide whether they are true verbs. Similar difficulties arise in regard to the postnominal forms in -a, without ending, and in $-\bar{e}$ (see § 48, II).

The postnominal $-\bar{e}$ is used particularly with nouns terminating sentences. It is used with nouns in subjective, objective, and instrumental construction, and signifies a special emphasis laid on the noun, or the contrast between that particular thing and others; for instance, $m\hat{i}x^{-\epsilon}\bar{i}'d\bar{e}x\bar{e}s\ xun\bar{o}'kw\bar{e}$ HE STRUCK HIS CHILD, because it is not expected that a man would strike his child. Examples from the texts are:

lā''slaē yē'laqula'ē Wā'xwidē then Wā'xwid sang his sacred song CS 90.6

— $axk^{\cdot}!\bar{a}'lax\bar{e}s$ * $n\bar{e}^{t}nEm\bar{o}'kw\bar{e}$ he called his friends 43.5 $g\cdot\bar{a}'x^{e}la\bar{e}da$ $h\bar{o}'x^{e}h\bar{o}kw\bar{e}$ the $h\bar{o}'x^{u}h\bar{o}k^{u}$ came 109.39

 $-q\bar{a}'s'\bar{\imath}d\bar{e}$ $N\bar{e}'nengas\bar{e}$ Grizzly-Bear-Woman went X 21.28

This suffix is postnominal, not verbal, as is proved by the analogous forms of the second person demonstrative:

gʻā'xɨmōx Wulā's ɛʿwēx Wulā's ōʿ came 161.27

It does not indicate absence or presence, but is merely an emphatic demonstrative.

In other cases the verbal demonstrative of the third person $-\tilde{e}^{\epsilon}$ is used in a similar position. On account of the weakness of the terminal glottal stops, it is difficult to distinguish this ending from $-\tilde{e}$. Still, the analogous forms of the second person demonstrative prove its verbal character.

yū'emēs la b k!u's ox this is the woodman 258.27

It seems, that when there are two forms, and the first takes a verbal demonstrative or a possessive, the terminal word is generally a noun.

yū''mōs wā'ld emēx this is your word

When the sentence is opened by a verbal expression without demonstrative ending, the second term is a verb.

yū''mēs yē'lax'widayusēyōx this is his secret song

It is doubtful, in this case, whether the first word is a noun or a verb, and whether the second word should be considered a separate sentence.

§ 57. Irregular Forms (continued)

The same is true in all cases where the verb stands immediately before its object or instrument. In these cases, when it has no demonstrative, the objective -x and -s are suffixed to it.

 $la \ m\hat{\imath}x^{\epsilon}\bar{\imath}'dxa \ b \ egw\bar{a}'nem$ he struck the man $k^{\cdot}/\bar{\imath}'s\bar{o}x \ m\hat{\imath}x^{\epsilon}\bar{\imath}'d \ q^{\cdot}\bar{a}'xen$ this one did not strike me

 $l\bar{o}x\ \mu\bar{e}'gades\ T!\bar{e}'s$ emg·it \bar{e} this one had the name T!e's emg·it 225.18

The construction is similar to that in sentences in which nouns occur accompanied by qualifying terms.

mîx î'dēda wā'lasē begwā'n emxa g'înā'n em this large man struck the child (literally, this tall one struck, man the child). If the noun stands by itself, the -a preceding the object (§ 50.4) is retained.

mîx î'dēda b Egwā'n Emaxa g înān Em

Temporal suffixes are treated in the same manner.

xu'mtɛlsēda *wā'lasdē g·ō'xusa hṛgwā'nɛm the large house of the man was burnt on the ground (xumt- to burn; -ɛls on ground [§ 22, no. 44]; -(x')dē past; g·ōku house); (but xu'mtɛlsē g·ō'xudäsa bṛgwānɛm the house of the man was burnt on the ground [see § 50.6])

There is still another case in which a similar absence of demonstrative elements is observed. The verb may be separated from the rest of the sentence, and its place may be taken by auxiliary verbs or by verbalized nominal ideas. Then it is placed at the end of the sentence, and has either no ending, or, better, the ending -a.

la m qā's ida then he went la m v qā's ida then he went lē'da b gwā'n m qā's ida then the man went

In this position the verb can not take the ending $-\bar{e}$, although it may be made a noun by the appropriate prenominal demonstrative.

begwā'nemēda qā's'idē the man went

§ 58. Remarks on Irregular Forms

It is impossible to give a satisfactory explanation for all the peculiar usages of these endings, although the rules for their use can be stated quite definitely. The endings $-\bar{e}da$ and -x, which in Kwā'g'uł invariably have the function of determining subject and object, may have originally performed different functions. This is suggested by the following forms: The Dzā'wadɛēnoxu forms $-s\bar{e}da$ and $-x\bar{e}da$ (see § 49), and the analogous forms -xg'ada, $-x\bar{o}xda$, $-s\bar{o}xda$, of the

Kwā'g'uł, show that the endings $-g\cdot a$, $-\bar{o}x$, $-\bar{e}$, and -da are not necessarily subjective. There are also indications that originally -da was not so exclusively prenominal as we find it now. This is indicated particularly in its use with the independent demonstrative $g\cdot a$, $y\bar{u}$, $h\bar{e}$, and the interrogative ${}^{\epsilon}w\bar{\imath}$ when. These often take the ending -da either by itself or in connection with possessive pronouns: $g\cdot a'da$, $y\bar{u}'da$, $h\bar{e}'da$, ${}^{\epsilon}w\bar{\imath}'d\bar{e}$; and $h\bar{e}'dEn$ $g\cdot \bar{\imath}k^{\mu}$ that is my house (see § 55). On the other hand, -x is used to introduce appositions and temporal determinations (see § 61). In the form $y\hat{\imath}xa$ it may take the place of the subject, a construction which is used frequently in the dialect of Newettee: $g\cdot \bar{a}'x\bar{e}$, $y\hat{\imath}xa$ begwā'nem he came, that man. In the Awī'k·!ēnoxu dialect of Rivers inlet it is suffixed in the same manner to the subject as well as to the object.

 $l\bar{a}'^{\epsilon}l\bar{e}\ y\bar{a}'x^{\epsilon}\bar{i}d\kappa la\ g\cdot\bar{o}'kulayaxai$ the people felt bad $(g\cdot\bar{o}'kula\ tribe; -xai'\ those)$

On the other hand, it does not seem probable that this dialect should have retained older forms, since it shows considerable phonetic decay in other directions.

§ 59. Vocalic and Consonantic Prenominal Forms

It was mentioned in § 49 that the prenominal demonstrative occurs in two forms, as vocalic and consonantic. The latter is used in three cases:

- 1. Before proper names.
 - $l\bar{a}'^{\epsilon}la\bar{e}\ y\bar{a}'q!eg\cdot a^{\epsilon}l\bar{e}\ Ts!\ddot{a}qama^{\epsilon}\bar{e}$ then Ts! $\ddot{a}qam\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ spoke 193.26 $a^{\epsilon}y''lkw\ddot{a}s\ T!\bar{e}'semg\cdot it\bar{e}$ the attendants of T! $\ddot{e}'semg\cdot it\bar{e}$ 222.30
- 2. When a noun is used (a) in a general sense, or (b) when the existence of an object is doubtful.
 - (a):

 hë'em wā'ldems begwā'nem that is the word of mankind
 g.ō'kwas g.ī'g.igama'ya a house fit for chiefs
 la'men wulā'xg'a begwā'nemk. I ask the men in present
 existence
 - (b):
 ā'läso'wē laē'sasa ts!ē'dāq mussels are searched for by the women
 - **sek**·ā' lenlax gwô*yî'mlaxa I shall harpoon a whale, if there is one (-lax uncertainty [§ 28, no. 105]).

On the other hand, we have $la^{\epsilon}m \, \epsilon n \, s \, \epsilon k \cdot \bar{a}' x a \, gw \hat{o}^{\epsilon}y \hat{\imath}' m$ I HARPOONED A WHALE, because the whale, after having been harpooned, is definite.

In these cases we find generally the suffix -a for the third person demonstrative invisible, because the object is necessarily conceived in this position.

3. When the noun is followed by the possessive -s of the third person.

g·ā'xē lāx g·ō'kwasɛn 'nɛmō'kwē he came to the house of my friend

§ 60. Objective and Instrumental

The use of the objective and instrumental with different verbs shows great irregularities. On the whole, the objective is used only when the action directly affects the object; while in other cases, where a direction toward an object is expressed, periphrastic forms are used. Whenever an action can be interpreted as performed with an instrument, the instrumental is used, for which the Kwā'g'ul has a great predilection. In many cases, however, both instrumental and objective may be used, according to the point of view taken. We find, for instance, the following instrumentals:

(la men) tē'qelas t!êx·i'la lāq I name it "door" 9.14 (tēq-name; -s [instr.]; t!êx·i'la door; lāq going to it)

Ļē'gades Dā'bendē having the name of Dā'bend 15.8

wë'ga qwā's 'ētsēs gaxīlaōs mention your reason for coming 16.10 (wë'ga go on; qwā's 'īd to mention; -sēs your [instr.]; gāx to come; -gīl reason [no. 176, p. 508]; -aōs your)

sā'b ents ōx he overdoes this 18.1

'yā'laqas g'înā'n m he sent the child

lē ts!âs then he gave it 18.11

la e'm t!ē'qwaplentsa t!ē's emē he put on the fire the stones 20.8 wë'g'a, de'nxeīts en q!e'md ema go on! sing (with) my song 451.25

All passives are constructed with the instrumentalis.

qā's'idayusa alâ''elēnox'' he was walked away with by the wolves

§ 61. Periphrastic Forms

Whenever the activity does not influence the object directly, but is rather directed toward the object, periphrastic forms, which may be termed "the locative," are used. These are formed with the verbs la to go, and $g \cdot \bar{a}x$ to come, the former being used for the second and third persons; the latter, for the first person, inclusive, and exclusive, these verbs being treated as transitive verbs with objects.

la'ē lā'b eta laq then he went in to it (-b eta into [no. 28, p. 465]) lē'stalī's ela lā'x ens 'nā'lax he went around our world 12.7

These periphrastic forms take the place of the object of the first person inclusive and exclusive (p. 536). They are also preferred whenever the verb has both pronominal object and instrumental. Then the periphrastic form generally takes the place of the object. The verbal character of these forms appears with great clearness when the verb is la to go, since in this case the verb is directly composed with the object, and thus replaces the locative, with which it is identical. The objective form is also used for all determinations of time.

hë gwë'g ilaxa gā'g nu lē he did so every night 249.24 (hë that; gwë'g ila to do so; -xa[obj.]; ga'nu l night)

§ 62. Causality

Causality is expressed by the element qa, which is treated as though it were a verbal stem that might be translated by to be the cause of. This stem does not lose its terminal a. It takes pronominal, prenominal, and possessive forms, just like other verbs.

â'la el le'ng aa qaē's Lâ'la it is said, he longed really the cause is his (= on account of his) sweetheart 23.12 (â'la really; -la quotative; le'ng aa to long; Lâ'la sweetheart)

(laemen) le'ng aa qaes I long on account of you 25.1

qaēs wū'ldɛmōs on account of your words 285.42

lae'm'laē 'yā'x:semē nâ'qa'yas K!wēk!waxā''wa'ē qaēs 'nemō'':wē
 then the mind of K!wēk!waxā''wē' was bad on account of his
 friend 291.34 (la auxiliary verb; -em and; -'la it is said;
 'yā'x:sem bad; nâ'qē' mind; 'nemō'k' friend)

qag'în wā'ldemzîk' on account of this my future word 115.31 qaō'xda mōts!aqēx on account of these four sticks 139.22.

§ 63. Finality

Closely related to the causalis is the expression for finality. This form seems to occur only in nominal construction analogous to the third person demonstrative of the possessive causalis, from which it differs in the same way as the forms for visibility differ from those for invisibility. The set of forms is—

1st person				$q_{E}n$ — a
Inclusive	:			qens—a
Exclusive				q e nu^{ϵ} x — a
2d person				$qa^{oldsymbol{\epsilon}}s$ — $aar{o}s$
3d person				qa—as (possessor different from
				subject)
3d person	•	•		$qa^{\epsilon}s-a$ (possessor and subject the
				same)

It corresponds to a verbal stem q with the possessive forms for absence.

k-î'lwänementaq qen gene'ma I bought her to be my wife

This finalis is very frequently used with verbs, which, however, take certain suffixes. Most often they take the ending $-\bar{e}$, which seems to nominalize the verbal term. When, however, the verb has another pronominal suffix, as in the second person or with the object of the second person, it takes the suffix -a before the pronominal suffix. In the first person, exclusive, and inclusive, the pronoun may be repeated suffixed to the verb. In this case the idea of finality is often so weak that it is hardly more than a connective.

wä'dzâ entsōs qen p!ux ē'dē go on that I may taste 37.32 (wä go on; -dzâ emphatic [no. 119, p. 494]; p!ux ē'd to taste) qan enē'k ē and I say so 453.24

eyā'lagemenlas Gu'ldemē qen g-ā'xē I have been sent by Woodpecker to come 302.24 ('yā'laqa to send; -em instrument [no. 173]; -nlas I by him; Gu'ldem woodpecker; g-āx to come)

wë'g'a, ... qens dō'qwalē'x q!ā'palā'sens 'nē'nemō'kwēx go on, ... that we may see the hitting of our friends 296.31 (dō'qwāla to be looking; q!ap- to hit; -sens of our; 'nemōk' friend; -ēx postnominal dem. 2d pers.)

. . . qa's la'ōs ax'ē'd that you go and take 465.34

. . . qaes tap!ē'dayōs that you eat (break the shells) 284.22

. . . qen Ļē'xs'alēxens xunō'kwēx that I advise our child 290.13

... qen ë'k ûwesg ada enexeunë'k and I stake this blanket 292.3 wë'g a L!ō'p!ēdequ qaes hamx el'daōsaqu go on, roast this and eat this 38.7 (L!ōp- to roast; hamx e l'd to eat)

 $L\bar{e}'^{\epsilon}l\bar{a}lax\bar{e}s$ $g\cdot\bar{o}ku\bar{l}\bar{o}t\bar{e}$ qa $g\cdot\bar{a}'x\bar{e}s$ he called his tribe to come 23.2 $ax^{\epsilon}\bar{e}'dx\bar{e}s$ $g!\bar{o}'lats!\bar{e}$ $qa^{\epsilon}s$ $g\cdot\bar{a}'x\bar{e}$ he took his kettle and came 20.8

If the verb has the first form of the third person, and takes an object or instrumentalis, the final -s is followed by an $-\bar{e}$.

qa de'nxidesesa ga'gak: !ak: !ā'elayu q! e'mdema that they sing the wooing songs 82.3 (de'nxid to sing; gak:- wife [no. 141, p. 498]; -k:!āla noise [no. 144, p. 499]; -ayu instrument [no. 174, p. 507]; q! emdem song)

Verbs with object of the second person take the ending $-a\bar{o}L$, corresponding to $-a\bar{o}s$ in verbs with second person subject.

Monosyllabic verbs in -a take $-\ddot{a}$ in place of $-a\bar{e}$, and $-ay\bar{o}s$ or $a\bar{o}s$ in place of $-aa\bar{o}s$.

In the future the $-\bar{e}$ precedes the future suffix, and the endings are the same as usual, $-\bar{e}_L$, $-\bar{e}_L\bar{o}s$, $-\bar{e}_{LE}s$.

qen dō'xewalelaōl that I may see you 263.26 qaes lā'ōs nā'enakwa and go home 450.20 qen lä ē't!ēd that I go again 240.37 qaeslē'lōs that you may go in the future 260.19

§ 64. Causal and Temporal Subordination

Causal and temporal subordination are expressed by forms related to the foregoing. They must also be considered nominal in their character. Here the relation between personal and demonstrative pronoun is very close, the noun which expresses the subordination always appearing with the possessive pronoun of the proper person combined with the demonstrative pronoun of the same person. Subordination is expressed by the suffix -x, which takes possessive endings combined with the proper demonstrative elements. This -x may be related to the objective.

		Te	amporal Subordination	Causal Subordination
1st person.			- $xg\cdot \hat{i}n$ — $ar{e}k\cdot$	$qaxg\cdot \hat{i}n-ar{e}k\cdot$
			- $xg\cdot \hat{\imath}ns$ — $ar{e}k\cdot$	qaxg∙îns—ēk∙
Exclusive.			$-xg\cdot\hat{\imath}nu^{\epsilon}x^{u}-\bar{\epsilon}k\cdot$	$qaxg\cdot inu^e x^u - \bar{e}k^{\cdot}$
2d person.			$-xs$ — $aaq\bar{o}s$	qaxs—aaqös
3d person.		٠.	- xs — $aar{e}$	$qaxsaar{e}$

In place of the suffixed temporal forms, we find also yî'xg în, etc.

```
q\ddot{a}' \dot{\iota}axs ^{\epsilon}n\ddot{e}'k \cdot aa'q\ddot{o}s indeed, when you said 16.11 dz\ddot{a}'qwaxs la'\ddot{e} it was evening when he— 30.4 qaxg \cdot \hat{n} \hat{a}'l\ddot{e}x \cdot dek \cdot l_E'ng \cdot aa for I really long 25.1 qaxs \cdot n\ddot{e}'k \cdot aa'q\ddot{o}s for you said 16.13
```

When the verb is transitive, the subject is combined with the subordinating -x, while the object remains connected with the verb. The subject may, however, be repeated in the verb in the same way as in the possessive (§ 49).

qaxg·în wule'la mēg·înlaq for I heard it 16.1 (wule'la to hear) Lō'xgun ts!ā'wēg·asa wā'ts!ēx lōl and that I gave you this dog 39.9 (Lō and; ts!ō to give; wats! dog)

The ending -x undergoes the same changes as those enumerated in § 50.4, 6.

Whenever these endings follow an objective or instrumental, they take a connective $-\bar{e}$.

```
Ļāläsēxs la'ē 24.1 (Ļāläs his sweetheart)
dō'x'wa L Elaqēxs wu'nq Elaēda xup!a' he saw that the hole was deep
11.1
```

It is worth remarking that in these cases there is no differentiation in the third person when the subject of principal and subordinate clauses differ and when they are identical.

la E'm k·!ēs q!â' L Elē Mā' xulayūgwäxs l E'ma'ē lō' Lē K!wā'kwax-sānâxa halā' yuwē then Mā' xulayūgwa did not know that K!wā' kwaxsānō had obtained the death-bringer 144.39 (k·!ēs not; q!â' L Ela to know; lō L to obtain; halā' yu means of death) k·!ē's lat'a gä' la qā' saxs la'ē lā'g·aa he did not walk long when he arrived 27.2 (gä' la long; qā' sa to walk; lā'g·aa to arrive)

The same forms also occur without the subordinating suffix -x. In these cases the possessive element is suffixed to the postnominal demonstrative.

1st person			•	•	•	•	•	•	$-ar{e}g^{\cdot}\hat{\imath}n$
2d person		•						•	-aqōs
3d person									-as

 $k \cdot !\bar{e}' s a \bar{a}' q \bar{o} s \ g \cdot \bar{a} x n a x w a x a \cdot n \bar{a}' l a$ you do not come in the daytime $(k \cdot !\bar{e} s \text{ not}; g \cdot \bar{a} x \text{ to come}; -n a x w a \text{ from time to time } [\S 26, \text{ no. } 95]; \cdot n \bar{a}' l a \text{ day})$

 $l\bar{a}'a^e las\bar{e}^{e}l\bar{a}'qulay\bar{u}gwa~y\bar{a}'q!eg\cdot a^e la$ then, it is said, Crying-Woman spoke 261.43

§ 65. Conditional

The conditional is formed from the same stem qa as the causal. It takes the ending \bar{o} . In this case the first person takes the same form n_L which has been discussed in § 50.1. The principal verb may also take the suffix \bar{o} , and is often accompanied by the suffix -lax (§ 28, no. 105), which expresses uncertainty.

Following are the conditional forms:

1st person											$oldsymbol{qanl}ar{oldsymbol{o}}$
Inclusive											$qans\bar{o}$
Exclusive											
2d person									٠		$qa^{\epsilon}sar{o}$
3d person,	de	mo	nst	rat	ive	, 1:	st j	er	son		$qag \cdot \bar{o}$
3d person,	de	mo	nst	rat	ive	, 20	d p	ers	on		$qa^{m{\epsilon}}m{x}ar{o}$
3d person,	de	mo	nst	rat	ive	, 3	d p	ers	on		$qar{o}$

qa'sō hamx'ī'dxa hamg'ī'layuLa lōL if you eat the food that is given to you. 258.33 (hamx'ī'd to eat, hamg'ī'la to give food, -ayu passive [§ 36, no. 174], lōL to you)

 $qa^{\epsilon}s\bar{o}\ k^{\cdot}!\bar{e}'slax\ ha^{\epsilon}m\bar{a}'plax\bar{o}_{L}$ if you should not eat 262.11 $(k^{\cdot}!\bar{e}s$ not, -lax uncertainty, $ha^{\epsilon}m\bar{a}^{\epsilon}p$ to eat, -lax uncertainty, \bar{o}_{L} you [§ 50.5])

§ 66. Imperative and Exhortative

The imperative of inchoative verbs is generally formed with the suffix $g \cdot a$; that of continuative verbs, with -la.

 $d\bar{a}'salg'a$ dive! 461.23

The defective forms $q\bar{e}'la$ come! $h\bar{a}'g\cdot a$ go! belong here. We find also the double form $g\bar{e}'lag\cdot a$ come!

Often the imperative is introduced by a form derived from the interjection $w\ddot{e}$ go on! which takes the imperative ending $-g \cdot a$ or (in the future) $-g \cdot i \cdot a$. In other cases the $w\ddot{e}$ takes pronominal endings. In constructions with $w\ddot{e}'g \cdot a$, the intransitive verb takes the ending -x.

wë'g·a 'nā'xumālax go on, cover your face! 185.35
wë'g·il la gwā'lalaLEx keep ready! 242.28
wä'Entsōs qEn wulā'ōl let me ask you (= you [exhortative] that I ask you) 145.22

Sometimes $h\bar{a}'g\cdot a$ and $g\bar{e}'la$ are used in the same manner as $w\bar{e}'g\cdot a$.

hā'g·a xwā'nal*īdɛx go and get ready! 114.28

Exhortatives are formed with the suffix -x:

wë'x'îns wî'nax K. let us make war on K. 301.25 wë'g'ax'ī lâ'k!wēmasēs nâ'qa'yōs strengthen your mind 13.8 gwā'lax'ī hë'x'eidaem ō'q!usēs nâ'qa'yōsaq don't believe your own mind at once 269.3

Negative imperatives are always introduced by $qw\bar{a}'la$ DON'T! which is derived from qwa TO CEASE.

gwā'la 'nēk' don't say so! 144.35

It is quite likely that the forms in $-g \cdot a$ are related to the demonstrative endings, and that the imperative is less a modal form than an expression of the immediate nearness of action.

In many cases the imperative idea is expressed by the future, either alone or introduced by $w\ddot{e}'g\cdot a$ and $gw\bar{a}'la$. The transitive imperative seems to be expressed always by the future.

The ending $-n\bar{o}^{\epsilon}$ forms a peculiar emphatic imperative:

gwa^enō'^e don't! 462.18

yā'∟!ânō^ε take care!

Probably this suffix has the meaning entirely, altogether, and is used as an imperative only secondarily. At least, the forms $d\bar{\sigma}'qwan\bar{\sigma}^{\epsilon}$, $g\cdot\bar{a}'xn\bar{\sigma}^{\epsilon}$, were translated to me you see, come! implying that the opposite ideas of not seeing, not coming, are entirely excluded.

§ 67. Interrogative

When interrogative pronouns— ang^a —who, *ma-what, *wi-when, $g\cdot in$ -how many—are contained in interrogative sentences, the ordinary verbal forms are used. When these are not interrogative pronouns, the verb takes the suffix -a.

*mā'sas begwā'nem? what kind of a man are you? 147.24
*mā'sōs Ļä'g'ala*saqōs? what is standing behind you? 37.21
a'ngwax Las? what is on you (=is your name)? 67.31
*wī'den *wa'ts!ä? where is my dog? 44.24
*wīdzâ's g'ē'x*ādē? where do you come from? 123.26
gayî'nsela*mae'na? did I stay under water long? 34.19 (ga-long;
-ns under water [§ 21, no. 26]; -la [contin.]; -*m [connect.,
§ 27, no. 103]; -a [interrog.]; en I; -a [interrog.])
k·leâ'sas yā'nemaa? have you no game? 45.27 (k·leâ's none; -as
thou; yā'nem game; -a absent; a [interrog.])
p!ep!ā'sasa are you blind? 95.26

In interrogative sentences the voice sinks at the end of the sentence.

§ 68. Plural

When the sense requires clear expression of the pronominal plural, the suffix $-x \cdot da^{\epsilon}x^{\mu}$ is used, which is treated like other suffixes beginning with x, and loses this sound after consonants.

This suffix must not be considered a pronominal ending. It is attached to interjections as well as to verbs.

 $^{\epsilon}ya'x\cdot da^{\epsilon}x^{u}$ (address of several people) 219.17 $l\bar{a}'x\cdot ^{\epsilon}da^{\epsilon}x^{u\epsilon}la\bar{\epsilon}$ they went, it is said 266.27

§ 69. Adverbs

From what has been said before, is appears that there are very few adverbs only in Kwakiutl. A great number of adverbial ideas are expressed by suffixes, while others are verbs. To this class belong, for instance:

ēs, k·!ēs not â- really hal- quickly

The only independent adverbs that do not take verbal forms, so far as they are known to me, are $el\bar{a}'q$ ALMOST, and the numeral adverbs formed with the suffix -plen.

§ 70. VOCABULARY

Most of the Kwakiutl stems are monosyllabic, and consist either of a consonant, vowel, and consonant; or of a vowel preceded or followed by a consonant. Only a few stems consist of a short vowel followed by two consonants. Apparently there are some bisyllabic stems; for instance—

alē'x"- to hunt sea-mammals

m Ed E'lq- to boil

k: !ēlak- to strike

 $\bar{a}'l\ddot{a}$ to search $g\cdot\hat{u}l\ddot{o}'_{L^{-}}$ to steal

Owing to the great number of nominal suffixes, most nouns are derived from verbs, so that the number of primarily denominative stems is small. Examples of nominal stems derived from verbs or neutral stems have been given in § 36. A few others may be given here.

Lots tree (= standing on ground)

Lats'mt hat (= hanging facecover)

qō's pond (= water in it on ground)

xu'lgwis shark (= rough body)

mena'ts!ē drum (= striking receptacle)

*meku'la moon (= round thing being)

*wā'lasx:ê lynx (= big toothed)

Lā'wayu salmon weir (= means of standing)

Furthermore, many local suffixes form nouns by being attached to the nominal stem \bar{o} - something, and a few related stems. We find, for instance, $\bar{o}'b\hat{a}\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ chest, $\bar{o}'x^{\mu}s\bar{i}dz\bar{e}^{\epsilon}$ foot of mountain, $\bar{o}'n\bar{e}gw\bar{i}l$ corner. Before vowels, the stem \bar{o} - becomes $a^{\epsilon}w$ -; for instance, in $\bar{a}'^{\epsilon}w$ exs $d\bar{e}$ mouth of a vessel.

A number of nouns are found, however, which are neither descriptive nor immediately reducible to the series of local suffixes. Among parts of the body we find some that do not occur as suffixes.

E'ldz- flesh Elk^u - blood hap- hair of body s_E^sy - hair of head xaq bone $L!\bar{e}s$ - skin k-!il- tongue qEl- rib

 $y\bar{o}m$ - thumb $k\cdot !\bar{e}d$ - third finger selt!- fourth finger aen- eyebrows $xaw\bar{e}'q$ skull na^ex^u vulva $ts!e^ey$ - intestines

Other names of parts of the body occur in two forms—as independent words and as suffixes.

				Independent	Suffix
head				x ·ōms	- $m{x}m{L}\ddot{m{a}}$
mout	h			8Em8	-xsta
ear				$p!$ E $sp!$ E e y \hat{a}'	- $atar{o}$
eye	•			gahElō'xstâ•	-esto
face				gō'gumē	- g ≥m
nose				x î'ndzas	$-\bar{\imath}lba$
tooth				$g \cdot \hat{\imath}' g \cdot a$	- sx • \ddot{a}
belly				$t = k \cdot / ar{e}'$	-ē 8
hand				a⁵yasō′	- $oldsymbol{x}$ - $oldsymbol{t}$ s $ar{a}$ n a
foot				$g^{ullet}ar{o}'gw\hat{o}^{ullet}y\hat{a}$	- x * $ar{s}ar{\imath}s$

A few other nouns which appear among the suffixes also exist as independent nominal stems.

	Suffix			
fire .			. $l \mathbf{\textit{eq}}^{u}$ -	-sqwap
water			. wap-	-•sta
one side	в.		. ap-	-k•!ōt

The classification of verbs according to form of object is well developed. Since there are but few classificatory endings, and since their use is primarily restricted to numerals, we find many different stems used for this purpose.

A list of stems will be found in my book "Kwakiutl Texts" (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. III).

§ 70

TEXT

lā'xa³

at the

a'k·la4

above

straight-down

a'wi'nagwisa.

Omanis

world.

Tsle'lqwalölela?

Heat

Tsle'lqwalołela Le'wis sā'semē, G·ā'x•Em•laē• yîx 9 Sē'paxaēs 10 Came referred to children, Heat and his that Shining-down it is said LŌ^{€ 11} Yā'q lentemaeyaxa 12 ts!Edā'a LŌ° G'ē'xden LE^ewa 18 å'}ē 14 and First-Speaker the woman and G·ē'xden and the xunō'xºsē 15 Dā'doqwanagēsEla.16 K·lē's laē 17 g'ā'xē 18 gene'mas 19 child his Seeing-from-Corner-to-Corner. Not it is said came wife of yîx 9 L!ē'sElaga 20 hë'ënë'mas 21 qā'samasē ** Ts!E'lqwalōłEla. qa that Sun-Woman for that one being she go-making she Heat. Hë'elat!a 24 eneqā'xa 25 L!ē'sElagaxa 33 Llē'sEla. O'manis

however,

yîx Ts!E'lqwalolela LE'wis Sisem. He'x 'idaem'la'wis that Heat and his children. That began referred to it is said

That it is said,

G·ō'kulagaā

Lived it is said

Sun-Woman the

sun.

¹g · δk^{α} HOUSE; -ala with the special meaning inhabitant (§ 26, no. 91); -l it is said, with demonstrative - $\tilde{\epsilon}$; -laē (§ 32, no. 132).

^{*}ts!zlq=- HOT; -ala (§ 26, no. 91); -ölzla (§ 26, no. 93).

² ld TO GO; -za pronominal vocalic objective (§§ 49, 59); the whole word serves as the vocalic locative (§ 61).

^{4 &}amp;k-/- HIGH, ABOVE; -& 3d person demonstrative (§§ 48, 56, 57).

⁵⁻is BEACH (§ 22, no. 45). This word is derived from the stem 6- something, and the suffix -?nak* (no. 183 a). The terminal -a indicates that it is one of many countries (§ 59).

g dz to come; -sm connective (§ 27, no. 103); -laē (see note 1).

⁷ $L\bar{O}^2$ AND, with possessive 3d person, thing possessed belonging to subject (§§ 49, III b, 55).

^{*} så'sem CHILDREN [PLURAL] (singular runo'ku, stem runku-); -č dem. (§ 56).

Priz THAT, consonantic form preceding proper name (§ 59), objective form for apposition (§ 58).

[№] sēp- to shine, ray; -aza down (§ 21, no. 19), -ēs on beach (§ 22, no. 45).

¹¹ Los AND, consonantic before proper name (§ 59).

¹³ yd'q/snl- to talk; -qsm face (§ 23, no. 54); -& nominal suffix (§ 36, no. 161). This takes the form -a'ya before objective -z (§ 50.6); -za objective form introducing apposition, vocalic form before common noun.

¹² LETWG AND, vocalic form before common noun (§ 50.11).

^{14 &}amp;L- RECENT; -2 demonstrative (see note 4).

[&]quot;" runo'k", stem runk"—CHILD (see note 8); -s HIS, placed after the noun, since the subject of the sentence usince distributed is d'lè, while the possessor is Heat (see § 49, III, b); -è pronominal indefinite before proper nouns (§§ 49, 59).

¹⁶ do'qua to see; da'doq!wa to endeavor to see. The rest of the name is not quite clear.

¹⁷ k-/es NOT; -las (see 1). This is a verbal form.

¹⁸ g-dx TO COME; there is no -4m here, because this is a new idea that is introduced into the tale; -7 consonantic, pronominal (§§ 49, 59).

¹⁰ gene'm, stem gag- Wife; -nem (§ 36, no. 193 a); -s ind. possessive before proper name (§ 59).

[™] L/2s- HEAT; L/2'sEla SUN; -ga WOMAN (§ 36, no. 192).

²¹ go on account of; he that one; -ene abstract noun, quality of; -em (§ 27, no. 103); -e possessive third person.

⁼ qds- TO WALK; -amas TO CAUSE (§ 35, no. 158); -2 cons. demonstrative (§§ 49, 59).

^{≈ -}za definite object (§ 49).

²⁴ hē that; -4la it is said (§ 32, no. 132); -4/a however (§ 27, no. 101).

^{**} hē that; -r-fid inchoative (§ 26, no. 90); -em connective (§ 27, no. 103); after the inchoative this suffix requires always a connective -a-; -la (see note 1); -em-wis and so (§ 27, no. 104).

G·ēxden	lā.² went	qā's'		lā'xa³ to the	Wāk !ēgē Bent-Bay its i		Lā' ^e laē ³⁰ Then it is said
dō'x ^e walel he discovered		n Eqā'ts ten lo		wā'k!u: canoes	na ³³ mexē's hollow thin on beach	igs at it.	Lā'slaē so Then it is said
ew'unewig's	ינרי	laE'm ^e lä then referr it is said so he we	ed to and	lā'x 38 at	ā'La ^c yasa ³⁹ landward of the	-	vak!una. ⁴⁰ moes.
Lā'elaē ⁸⁰ (Then it is said	e'xdr Ge'xdr	ı jumpe	wultla'l d out of wo		l. ³⁵ Lā'€laē Then it is n. said		g a lēda 42 began the
⁶ nemō'kwē one person	48 beg	wā'nEm man:		^e mā'sōs Vhat your	45 ^E yā'lag'ili work movi beach he	ng on G	ē'xden i " Gē'xden ?"
enē'x soelaē	47 (}·ē':	xden.	Lā'elaē'	o nā'na.	cemaeya:48 "	iā'logwi	asd e €yîn⁴
was told it is said	G·ē'z	kd e n.	Then it is		eplied:	"l am tryin magical t	g to get a
lōL." 50	Lā'ela	ē 30	wuLē′ 51	G٠ē	xdenaxa 52	begwi	ī'nemē : 53
from you."	Then it		asked	G	e'xden the	U	man:
"What tribe are			('€]aē ³⁰ ien it is said		x ^e ma ^e ēda ⁵⁵ plied the	• • •	'nEmaq: 56 to him:

²⁷ ld WENT, signifies here a new action: THEN.

[#] qas- to WALK; -x-lid inchoative (§ 26, no. 90).

> wa'k'.'- Bent; -èg- side (§ 22, no. 51); -ès on beach (§ 22, no. 45); -x la on (=named) (§ 21, no. 32 b).

[™] lā (see note 27); -laē (see note 1).

²¹ doque to see; -a Lela to Accomplish (§ 26, no. 96); -ra vocalic pronominal object (see note 23).

^{*} Stem rwak*.

²⁴ met- hollow things are somewhere [plural to han-]; -7s on beach (§ 22, no. 45).

²⁵ Locative (see note 3); -q object 3d person (§ 49).

²⁶ *wun- to HIDE; w for $-\bar{o}$ OFF (§ 21, no. 37). $-\bar{e}g$ \bar{e} BARK (§ 23, no. 69); the reason for the introduction of w before $-\bar{e}g$ \bar{e} is not clear; -q object 3d person (§ 49).

[&]quot; id (see note 27); -zm-wis AND so (§ 27, no. 104); -ia (see note 1). Here id is used as the verb to Go.

[#] lax consonantic form of locative (see note 3) before a form with genitive ending (§ 59).

^{## &}amp;L- LANDWARD; -& nominal ending (§ 38, no. 161); -sa vocalic genitive (§ 49).

⁴⁰ Reduplication for plural (§ 41).

⁴¹ dex=- to jump; -5lt/g out of woods (§ 21, no. 37, c); -lis on beach (§ 22, no. 45; § 37, no. 197).

[&]quot; ydq!Ent- TO TALK; -g'a'l TO BEGIN TO MAKE NOISE (§ 34, no. 145); this combination seems irregular; ¿da vocalic subjective (§ 49).

^{43 *}nEm ONE; -ōk# PERSON; -₹ demonstrative.

[&]quot;Stem beku- MAN; -anem (§ 36, no. 193, b); -a (see note 5).

^{45 &}amp; mas WHAT; -08 THY (pronominal possessive).

⁴⁶ fya- to be occupied [cf. syā'syats!ē canoe (= receptacle) for occupation]; syā'sa to be in a state of occupation; -g-ilis moving on beach (§ 22, no. 45; § 37, no. 197); -ēx postnominal demonstrative 2d person (§ 48, II).

^{47 °}něk· To SAY; -ső passive (§ 35, no. 159); -lač (see note 1).

⁴⁶ Stem perhaps nag- TO IMITATE.

⁴⁹ Lõgu- Something magical, Precious; Lá' Lõk lug to Endeavor to get something Precious (§ 46); the softening suffix -sdey is not known from any other combination; -en I, subject.

⁵⁰ Locative, 2d person object (§ 48, I; § 61).

⁶¹ wuL- TO QUESTION; -ĕ pronominal before proper name.

^{52 -}aza, the first -a connects the subject with the prenominal object -za (§ 50.4).

Stem bek - MAN (see note 44); - demonstrative.

Mema-WHAT; -enoxu here, TRIBE (§ 36, no. 162); -as 2d person.

⁵⁶ See note 48; -čda definite pronominal (§ 49).

se See note 44; -aq pronominal object, 3d person (§ 50.4).

"Māx'enoxunuex". 57 Hō'xewīdōx 88 alē'wats! axsenuex 9 grīgamae 2."00 "We are killer-whales. It split this this hunting cance of our Lā''laē 30 wulā'sa' wē 61 G·ē'xden lāx 38 tle'm'yâsēxēs 62 xwā'klunāxs 63 Then it is was asked G·é'xden his material for his canoe when it about said sewing hō'x'wīdaē. Lā'claē 30 "Hā'g'a 67 nē'łasa 65 dewē'x.66 axee'dex 68 was broken. Then it is he told of cedar-" Go the said withes. dewē'xa," 69 fnē'x soflae 70 G fe'xden. Lā'elaē 30 qā's cīda. 71 K·lē's clat!a 72 cedar-withes." was told it is G·ē'xdæn. Then it is he started. Not it is said. maid said however, gä'laxs 73 g'ā'xaē 74 dā'laxa 75 dewe'x 76 ga€s⁷⁷ ts!Ewē'es78 cedarlong when he came carried the that he gave (with) withes Lā''laēda 79 begwā'nem aa'lts!ālaxa 80 dewë'x.66 begwā'nem. tried to break to pieces the man. Then it is said man cedarthe withes. tE'lqwa?"83 " mā'sē 81 xa'nlelagʻilā'sîk ·82 Lā′⁵laēda ⁷⁹ begwā'nem Then it is said the " What is the reason of this weak?" ⁶yā'laqasa⁸⁴ ⁶nemō'kwē⁴⁸ begwā'nem qa²¹ lē's ax⁶ē'dex ⁶⁸ se'lbēsa.85 sent (with) the one person man that he go take the twisted-onbeach. 67 max- to fursue secretly; -ēnor" nomen actoris (§ 36, no. 162); ma'r'ēnor" killer-whale; -enutr" exclusive. ➡ hōx=- To SPLIT; -z-4d inchoative; -ōz prenominal consonantic demonstrative 2d person. ** alžį*- to hunt sea-mammals; -ate/č receptacle (§ 36, no. 184); alč'wate/č hunting-canoe; -z postnominal demonstrative 2d person; -*** prenominal possessive exclusive. ■ g-i CHIEF; g-igamë CHIEF, perhaps chief among others (§ 21, no. 7a); -ex postnominal demonstrative 2d person. " wul- to QUESTION; -so" passive (§ 35, no. 159); -sE"we prenominal indefinite. [®] t/2m- to sew wood with cedae-withes; t/2'm'yü (for t/2'mayü sewing-instrument [§ 4]; -0 his; -ē (§ 50.12); -zēs prenominal possessive 3d person. ⁶⁰ See note 33; -zs (§ 64). 4 See note 58; -aē (§ 64). ≈ n&- TO TELL; -sc (instrumental, § 60) ABOUT. ■ drwe'z Cedar-Withes, Cedar-Twigs. # ha occurs only in imperative forms; -g-a imperative ending (§ 66). ■ az- To Do, To TAKE; -z-fid incheative (§ 26, no. 90); -z prenominal consonantic object. ∞ -a invisible and indefinite (§ 59.2).

^{70 *}něk TO SAY; -ső* passive (§ 35, no. 159); -lač (see note 1).

n que- to walk; -r-ad inchoative (§ 26, no. 90); -a terminal (§ 57).

⁷² See 17; -t/a, HOWEVER (§ 27, no. 101).

⁷⁸ gë- LONG; gë la from gë and -dla (§ 26, no. 92); -xs (§ 64).

⁷⁴ See note 64.

[&]quot; da to take; -la (§ 26, no. 91); -za prenominal vocalic object.

[™] See note 59; here without indefinite -a, because he carries the material, so that it is now definite.

[&]quot; § 63, subject of the subordinate clause agrees with the principal clause, therefore -s after the qa.

[&]quot; to/5" TO GIVE; -? after ea; -e instrumental.

⁷⁹ See note 30; -ēda vocalic pronominal subject.

^{**} aL- to break, to crack; -x-'s across; -a to endeavor with reduplication and hardened consonant (see p. 498); -xa vocalic prenominal object.

^{81 °}ma WHAT; -s possessive; -ē demonstrative.

^{**} za'nL VERY; -la (§ 26, no. 91); -g-U REASON (§ 36, no. 176); -a interrogative; -s possessive; -k- postnominal demonstrative 1st person.

[#] tziqu- WEAK.

M'gd'lag- TO SEND, always with instrumentalis.

^{**} selp- to twist; -es on beach (§ 22, no. 45).

118 See note 13.

119 -sxä tooth (see p. 478, no. 62). 120 xul- to cut blubber; -ayu instrument.

121 sEku- TO CARVE; -sr & TOOTH; -L future; -os THY, postnomina .

```
K·lēs latla 23 gā laxs 23 g·ā xaē 24
Lā''laēda 70 begwā'nem dze'lx'wīda. 86
                                                           Not it is said.
  Then it is
                                   began to run.
                                                                           long when
   said the
                                                             however.
dā'laxa 75
              se'lbēs.85
                               Lā'elaēda begwā'nem tle'mx eīdxa 87 xwā'kluna. 32
carried the
              twisted-on-
                                 Then it is
                                                   man
                                                              began to sew the
                beach.
                                  said the
                                      gwelē'k ·ē 89
Lā′€laē ³º
               dzî'x semtsa 88
                                                         lā'xēs 90
                                                                      t!Ema'€ē.91
                                                                                         Lae'm 站
Then it is
                he rubbed on its
                                          gum
                                                          on his
                                                                        sewing.
                                                                                           Then
                 face with the
gwā'la.93
             Lā'elaē 30 g'ī'gamaeyasa 4 mā'xeēnoxu, 57 yîx 6 Hë'līelālag'ilîs. 85
                                                                               Moving-all-over-
the World.
             Then it is
                             the chief of the
                                                  killer-whales.
                                                                      that
 it was
 finished.
                said
                                                                                     "Laemõx 99
                                                          maa'mx<sup>e</sup>ēnox<sup>u</sup>: 98
hë'Em 96
              Ļē'gemsa <sup>97</sup>
                                 gʻī'gamatyasa 44
                the name
                                     chief of the
                                                              killer-whales:
                                                                                       "It here
that was
                  of the
lā'LEn 100 xuē elbalax 101 mā'stō 103 lā'xōx 103 G·ē'xden qa 104 sek f'lasōxa 105
                                 harpoon
                                               to this
                                                             G'e'xdan that
will go
                 quartz-
                                                                                  he spear with
                 pointed
                                                                                     this the
 m١
                   hë'emis 107 Ļē'ĻEgems 108 Me'nlōseelas, 100 Ļōe 11 Me'nmen-
gwô<sup>¢</sup>vî'm: 106
                    that (and
                                    the names of
                                                        Place-of-getting-
                                                                              and
                                                                                         Feeling-
    whale:
                                                            Satiated,
                     so it is)
lēqalas, 110
                LE wis 7
                              g · ō' x u La ōs 111
                                                   mā'xexsēg îlatēs 112
                                                                                  g'ō'X"Laōs.111
                                                     killer-whale on front
Satiated.
                and (your)
                               house (your)
                                                                                    house your.
                                                         will be (your)
             mā'xfēnoxuLēs114 lō'qulīlLaōs;115
                                                                                             Lō<sup>€ 11</sup>
Lā'Lē 118
                                                                             halā'yu 116
                                                              hë′€mis 107
 Then ·
                                                                               killing
              killer-whale will be
                                         future dish in
                                                               that and
                                                                                              and
will be
                    your
                                          house your;
                                                                             instrument
                                                    xudā'yu 120
q!ulā'esta 117
                   LE<sup>e</sup>wa 118
                                  xuē'elx'ē 119
                                                                              SEX"X'ä'LŌS." 131
                                                                      qaes
 life water
                                                       knife
                                                                                butcher-knife."
                   and the
                                    quartz-
                                                                      for
                                    toot hed
                                                                      vour
  86 dz Elzu- TO RUN; -x-41d inchoative (§ 26, no. 90).
  #7 t/Em- TO SEW BOARDS; -x4id inchoative (§ 26, no. 90).
  ** dzik*- TO RUB; -gEmd FACE (§ 23, no. 54; also § 24, no. 85; § 20, no. 2); -sa prenominal intransitive
  89 gwæ⁴lê'k∙ GUM.
  90 See note 3; -zēs objective possessive 3d person; owner and subject same person.
  91 t!Em- to sew boards; -& (§ 36, no. 161); -₹ demonstrative.
  92 la, see note 30; -km (§ 27, no. 103).
  26, no. 92).
  " g-i'gam& CHIEF (see note 60); -sa possessive prenominal vocalic.
  № hël- right; -i•lāla about (§ 21, no. 5); -7s on beach (§ 22, no. 45); -g-ilis in world (§ 38, no. 197).
  96 hë THAT (see note 24); -Em (§ 27, no. 103).
  97 Leg-NAME; -Em nominal suffix (§ 36, no. 193); -sa definite possessive (§§ 49, 59).
  ≈ Reduplicated plural (§ 42.5).
  Prenominal 2d person visible.
 100 L- future; -En I.
 101 xu&l quartz; -ba point (§ 21, no. 31); -la nominal; -x postnominal, 2d person, visible.
 102 Periphrastic, 2d person visible, consonantic (§§ 48, 59).
 104 The subject changes, hence the -s follows the verb.
 105 sek- to spear; -la continuative; -sōx with this, 2d person, visible (§§ 48, 59); -ra object.
 106 Stem gwčk:-.
 107 -4m -wis (§ 28, no. 104).
 108 Leg- NAME; -Em nominal suffix; reduplicated plural.
 100 menl- SATIATED; -Osela (?); -as PLACE OF ---
 110 meni- satiated; -èquia to feel like— (§ 23, no. 81).
 111 g-ōku House; -L future; -aōs thy, invisible 2d person possessive (§ 48).
 112-xzēga front of house (§ 23, no. 52); -L future; -ēz 2d person, prenominal possessive (§ 48).
 113-L future; -& demonstrative.
 114 -L future; -Es 2d person, prenominal possessive.
 116 lõ'qul- DISH; -îl IN HOUSE; -aŭs (see note 111).
 116 hal- to Kill (Hë'ldza'qu dialect); -ayu instrument.
 111 q/ula LIFE; -sta WATER (§ 22, no. 39).
```

Lā′€laē 30 LEX^eē'dēda 133 G·ā'xélaē6 maa'mx'enoxu.98 G'ē'xden, Then it is started the killer-whale. He came it is said G·ē'xden, nä′fnak^{u 123} lā'xēs 90 g'ōku.1 Lae'm 92 sek'a'xa 124 gwôevî'm 108 LEewa 118 going home house. Then he speared whole whale and the q!ā'sa; 125 lā'g ·īltsē 126 g ·ī'gamēx ·fīda. 127 that was his chief he became. sea-otter;

132 LET- TO START BY CANOE; -x-4Id TO BEGIN.

reason

[Translation.]

Heat lived in the upper world. Heat came with his children.— Shining-Down and First-Speaker, a woman, and G'ē'xden, and his youngest child, Seen-from-Corner-to-Corner. The wife of Heat, Sun-Woman, did not come, for she is the one who makes the sun go. Heat and his children came straight down to O'manis. G'ē'xden went to Bent Bay. There he discovered ten canoes on the beach. He hid behind them landward from the canoes. G'ē'xden jumped out of the woods. Then one person spoke. "What are you doing on the beach, G'ē'xden?" Thus G'ē'xden was told. Then he replied, "I am trying to get a magical treasure from you." Then G'ē'xden asked the man, "To what tribe do you belong?" The man answered him, "We are Killer-Whales. The hunting-canoe of our chief is split." Then G'ē'xden was asked what he used to sew his canoe with when it was broken. "Go and get cedar-withes!" G'ē'xden mentioned cedar-withes. was told. He started, and it was not long before he came, carrying cedar-withes, which he gave to the man. Then the man tore to pieces the cedar-withes. "Why are they so weak?" Then the man sent a person to go and get "twisted on beach." The man ran away; and it was not long before he came, carrying "twisted on beach." Then the man sewed the canoe. He rubbed the outside of his sewing with gum. Then it was finished. Then the chief of the Killer-Whales, Moving-All-Over-the-World,—that was the name of the chief of the Killer-Whales, -(said), "This, my quartz-pointed harpoon, will go to G·ē'xden; and the names Place-of-getting-Satiated and Feeling-Satiated, and your house with a killer-whale (painting) on the front, will be your house; and your dish will be a killer-whale dish; and the death-bringer and the water of life and the quartz-edged knife, which is to be your butcher-knife (shall be yours)." Then the Killer-Whale started. G'ē'xden came and returned to his house. Then he speared whales and sea-otters. Therefore he became a chief.

¹²² na"naku is here independent of G-e'rdEn and begins a new clause.

¹²⁴ sek - TO HARPOON; -za prenominal object.

¹²⁵ q/ds- SEA-OTTER.

¹²⁶ la to go; -g-12 reason; -sē (after i it becomes -tsē) of his.

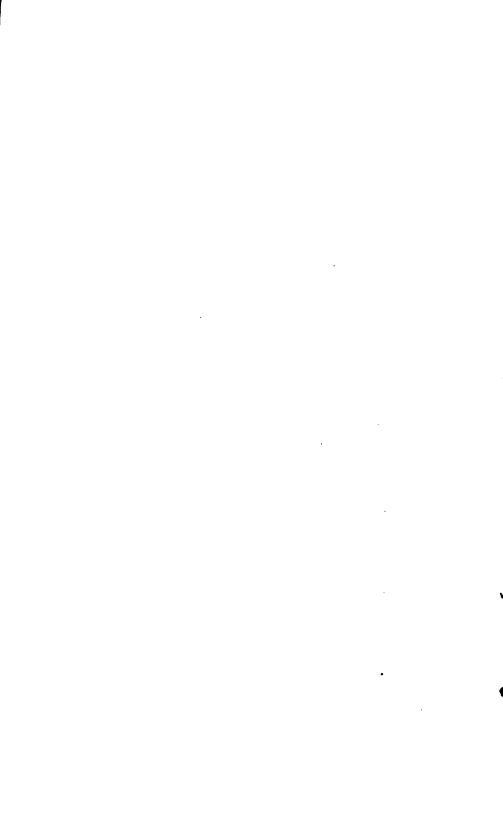
¹²⁷ g-l'game chief; -x-id to become.



CHINOOK

BY

FRANZ BOAS



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CHINOOK

By Franz Boas

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

The Chinookan stock embraces a number of closely related dialects which were spoken along both banks of Columbia river from the Cascades to the sea, and some distance up the Willamette valley. The Chinook were neighbors of tribes belonging to many linguistic stocks. In Shoalwater bay and on the lower course of Columbia river, along its northern bank as far as the Cascade range, they came into contact with tribes of the coast division of the Salishan family. On the upper course of Willapa river they were contiguous to a small Athapascan tribe; farther to the east they were surrounded by Sahaptin tribes; in the Willamette valley they bordered on the Molala and Kalapuya. On the southern bank of Columbia river, opposite Cowlitz river, lived another Athapascan tribe whose neighbors they were; while south of the mouth of Columbia river they bordered on the Tillamuk, an isolated branch of the Coast Salish.

The language was spoken in two principal dialects, Upper Chinook and Lower Chinook. The former was spoken on the upper course of Columbia river, as far west as Gray's Harbor on the north bank and a little above Astoria on the south bank of the river. It was subdivided into a number of slightly different dialects. The principal representatives are Kathlamet and Clackamas which were spoken on the lower course of the Columbia river and in the Willamette valley, and Wasco and Wishram which were spoken in the region of The Dalles. The Lower Chinook includes the Clatsop dialect on the south bank of the river (from Astoria downward) and the Chinook proper of the north bank from Grays harbor down, and on Shoalwater bay. The last-named dialect is discussed here.

The name Chinook (Ts!inu'k) is the one by which the tribe was known to their northern neighbors, the Chehalis.

The grammar of the Chinook language has been discussed by Horatio Hale, Friederich Müller, Franz Boas, John R. Swanton, and Edward Sapir.

Unless otherwise stated, references in the following sketch refer to page and line in Franz Boas, Chinook Texts.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-13)

§ 2. Vowels

The phonetic system of Chinook is characterized by a superabundance of consonants and consonant-clusters combined with great variability of vowels. Since practically all our information on the Lower Chinook has been derived from one single individual, the last survivor capable of giving intelligent information, there remain many uncertainties in regard to the system of sounds. My informant was in the habit of changing the position of the lips very slightly only. There was, particularly, no strong forward movement of the lips in the vowel u and the semivowel w. This tendency has been observed in many Indian languages and was probably characteristic of all Chinook speakers. For this reason the u and o sounds are very slightly differentiated. Obscure vowels are frequent and seem to be related to all long and short vowels.

The system of vowels and semivowels may be written as follows:

	-3									•
Diph- thong	Semi- vo we l				Vowels				Semi- vowel	Diph- thong
					E					
	$oldsymbol{w}$	$oldsymbol{v}$	0	ô	A	ê	(E)	î	\boldsymbol{y}	
au		\boldsymbol{u}	0	(ô)	\boldsymbol{a}	ê	(e)	$oldsymbol{i}$	_	ai
		$ar{u}$	ō	â	$ar{a}$	ä	ē	$(\bar{\imath})$		

While the o and u sounds are indistinct, owing to the similarity of lip-positions, the e and i sounds seemingly alternate in accordance with the character of the adjoining sounds. They assume a decided i tinge by contact with a following a, or when following an anterior palatal. There is no strong retraction of the lips, but a considerable

¹ Wilkes Expedition, Ethnography and Philology, 562–564. See also *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*, π, xxiii-clxxxviii; Hale's Indians of Northwest America and Vocabularies of North America; with an Introduction by Albert Gallatin.

² Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, π, 254-256. Vienna, 1882.

³ Notes on the Chinook Language, American Anthropologist, 55-63, 1893; Chinook Texts, Bulletin 20 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1894; Kathlamet Texts, Bulletin 26 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1901; The Vocabulary of the Chinook Language, American Anthropologist, n. s., vi, 118-147, 1904.

⁴ Morphology of the Chinook Verb, American Anthropologist, n. s., II, 199-237, 1900.

Preliminary Report on the Language and Mythology of the Upper Chinook, American Anthropologist, n. s., IX, 533-544; Wishram Texts, Publications of the American Ethnological Society, II, 1909.

linguo-palatal constriction. In the short vowel the i character is rather accentuated. In the long vowel the e character predominates, unless contact and contrast phenomena emphasize the i character. δ seems to occur only with k sounds and is probably due to an assimilation of short a. \hat{a} is rare and seems to occur only in onomatopoetic words. \hat{e} and \ddot{a} are also of peculiar character. \ddot{a} seems to be always either a rhetorical broadening of \bar{e} (as in $\ddot{a}'ka$ for $\bar{e}'ka$), or an onomatopoetic element which is frequent as terminal sound in interjections. The a series is related to the o and u series in so far as a may be transformed into o or u, while e and i can never be thus transformed. We will designate the o and u sounds as u-series and the e and i sounds as i-series. The only diphthongs that occur are au and ai. Doubled vowels, unless separated by a consonantic glottal stop, do not seem to occur. Short i and u when preceding vowels have always consonantic values.

§ 3. Consonants

The consonants consist of labials, dentals, and a very full series of palatals. There are also a number of l sounds. I did not succeed, however, in distinguishing these satisfactorily. There is also much confusion regarding surds and sonants, not only because the sonant has greater stress than our sonant, but also on account of the occurrence of a labial sound with semiclosure of the nose and weak lipclosure, which is therefore intermediate between b, m, and m, with prevalent m character. Between vowels the sound approaches a m. The occurrence of m is also doubtful. Each stop occurs as fortis and surd.

The series of consonants may be represented as follows:

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Semi- nasal	Nasal	Lateral	Semi- vowels
Glottal		_	-	-	_	_	· -	
Velar	(g?)	q	q!	$oldsymbol{x}$	_	_	_	
Palatal .		$ar{m{k}}$	q! k!	x	_	_	_	
Anterior palatal	(g· ?)	k·	ķ:!	x·	-	_	_	
Alveolar .			t!	8, C	_	\boldsymbol{n}	(l)	(y)
Dento - alve- olar affrica- tive	_	ts, tc	ts!, tc!	_	-	-	-	•
Labial	. –	p	p!	_	m	m	_	(w)
Lateral .	. <i>Ļ</i>	L	L!	ł, l	_	-	_	

The alveolar s, c, and the affricative ts, tc, are pronounced with open teeth. The two m's are not distinguished, since the former occurs only before vowels. It is doubtful if they represent two really distinct sounds.

The glottal stop and the velar surd are closely related, the former often taking the place of the latter. An omission of a q after a stop transforms the latter into a fortis. I have placed l and n in the same line, on account of their frequent alternation. Since the glottal stop, velars, palatals, and anterior palatals have certain peculiarities in common, we will designate them as k sounds. The consonants of the anterior palatal series have a decided affricative character, which is least prominent in the fortis. The medial palatal k and the velar q appear also as affricatives. In these cases the continued sound appears so long, that I have written them as kx and qx.

The language admits of extensive consonantic clusters, and I have not been able to discover any sequence of consonants that is inadmissible except that clusters consisting of a stop followed by m and n seem to be avoided.

§ 4. Phonetic Laws

Nevertheless we find complex phonetic laws. These may be classed in nine groups:

- (1) Effects of accent.
- (2) Laws of vocalic harmony.
- (3) Laws of consonantic assimilation.
- (4) Vocalization of consonants.
- (5) Vowel changes.
- (6) Metathesis.
- (7) Dieresis.
- (8) Contraction.
- (9) Weakening and strengthening of consonants.

Only the first two of these laws are purely phonetic, while the others are restricted to certain grammatical forms. Groups 2-5 are changes due to contact phenomena.

Effects of Accent (§§ 5, 6)

The accent affects the character of the vowel upon which it falls and modifies consonants in so far as certain consonants or consonantic clusters are not tolerated when they precede the accent. On the whole, these changes are confined to the Lower Chinook, but they occur also in part in the western dialects of the Upper Chinook.

§ 5. Vocalic Changes

1. Vocalic changes consist in the introduction of an ε in an accented consonantic cluster which consists of a combination of stems. The ε is inserted after the accented consonantic stem. The same change occurs in Kathlamet, while it is absent in Wishram.

a-tce'-L-a-x he made it (a- aorist; tc- he; L- it; -a directive; -x to do)

a-gz'-L-a-x she made it (a- aorist; g- she; L- it; -a directive; -x to do)

 $t_{E'}$ - $k_{E}m\hat{o}n$ ashes (t-plural gender)

2a. Accented short u, when followed by m, n, or l which are followed by vowels, becomes $u\bar{a}'$.

iā'gunat his salmon tq!ulipxunā'yu youths iguā'nat salmon iq!uā'lipx youth

2b. Accented x and short a, when followed by m, n, or l which are followed by vowels, become \bar{a} . The short vowels i and u, when followed by vowels, have consonantic values and affect preceding x and a in the same manner.

icā'yim grizzly-bear zā'penic giving herself in payment to shaman aqtā'witz he gives them to them 249.13 icāyā'mukc grizzly-bears
pā'nic to give in payment to
shaman

Accented i followed by an a or u vowel becomes $\bar{a}y$.

 $atci\bar{a}'x$ he is accustomed to make him

atcā'yax he makes him

mlopiā' la you will gather it

agiupā'yaıx she gathered him

Here belong also the terminal changes of \bar{e} in plural forms:

ī'ck!alē clam basket *ōcuē'ē* frog Lck!ala'yuks clam baskets tcueti'yuks frogs

Compare with this the following cases, where n and l belong to consonantic clusters:

 $n\bar{e}xe'l^{\epsilon}\bar{o}k\bar{o}$ he awoke me'nx'i a little while

In one case E accented changes to \bar{a} before x:

 $Ll\bar{a}'l\kappa x$ bird

tlalā'xukc birds

All these changes given under 2 are confined to Lower Chinook. They do not occur in Kathlamet and Wishram.

§ 6. Consonantic Changes

Consonantic changes due to accent are as follows:

(1) A k following the accented syllable tends to become the affricative \widehat{kx} .

 $k\bar{\underline{a}}'ts\underline{\epsilon}k$ middle $ig\bar{e}'lxtcutk$ flint

ō'kxōtsēk middle daughter oyā'kxilxtcutk his flint arrowpoint

(2) When the vowel following the cluster lx is accented, the x is dropped.

ē'lṣam town atciō'lṣam he said to him ukō'lṣul mouse ilē'ē country tciolā'ma he will say to him ukolō'luks mice

(3) In words in which a q follows the accented syllable it changes to when the accent shifts to a syllable following the q. When the q follows the surds p and t, these are changed to the corresponding fortes:

Lā'qauwîlqt its blood ē'qēL creek uyā'qaleptckix his fire Lā'qana its beavers L'ā'wîlqt blood t!ā' Lema creeks ō'ō'leptckix: fire ē'ē'na beaver

This change takes place also when the accent remains on the syllable preceding the q, when the vowel following the q is short.

 $\bar{o}'q\bar{o}_L$ fish-weir

 $\bar{o}y\bar{a}'^{\epsilon}a\iota$ his fish-weir

These changes mark a phonetic differentiation of Upper and Lower Chinook. In Upper Chinook the q is preserved almost throughout; while in Lower Chinook it tends to be replaced by the glottal stop $^{\epsilon}$, —when following p and t by the corresponding fortis,—whenever the accents stand after q, or when it is followed by a short syllable, or when it is terminal.

Kathlamet Chinook his mother **w**ā'yaq ō′ya€ Liā' paga Liā'pa⁵a his nape $is\bar{a}'m_{E}l^{\varepsilon}$ isem E'lqnose-ornament $\bar{e}^{\epsilon}\bar{e}'$ paqte ēqē' paqte beam tiā'qoit tiā⁵wit his legs tqu' Lē $t!\bar{o}_L$ house

The process of modification is, however, incomplete, since we find a number of Chinook words that retain the q.

ēqtq head ē'czlqczlq porcupine ai'aq quick Ltcuq water Here may also be mentioned the loss of terminal x and x, which is characteristic of Upper Chinook, in many Lower Chinook forms.

Kathlamet	Chinook	
$imar{o}'l_{\it E}kumax$	$imar{o}'l$ z $kumm{a}$	elks
tqā' LEmax	$t!ar{a}'$ LE ma	creeks
mā'ınix·	$mar{a}'{\scriptscriptstyle L}nar{e}$	seaward

Other characteristic changes are from Upper Chinook t to Lower Chinook s, as in—

Kathlamet tqā'totinikc anixenemō'txēm	Chinook tqā'sosinikc anix: En Em ō'sx: Em	boys I fooled him
Cital Bit Entre tacin	William Bilding on Bill	I looled lill

and from Upper Chinook s to Lower Chinook tct.

Katniamet	Chinook	
ē'mas	$ar{e}'matct$	${f shame}$
anō'suwulxt	anō'tctuwulxt	I went up on the water

§ 7. Laws of Vocalic Harmony

When a u vowel precedes a k sound, and the k sound is either followed by a vowel or is a prefix, it must be followed by a vowel of the u-series. The following special cases may be distinguished:

(1) An obscure vowel following the k sound is transformed into short u.

ō'pr!ike bow	ōgu'pı!ikē my bow (with prefix
	$-g_{E}$ - my [§ 18])

(2) a following a k sound is transformed into o or u.

ik!ā'ckc boy	<i>ōk!ō′ckc</i> girl
ikanī'm canoe	$\bar{o}kun\bar{\imath}'m$ canoes

(3) An e sound following a k sound requires a u before the e sound.

argē'pxatē alder country	$oguar{e}'pxatar{e}'$ alder-bark tree
<i>∟°ā'gil</i> a woman	$ar{o}^{\epsilon}ar{o}'guil$ the woman

(4) If the k sound is a prefix, it is considered as a phonetic unit and an o is inserted following the k sound, even if it is followed by a consonant.

```
n\bar{a}'x \iota xa she begins to burn n\bar{o}'x\bar{o}\iota xa they begin to burn \bar{e}'ktcxam he sang \bar{o}'k\bar{o}tcxam they sang
```

The following examples show that the rule does not hold good in consonantic clusters that form a stem.

```
atcō'ktcktamit he roasts her ōqct louse (stem -ktckt)
```

§ 8. Consonantic Assimilation

It is doubtful whether there is a single case of consonantic assimilation that is purely phonetic, not dependent on the grammatical value of the consonants involved. For instance, the assimilation of l by preceding and following n, observed in $n\bar{o}'p\bar{o}n\varepsilon m$ it gets dark (from $\bar{o}'p\bar{o}l$ night), finds no strict analogies in other similar sound groups. An assimilation of l by preceding n is found whenever the l is a frequentative suffix (§ 31).

aksō'pena he jumps

aksō'penan he jumps about (instead of aksō'penal)

What is apparently an assimilation of l by preceding n is also found in cases of insertion which occur with the suffix -L (see § 31.8).

§ 9. Vocalization of Consonants

1 l and n show a peculiar behavior when occurring in the prefixes -gel-, -xel-, and $-^eel$; or the corresponding -gen- and -xen (§ 25). Whenever these prefixes are preceded by o, the l and n become \bar{e} , so that the prefixes assume the forms $-(o)go\bar{e}$ -, $-(o)^ew\bar{e}$.

 $agig \, \epsilon' lx \bar{e}m$ she called him $ax \, \epsilon n \, \bar{o}' t \bar{e}n$ he helped sing

nōgoēxē'ma I shall call them nōxoēxō'tēn they helped sing

In other cases the combinations kul and $k\bar{o}l$ are admissible, as in $\bar{o}k\bar{o}'lxul$ mouse $\bar{o}kul\bar{a}'m$ surf

2. The intransitive t of the third person plural (§ 21) becomes o before all k sounds, and also before adverbial l and n (§ 25).

§ 10. Vowel Changes

The verbal prefix $-\bar{o}$ - (§ 26), when accented and preceding a k sound or a w, becomes a.

aniö'cgam I took him

aniā'wa I killed him

This change does not take place in Upper Chinook.

igiō'waq (Kathlamet), agiā'wa^e (Chinook) she killed him

Unaccented o does not change in this position.

 $\bar{a}'noxtk$ I steal her

 $ayow\bar{a}'x$ it he is pursued 261.1

§ 11. Metathesis

Metathesis seems to be confined to cases in which two suffixes are thoroughly amalgamated; for instance, -ako and -L combined form $-aluk_L$ (§ 30).

§§ 8–11

§ 12. Dieresis and Contraction

1. Dieresis is confined to the formation of a few verbal plurals, in which the vowel is expanded by insertion of the syllable -yu. Presumably the expansion is related to the dieresis of accented i (see § 5). It seems, however, quite possible that this is really a suffix -yu indicating the distributive. (See § 38.6.)

Singular Plural $-x^e \bar{o}t$ $-x^e \bar{o}yut$ to bathe -xelatck $-xel\bar{a}yutck$ to rise

2. A short a, when preceding or following \bar{a} and \bar{u} , is contracted with these vowels, which remain unchanged. In the same way i is contracted with a following \bar{i} or \bar{e} .

ōc she is (instead of a-ōc)
atciungō'mit he causes him to
run (instead of atciungō'-amit)

ē'lṣam country (instead of i-ē'lṣam)

§ 13. Weakening and Strengthening of Consonants

A modification of significance is brought about by a modification of consonants.¹ This phenomenon was discovered by Dr. Edward Sapir in Upper Chinook, but it occurred undoubtedly also in Lower Chinook. The relation of consonants in Upper Chinook is as follows:

b, p hardened become p!
d, t hardened become t!
g, k hardened become k!
g, q hardened become k!

p, p! softened become b
t, t! softened become d
k, k! softened become g
q, q! softened become g

Similar relations are found between the sibilants:

tc! hardened becomes ts!
tc hardened becomes ts
c hardened becomes s, ts
ts hardened becomes ts!

s softened becomes c
ts softened becomes tc
ts! softened becomes tc!

The hardened x becomes x. (Cf. § 53.)

§ 14. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

According to their grammatical forms, Chinook words may be grouped in two large classes—syntactic words and particles. While the former, except in exclamations, always contain pronominal and other elements that define their function in the sentence, the latter occur as independent and isolated words. The elements of the syn-

tactic words are often phonetically weak, and consist sometimes of single consonants, of consonantic clusters, of single vowels, or of weak monosyllables. In combination these may form polysyllabic words. The particles are necessarily of such phonetic character that they can stand by themselves. For these reasons, both classes of words appear as fixed phonetic and formal units, so that in Chinook there can be no doubt as to the limits of words.

The grammatical processes applied with these two classes of words differ. Some of the particles may be duplicated, while duplication and reduplication never occur in syntactic words. Particles when transformed into syntactic words may, however, retain their duplications. Syntactic words are modified by means of prefixes and suffixes and by modification of the stem, which, however, is probably always of phonetic origin. Prefixes are much more numerous than suffixes, but are phonetically weaker, rarely consisting of more than a single sound. They appear in considerable numbers in single words. Six prefixes in one word are not by any means unusual. The number of suffixes that may appear in combination is more limited. They are phonetically stronger. More than two or three suffixes are rarely found in one word.

Word-composition is not infrequent. However, some of the elements which enter into composition rarely appear alone, or rather, combined with syntactic elements only. They represent principally a definite group of local ideas, and therefore give the impression of being affixes rather than independent stems. These words are, for instance, motion into, out of, up, down (see § 27). Setting aside compound words of this class, composition of independent stems, or rather of stems which are used with syntactic elements only, is infrequent. Nouns are, however, largely of complex origin, and in many of them stems and affixes may be recognized, although the significance of these elements is not known to us.

The position of the word is quite free, while the order of the constituent elements of syntactic words is rigidly fixed.

§ 15. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

In discussing the ideas expressed by means of grammatical forms, it seems best to begin with syntactic words. All syntactic relations of these are expressed by pronominal and adverbial prefixes. Syn-

tactic words may be divided into three classes that receive different treatment—transitive verbs, intransitive verbs, and nouns. All of these have in common that they must contain pronominal elements, which in the first class are subjective and objective, while in the other two classes they are objective (from the Indo-European point of view, subjective). The noun is therefore closely associated with the intransitive verb, although it is not identical with it. It retains, to a certain extent, a predicative character, but is in form partly differentiated from the intransitive verb.

The differentiation of transitive and intransitive is contained in the pronominal elements. The subject of the transitive differs in some cases from that of the intransitive, which is in form identical with the objective form of the transitive.

The relations of nouns are expressed by possessive pronouns, which seem to be remotely related to the subjective transitive pronouns. Owing to the predicative character of the noun, the possessive form has partly the meaning HAVING.

Both intransitive and transitive verbs may contain indirect pronominal objects. These are expressed by objective pronouns. Their particular relation to the verb is defined by elements indicating the ideas of for, to, with, etc. The possessive relations of subject and object—i. e., the possession of one of the objects by the subject, or of the indirect object by the direct object, and vice versa—are also expressed.

All the syntactic relations between the verb and the nouns of the sentence must be expressed by means of pronominal and adverbial elements incorporated in the verb, so that the verb is the skeleton of the sentence, while the nouns or noun-groups held together by possessive pronouns are mere appositions. Certain locative affixes which express the syntactic relations of nouns occur in the dialect of the Cascades; but these seem to have been borrowed from the Sahaptin.

The function of each pronominal element is clearly defined, partly by the differentiation of forms in the transitive and intransitive verbs, partly by the order in which they appear and by the adverbial elements mentioned before.

In the pronoun, singular, dual, and plural are distinguished. There is an inclusive and an exclusive in dual and plural, the exclusive being related to the first person. The second persons dual and plural are related to the second person singular. The third person singular has three genders—masculine, feminine, and neuter—and a single form each for dual and plural. These forms are not only true sex and number forms, but agree also with a generic classification of nouns which is based on sex and number.

The nominal stem itself has no characteristic of gender, which is expressed solely in the pronoun. The sex and number origin of the genders is clear, but in the present status of the language the genders are as irregularly distributed as those of Indo-European languages. These genders are expressed in the incorporated pronominal representative of the noun, and since there is generally sufficient variety in the genders of the nouns of the sentences, clearness is preserved even when the order of the nouns in apposition is quite free.

Besides the sex and number classes we find a classification in human beings on the one hand and other beings and objects on the other. These are expressed in the numeral, the demonstrative, and in plural forms of nouns.

It was stated before, that, in the pronoun, duality and plurality are distinguished. In the noun, a true plural, not pronominal in character, is found only in some words. These were evidently originally the class of human beings, although at present the use of this nominal plural is also irregular. Furthermore, a true distributive is found, which, however, has also become irregular in many cases. Its original significance is discernible in numeral adverbs (§ 38). A distributive is also found in a small number of verbal stems.

There are few nominal affixes of clear meaning, and very few that serve to derive nouns from verbal stems. There are only two important classes of verbal nouns which correspond to the relative sentence the one who— and to the past-passive relative sentence what is —ed; of these two the latter coincides with ordinary nouns, while the former constitutes a separate class. Still another class contains local nouns, where— (§ 40).

Demonstrative pronouns form a class by themselves. They contain the personal pronouns of the third person, but also purely demonstrative elements which indicate position in relation to the three persons, and, in Lower Chinook, present and past tense, or visibility and invisibility.

Only a few modifications of the verb are expressed by incorporated elements. These are the temporal ideas—in Lower Chinook those of

future and perfect and of the indefinite aoristic time, to which are added in Upper Chinook several other past tenses. In some cases these temporal elements express rather ideas that may be termed transitional and continuative. There is a series of semitemporal suffixes expressing the inchoative and varieties of frequentatives; and also a number of directive prefixes, which seem to express the direction of the action in relation to the speaker.

All other ideas are expressed by particles. A somewhat abnormal position among these is occupied by the numerals from 2 to 9 and by a very few adjectives. These numerals are nouns when they are used as ordinals; when used as adjectives, they are generally particles; when referring to human beings, they are nouns of peculiar form (§ 51).

Most remarkable among the particles is a long series of words, many of which are onomatopoetic and which are mostly used to express verbal ideas. In this case the verbal relation is expressed by an auxiliary verb which signifies to do, to make, or to be. These words exhibit a gradation from purely interjectional terms to true adverbial or, more generally, attributive forms. They are analogous to our English forms like bang went the gun, or ding dong made the bells, and merge into forms like he was tired. If we imagine the word tired pronounced with imitative gestures and expression, it attains the value that these particles have in Chinook. The number of these words is considerable, and they take the place of many verbs. Most of them can be used only with verbs like to do and to go. Other adverbs differ from this class in that they are used with other verbs as well. There is no clear distinction between these adverbs and conjunctions.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 16-56)

Syntactic Words (§§ 16-45)

§16. Structure of Syntactic Words

All syntactic words contain pronominal elements which give them a predicative character. A few seem to contain only the pronominal element and the stem, but by far the greater number contain other elements besides. Most words of this class are built up by composition of a long series of elements, all of which are phonetically too

weak to stand alone. The most complex of these words contain all the elements of the sentence. Their order is as follows:

- (1) Modal element (transitional, participial).
- (2) Pronominal elements.
 - (a) Subject.
 - (b) First object.
 - (c) Second object.
- (3) Following one of these may stand an element expressing the possessive relation between the subject and the objects.
 - (4) Adverbial prefixes.
 - (5) Direction of verbal action.
 - (6) Verbal stem, single or compound.
 - (7) Adverbial suffixes.

These elements are, of course, hardly ever all represented in one word. Following are a few characteristic examples of these words:

```
a-m-L-a-x-cg-ā'm-x thou wert in the habit of taking it from her
     a- aorist (1, see § 17)
     m- thou, subject (2a, see § 18)
     L- it, object (2b, see § 18)
     a- her, second object (2c, see § 18)
    -x- indicates that it belongs to HER (3, see § 24)
     Elements 4 and 5 are not represented.
     -cg- stem to take (6)
    -am completive (7a, see § 29)
     -x usitative (7b, see § 32)
tc-t-a-l-\bar{o}'-t-a he will give them to her
     tc- he, subject (2a, see § 18)
     t- them, object (2b, see § 18)
    a- her, second object (2c, see § 18)
    -l- to (4, see § 25)
    -o- direction from speaker (5, see § 26)
     -ot- stem to give (6)
     -a future (7, see § 32)
     Elements 1 and 3 are not represented.
```

There are, of course, transitive verbs with but one object. In most intransitive verbs all the elements relating to the object disappear and the form of the word becomes comparatively simple.

```
L-ō-c it is
L it, subject (2a, see § 18)
-ō- direction from speaker (5, see § 26)
-c stem to be, singular (6)
```

Complex intransitive forms are, however, not rare.

```
te-n-xe-l-ā'-x-ō they will be on me

t(e)- they, subject (2a, see § 18)

n- me, indirect object (2c, see § 18)

-x(e)- indicates that they belong to me (3, see § 24)

-l- to (4, see § 25)

-ā- direction from speaker (5, see § 26)

-x stem to do, to be (6)

-ō future (7, see § 32)
```

Nouns are similar to simple intransitive verbs, but they have (or had) nominal (modal) prefixes. They have no directive elements. They may take possessive forms which do not appear in the verb. The order of elements in the noun is the following:

- (1*) Nominal (modal) element.
- (2*) Pronominal elements.
 - (a*) Subjective.
 - (b*) Possessive.
- (3*) Nominal stem, single or compound.
- (4*) Suffixes:

W-ā'-lemlem Rotten-wood (a place name)

w- nominal prefix (1*)

a- subjective feminine (2 a*)

-lemlem stem rotten wood (3*)

ē'-mē-qtq thy head

 \bar{e} - subjective masculine (2 a^*)

- $m\bar{e}$ - possessive second person (2 b^*)

-qtq- stem HEAD (3*)

In the following sections these component elements will be taken up in order.

§ 17. Modal Elements

1. a-. This prefix indicates a transitional stage, a change from one state into another. Therefore it may be translated in intransitive verbs by to become. In transitive verbs it is always used when there is no other element affixed which expresses ideas contradictory to the transitional, like the perfect, future, or nominal ideas. In the transitive verb it appears, therefore, on the whole as an additive verb it appears, therefore, on the whole as an additive object is in Chinook always considered as transitional (transitive), since it implies a change of condition of object and subject. In the Kathlamet dialect of the Upper Chinook the corresponding prefix is i-.

Whenever the a- stands before a vocalic element, its place is taken by n-. The masculine i- preceding a vowel has consonantic character, and retains, therefore, the a-. In Kathlamet n- is used under the same conditions; but, besides, a form occurs beginning with i-, which is followed by a -g-.

Intransitive, before consonant:

a-L-E'-k'im it said (a- transitional; L- it; -k'im to say)
a-n-ō'-tx-uit I began to stand (a- transitional; n- I; -ō- directive;
-tx to stand; -uit to be in a position)

Intransitive, before vowel:

 $n-\bar{e}'-k\cdot im$ he said (n- transitional; \bar{e} - he; $-k\cdot im$ to say) $n-\bar{o}'-x-o-x$ they became (n- transitional; \bar{o} - they; -x reflexive; -o- directive; -x stem to do, to be)

Transitive:

a-tce'-t-a-x he did them (a- transitional; tc- he; t- them; -a-directive; -x stem to do)

The following examples are taken from the Kathlamet dialect: Intransitive, before consonant:

i-L-E'-k'im it said; Kathlamet texts 99.4 (analysis as before)
i-m-xa-t-k!oā-mam you came home ibid, 132.15 (m -thou; -x (a)reflexive; -t- coming; -k!oa to go home; -(m)am to arrive)

Intransitive, before vowel:

i-g- \bar{e}' -x-k/oa he went home ibid. 169.6 (- \bar{e} - he; -x- reflexive) i-g- \bar{a} -x-k/oa she went home ibid. 191.8

Transitive:

i-q-i- \bar{o}' -lxam somebody told him ibid. 169.7 (-q somebody; i- him; - \bar{o} directive; -lxam to tell)

i-ge'-t-u-x she acted on them ibid. 217.16 (ge- she; t- them; -u-directive; -x to do)

2. *nt*-. This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It takes the form *nig*- before vowels, like the preceding. It occurs in transitive and intransitive verbs. It expresses a somewhat indefinite time past, and is used in speaking of events that happened less than a year or so ago, yet more than a couple of days ago. (E. Sapir.)

ni-y-u'ya he went (ni- past; -y- he; -uya to go)

nig-u'ya she went (the same before vocalic element; -a- she, being contracted with -u- into -u)

ni-tc-i-gil-kel he saw him (ni- past; -tc- he; -i- him; gil- verbal prefix; -kel to see)

- a-. This prefix is confined to the intransitive verbs of the Upper Chinook (Kathlamet), and indicates the future. When followed by a vowel, it takes the form al-.
 - a-m-ō'-kı-a thou wilt carry her (a- future; m- thou; ō- contracted for a- her and ō- directive; -kı stem to carry; -a future)

Before vowel:

- al-ō'-me-qt-a she will die (al- future; -ō- contracted for a- she and -ō- directive; -meqt stem to die; -a future)
- In the dialects east of the Kathlamet it is used also with transitive verbs (Sapir).
 - a-tc-i-ge'l-kel-a he will see her (a-future; -tc-he; -i-him; -gel-verbal prefix; -kel to see; -a future)
- 4. ga-, before vowels gal-. This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It expresses time long past, and is always used in the recital of myths (Sapir).

ga-y-u'ya he went (see analysis under 2)
gal-u'ya she went (see analysis under 2)
ga-tc-i-ge'l-kel he saw him (see analysis under 2)

n- may be used in place of this prefix.

- 5. na-, before vowels nal-. This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It refers to recent time exclusive of to-day, more specifically to yesterday. Its use is analogous to that of the preceding. (E. Sapir.)
- 6. k-, y-. This prefix has nominal significance, and designates THE ONE WHO IS, DOES, OF HAS.
 - k-tge'-ka-l those who fly (k- nominal; -tge they; -ka to fly; -l always)
 - k-ck-t-a-xō'-il those two who always make them; (ck- they two [transitive subject]; -t- them; -a- directive before -x; -xō-il to work always)
 - This prefix is used most frequently with nouns in possessive form, designating THE ONE WHO HAS.
 - g-i-tā'-ki-kel-al those who have the power of seeing (i- masculine, -tā- their; -ki- indicates that there is no object; -kel to see; -al always)
 - g-i-Lā'-ma^e the one who is shot (i- masculine; -Lā- its; -ma^e the condition of being shot)
 - k-Lā'qēwam the one who has shamanistic power (-Lā- its; -qēwam shaman's song)

- 7. w-. This seems to have been at one time the prefix which characterized nouns. It is no longer in general use, but persists in a few terms like wē'wulē interior of house, wē'koa day (Kathlamet), wēlx country (Kathlamet), and in geographical names like Waplō'tci salal-berries on stump. It is always followed by the masculine or feminine intransitive pronoun. Its former general use may be inferred from the pronominal form ō- of all feminine nouns, which is probably a contraction of w- and the ordinary intransitive feminine pronoun a-. In Upper Chinook the forms wi- and wa- are preserved before short words. There is no trace of the former existence of this prefix before the pronominal forms of neuter, dual, and plural, all of which are consonantic, while masculine and feminine are both vocalic (ē- and a-). It seems probable that its use, like that of n-, was confined to vocalic pronouns (§ 17.1).
- 8. na. This is a nominal prefix indicating locality. It occurs principally in place names, $Nak\bar{o}t/\bar{a}'t$ (see § 40).

§ 18. Pronominal Elements

It has been stated that the pronominal elements in the verb are subject, first object, second object. The whole series occurs in some transitive verbs only. In form, the subject of the transitive verb is somewhat differentiated from the other forms, while the objective pronouns coincide with the subjects of the intransitive, and are closely related to the personal pronouns which appear attached to nouns.

The possessive has a series of peculiar forms. In the noun the order is personal pronoun, possessive pronoun. Thus the pronouns may be divided into three large groups, which may be called transitive, intransitive, and possessive.

TABLE OF PRONOUNS

				Transitive	Intransitive	Possessive
1st person				n-	n-	-tcege-
Exclusive dual.				nt-	nt-	-nt-
Exclusive plural				ntc-	ntc-	-ntc-
Inclusive dual .				tx-	tx-	-tx-
Inclusive plural					lx-	-lx-
2d person singular				m-	<i>m</i> -	-m-
2d person dual.					mt-	-mt-
2d person plural				mc-	mc-	-mc-
8 18						

		Tra	ansitive	Intransitive	Possessive
3d person singular, masculine			tc-	i-	-i-
3d person singular, feminine				a-	-tcaga-
3d person singular, neuter .			L-	L-	-L-
3d person dual				c- ct-	-ct-
3d person plural			<i>t</i> - 1	t- (ō-, n-, a	-) -tg-
Indefinite			\overline{q}		

It will be seen from this list that most of the forms in the three series are identical. A differentiation exists in the first person and in the third person singular (masculine and feminine). In all these forms the exclusive appears as the dual and plural of the first person, while the inclusive seems to be characterized by the terminal -x-. nmay be interpreted as the first person, m- as the second person, t- as the characteristic of the dual, and c as that of the plural of these persons.

The third person plural exhibits a number of irregularities which will be discussed in § 21.

§ 19. The Post-Pronominal g

In a number of cases these pronouns are followed by the sound g, which, judging from its irregular occurrence in the present form of the language, may have had a wider application in former times.

(1) The transitive subject (except the first and second persons singular, the third person singular masculine and feminine, and the indefinite q) is followed by g or k, which give to the preceding pronoun its transitive value.

 $a-L-k-L-\bar{a}'-wa^{\epsilon}$ it killed it (a-transitional; L-neuter subject; -kprefix giving the preceding L- its transitive character; -Lneuter object; -a- directive; -wae stem to kill)

 $a-t-k-L-\bar{o}'-cg-am$ they took it (a-transitional; t-they; -k-[as above]; L- neuter object; -cg stem to take; -am completion)

a-n-L-ō'-cg-am I took it (same as last, but with n- 1 as subject, person plural. It seemy Arcaniwollof of the state ton esobabilities it is

When followed by a vowel (including E), the -k- sound is more like a sonant, and has been written g. When the subject pronoun is accented, the z, which carries the accent, follows the g, so that the transitive product and the grant a unit of the product and the grant a unit.

11 a-199jdo togil ni stij n schov o sije gratni ni bug menuse ovizeller ar as above, but with L. ir as energial subject, followed by grant subject, followed by grant subject, followed by grant subject, followed by grant subject, which is massive to the subject of the subject sitive pronouns in these cases are really objectiveidolenilum never

- (2) The intransitive subject third person plural is followed by g in two cases.
- (a) When the subject t would normally precede the directive element $-\bar{o}$ (§ 26.1), this element is omitted, and instead the t is followed by g.
 - a-y-ō'-xunē he drifted 24.15 (a- transitional; y- for i- before ō не; -ō- directive; -xenē stem то drift)
 - a-t-ge'-xenē they drift 38.10 (a- transitional; t- they; -g- inserted after subject; -e- carries accent [§ 5.1]; -xenē stem to drift)
- (b) When the subject t is changed to \bar{a} before k stems (§ 9.2; § 21), the g follows it when the k sound is a stop. It seems, however, more likely that originally this element had \bar{a} following the g.
 - n-ē'-k'im he said 107.2 (n- transitional before vowel [§ 17.1]; ē-he; -k'im- stem to say)
 - $n-\bar{o}-g\bar{o}'-koim$ they say 266.5 (n- as above; -o- third person plural before k sound; -g- following third person plural before k stop; \bar{o} inserted according to phonetic law [§ 7.4]; -koim, -k·im stem to say; o inserted according to § 7.3)
- (3) The possessive pronoun of the third person plural in neuter and plural nouns has the form -g, which probably stands for tg, the t being elided between the neuter prefix t and the plural prefix t respectively, and the g. Thus we have
 - t-g-ā'-qtq-a-kc their heads 165.9 (t- plural; -g- for tg- their; -ā- vowel following possessive [§ 23]; -qtq stem HEAD; -a- connective vowel depending upon terminal consonant of stem; -kc plural suffix [§ 38.1])
 - L-g-ā'-xauyam-t-ikc their poverty 13.18 (L- neuter; -g- for tg-their; -ā- vowel following possessive [§23]; -xauyam poverty; -t-ikc plural with connective sound [§ 38.1])

It appears that the gloccurs most frequently following the third person plural. It seems probable that him, these general, at least, it is derived from the same source. Whether the grafter the transitive pronoun is of the same origin, is less certain, although it seems likely. This g never occurs after objects. The tyles given above have the effect that the g can not occur in intransitive verbs with indirects. It is possible that this may be explained as due to the fact that all intransitive pronouns in these cases are really objective (do This in never appears after the personal pronouns prefixed to the nound the contains appears after the personal pronouns prefixed to the nound.

§ 20. The Third Person Dual

The third person dual has two forms, c- and ct-. ct- is used—

(1) As intransitive subject preceding a vowel, except ε and its representatives.

Examples of the use of ct-:

a-ct-ō'-y-am they two arrive (a- transitional; ct- third person dual; -ō- directive; -i stem to go; -am to complete motion) ct-ā'qoail they two are large

Examples of the use of c-:

c-xēlā'itx they two remained

a-cr'x-a-x they two became (a-transitional; -c dual; -x-reflexive; -a-directive before -x; x to be)

(2) As object of the transitive, when the accent is on the pronominal subject.

Examples of the use of ct-:

a-tcr'-ct-u-kuL he carried their two selves 26.20 (a- transitional; tc- he [transitive]; -E carries accent; ct- them [dual]; -u- directive; -kuL stem to CARRY)

a-lge'-ct-a-x it did them two (a- transitional; lge- neuter subject; -ct- they two)

Examples of the use of c-:

 $a-k-c-\bar{o}'lx-am$ she said to these two (a-transitional; k-she; c-they two; $-\bar{o}lx$ to say; -am completive)

(3) In all possessive forms.

LE'-ct-a-qcō their two selves' hair 77.3 (L- neuter pronoun; -E carries accent; ct- their [dual]; -a- vowel following possessive [§ 23]; -qcō stem hair)

§ 21. The Third Person Plural

It has been mentioned before that the third person plural before single k sounds, and before adverbial l and n (§ 25), is \bar{o} - instead of t-. \checkmark This change occurs both when the pronoun is intransitive subject and when it is first or second object. The transitive subject is always tg-, tk- (see § 19).

Plural t-:

a-t-ē'-x-a-x they came to be on him (a- transitional; t- they; ē- him; -x indicates that тнеу belonged to нім; -a- directive; -x stem то до, то ве)

a-tc-E'-t-a-x he did them (a- transitional; tc- he; E- carries accent; -t them; -a- directive; -x stem to do)

Plural ō-:

n-ō'-x-o-x they became (n- transitional before vowel; -ō they before k sound; -x reflexive; -o- directive; -x stem to do, to be) a-c-g-ō'-xuina they placed them in the ground (a- transitional; c- they two; -g- marks preceding c- as transitive subject; -ō- them [before k sound]; -xēna stem to stand [plural])

a-q-t-ā'-w-i-tx somebody gave them to them (a- transitional; q- indefinite; t- them; -ā'- inserted in accented syllable before semivowel w [§ 5.2b]; -w- stands for -ō- [between two vowels], them; -i- stands for -l- after preceding o [see § 9]; -tx stem TO GIVE AWAY)

Before k stops, a -g is inserted after the subject third person plural, as described in § 19.2b.

In a few nouns the third person plural is n instead of t; for instance:

natē'tanuē Indians nauā'itk net

Numerals take a- instead of t- for indicating the plural of human beings (see § 51).

§ 22. Pronouns of the Transitive Verb

The first person and the exclusive subject do not occur with a second person object. In place of these combinations we have the forms yam-, yamt-, yamc-, for the combinations I—THEE, I—YOUR TWO SELVES, I—YOU; and qam-, qamt-, qamc-, for the corresponding forms with dual and plural exclusive subject. The inclusive subject can not occur with second person objects, since this would be a reflexive form (see § 24). In transitive verbs with two objects the same irregularities occur when either the first or second object is second person while the first person is subject. In case the second object is second person, the forms begin with the first object.

t-am-l-ō't-a I shall give them to thee (t- them; -am I — thee; -l- to; -ōt to give; -a future)

The indefinite subject q- is peculiar to the transitive.

§ 23. Possessive Pronoun

All possessive pronouns are followed by -a, except the first and second persons. The first person is always followed by E, which, after the -tc- of the masculine, takes an E tinge, while after the o- of the feminine it becomes u (§ 7.1). The second person is followed by

 \bar{e} . When the accent falls on the possessive pronoun, the a is lengthened. If the accent precedes the possessive pronoun, the a remains short. In this case the consonantic pronouns introduce an \bar{e} before the possessive (§ 5.1). When followed by m and y, this \bar{e} is lengthened to \bar{a} in accordance with the phonetic rules given in § 5.2b. The g of the first person and of the third person feminine, when following the accent, becomes $k\bar{x}$ in accordance with the general tendency to make a k following an accent affricative (§ 6.1).

The possessive pronoun exhibits a peculiar modification in the first person and in the third person singular feminine. Masculine nouns have in both cases -tc, while all the other genders have -g.

For the insertion of -g- in the third person plural possessive of neuter and plural nouns, see § 19.3.

Examples of possessive forms with accent on possessive pronoun:

```
i-tce'-ts! emenō my wooden spoon 115.18
ō-qu'-xamukc my dog 16.11
L-gE'-qacqac my grandfather 211.1
s-ge'-xanim my (dual) toy canoe 115.21
t-qe'-xawôk my guardian spirits 211.4
i-m\bar{e}'-xal thy name 72.26
ō-mē'-putc thy anus 114.1
L-mē'-tata-iks thy uncles 10.12
c-mē'-ktcxict thy nostrils 113.20
te-mē!-xēquax thy hunter's protectors 234.10
i-\bar{a}'-ok his blanket 74.14
u-yā'-tcinkikala his head wife 74.16
L-iā'-nemckc his wives 74.16
c-iā'-kulq!ast his squinting (on both eyes) 139.5
t-iā'-xalaitan E-ma his arrows 10.16
i-tcā'-yuL!L her pride 74.11
u-q\bar{o}'-cqan her bucket 115.11
L-gā'-cgan E-ma her buckets 115.12
c-gā'-xa her two children 14.4
t-q\bar{a}'-po't\bar{e} her arms 115.24
j-zā'-qula their camp 73.15
u - L\bar{a}' - xk!un their eldest sister 73.15
Lā'wux their younger brother 74.15
c-Lā'-amtkct its double spit 93.10
Lā'-uLēma their houses 227.23
t-Lā'-xilkuē their bushes in canoe 47.10
i-ntā'-xanīm our two selves' (excl.) canoe 163.4 ... whit-bu-'5
LE-ntā'-mama our two selves' (excl.) father and sti tsp-bit-'o
i-txā'-kikala our two selves' (incl.) husbandt 761 122 i sq-10.1-'7.1.
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ō-txā'-1ak our two selves' (incl.) aunt 116.11
L-txā'-xk'un-ikc our two selves' (incl.) elder brothers 11.19
c-txā'-xamuks our two selves' (incl.) dogs 16.9
txā'-cōlal our two selves' (incl.) relatives 224.12
i-mtā'-k!ē-tēnax what you two have killed 163.6
ō-mtā'-xamukc your two selves' bitch 16.12
LE-mtā'-naa your two selves' mother 13.24
i-ctā'-mōlak their two selves' elk 115.25
ō-stā'-xamuks their two selves' dog 16.10
L-ctā'-amtkct its double spit 96.22
ctā'-xôs their two selves' eyes 129.28
t-ctā'-xti their two selves' smoke 75.22
i-ntcā'-lxam our (excl.) town 234.11
ō-ntcā'-hat!au our (excl.) virgin 150.21
L-ntcā'-xgacgac our (excl.) grandfather 22.20
i-lxā'-xak! mana our (incl.) chief 224.25
o-lxā'-qxal ptckix' our (incl.) fire 73.21
cî-lxā'-xak! Emāna our (incl.) two chiefs 37.10
i-mcā'-xak! māna your chief 50.3
ō-mcā'-pōtcxan your sister-in-law 224.26
LE-mcā'-cquic your mat 173.23
te-mcā'-nemckc your husbands 138.6
i-t\bar{a}'-Lan their rope 227.15
u-tā'-xanīm their canoe 163.16
Lgā'-xauyamtikc their poverty 13.18
tgā'-wun-aks their bellies 14.21
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Examples of possessive forms with accent preceding the possessive pronoun:

 \bar{e}' -tca-mxtc my heart 12.26 LE'-kxE-ps my foot 41.20 se'-k-xēst my arrogance te'-kxu-qL my house 24.4 \bar{e}' -mi-La thy body $s\bar{a}'$ - $m\bar{e}$ - $x\bar{e}st$ thy arrogance $t\bar{a}'-m\bar{e}-ps$ thy foot $\bar{a}'ya$ - $qc\bar{o}$ his skin 115.24 $L-\bar{a}'ya-qtq$ his head 73.13 c- $\bar{a}'ya$ -qtq his two heads 14.11 $t-\bar{a}'ya-qL$ his house 15.12 \bar{e}' -tca-qtq its head 223.8 se'-kxa-xēst her arrogance tE'-kxa-qL her house 89.7 \bar{e}' -La-tc!a its sickness 196.6 \bar{o}' -La-qst its louse 10.21 *LE'-La-ps* its foot 191120

te'-la-ps its feet 137.16

ē'-nta-m our two selves' (excl.) father 29.16

te'-nta-q!pas our two selves' (excl.) targets 30.12

ē'-txa-m our two selves' (incl.) father 29.11

te'-txa-ps our two selves' (incl.) feet

te'-mta-ps your two selves' feet

ē'-cta-tc!a their two selves' sickness 193.18

Le'-cta-qcō their two selves' hair 77.3

te'-cta-qL their two selves' house 193.4

te'-ntca-qL our (excl.) house 129.26

te'-lxa-qL our (incl.) house 225.25

§ 24. Elements Expressing the Possessive Relation Between Subject and Object

When there is a possessive relation between the subject and one of the objects, the element -x- is inserted.

- (1) After the first object of the transitive verb, it indicates that the object belongs to the subject.
 - a-g-a-x-ō'-pc-am she hid her own 216.5 (a- transitional; g- she; a- her; -x- indicates that the object is possessed by the subject; -ō- directive; -pc stem to hide; -am completion)
- (2) After the second object of the transitive, it indicates that the first object belongs to the second.
 - a-m-L-ā'-x-cg-am you take it (hers) from her 185.16 (a- transitional; m- thou; L- it; a- her; -x- indicates that it belongs to her; -cg stem to take; -am completion)
- (3) After the intransitive subject, it has the force of a reflexive transitive verb; i. e., it indicates sameness of subject and object.
 - $n-\bar{e}'-x-a-x$ he does himself; i. e., he becomes (n- transitional before vocalic pronoun [§ 17.1]; \bar{e} he; -x- reflexive; -a- directive; -x stem to do)
- a-m-x-ā'-n-ɛl-gu' L-îtck you expressed yourself to me; i. e., you told me 97.10 (a- transitional; m- thou; -x- reflexive; connective E with secondary accent becomes ā- before n [§ 5. 2b]; n-me; 1-1 to; -yuL stem TO-TALK; -tck incheative)
- (4) After the object of a verb with intransitive subject, it has the force of a transitive reflexive in which subject and second subject are identical position of the subject are subject are identical position. The subject are subject

§ 25. Adverbial Prefixes

A number of adverbial ideas—particularly those defining the relation of the verb to the object, and corresponding to some of our prepositions—are expressed by prefixes which follow the pronouns. The adverbial character of these elements appears in forms like—

a-q-ē'-l-gi-tk somebody placed him near by (a- transitional; q-some one; ē- him; -l- to; -gi- eliminates one object [§ 26.4]; -tk stem to place)

The verbal idea is to place near, and the form is purely transitive. The same construction appears clearly in—

a-L-g-i-ge'l-texem it sings for him 260.17 (a- transitional; L- it; -g- post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; i- him; -gel- on account of; -texem to sing shaman's song)

These examples show that the prefixes do not belong to the objects, but that they qualify the verb. Following is a list of these prefixes:

1. -l- to, for.

- $z-\bar{a}'-l-\bar{o}-c$ it was to (in) her 71.6 (*L*-it; *a*-her; -*l*-to; - \bar{o} -directive; -*c* stem to BE)
- a-c-k-L-ē'-l-ō-kL they two carried it to him 29.9 (a- transitional; c- they two; -k- post-pronominal[§ 19.1]; L- it; ē- him; -l- to; -ō- directive; -kL stem to CARRY)
- The third person plural of the pronoun, when preceding this -l, has the form \bar{o} (§ 21). In this case the -l- changes to $-\bar{e}$ (§ 9.1), and the \bar{o} is then weakened to w.
 - a-q-t-a-w-ē'-m-aku-x they distributed them to (among) them 246.10 (a- transitional; q- somebody; t- them; (-a-) probably connective; -w- for ō- them; -ē- for -l- after o; -m stem to HAND [?]; -ako about; -x usitative)

2. -m- IN, INTO.

a-tc-a-LE-n-gā'n-ait he threw her into it 173.6 (a- transitional; tc- he; a- her; L- it; -n- into; -gen stem to PLACE changed to gān on account of accent [§ 5.2b]; -ait to be in position)

s-ā'-n-pō-t she closed her eyes 47.18 (s-they two) ā-her; -n-in; in; -n-in; cobject of a ver(treathequal assonormous assonormo

a-r-g-ō'-tx she stands on it 191.20 (a- she; r- it; -g-lacitue-bis amondirective; -tx stem roo stand) for all rise of the bis and the bis

it; n- me; -k(a)- on; -t- coming; (ka stein to flat)

m-a-n-k-ō'-tx-umit-a you will make her stand on me 24.13 (m-thou; a- her; n- me; -k- on; -ō- directive; -tx stem to stand; -(u)mit to cause [§ 29]; -a future)

4. -gEl- ON ACCOUNT OF.

- a-L-g-i-ge'l-texem-x it sings on account of him 260.17 (a-transitional; L- it; -g- post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; i- him; -gel- on account of; -texem stem to sing shaman's song; -x usitative [§ 32.11])
- mc-g-a-n-gzl-ō'-tg-a ye shall keep her for me (mc-ye; -g-[§ 19.1]; a- her; n- me; -gzl- on account of; -ō- directive; -tg stem to PUT; -a future)
- 4a. -xEl- reflexive form of -gel- on account of. In many cases the translation for, on account of, does not fit in this case, although the etymological relation is clear.
 - n-ā'-L-xel-a-x she makes it for herself 267.2 (n-transitional before vowel; a-she; L-it; -xel- on account of; -a-directive; -x stem to do, to make)
 - a-L-a-xe'l-tciam it combed her for itself; i. e., she combed herself 13.2 (a-transitional; z-it; a-her; -xel- on account of; -tciam stem combing)

5. -gEm- with, near.

- $a-q-\iota-gem-\bar{o}'-tx-uit$ somebody stands near it 238.4 (a-transitional; q-some one, transitive subject; ι it; -gem- near; - \bar{o} directive; -tx stem to stand; -(u)it to be in a state [§ 29])
- a-L-x-L-ge'm-'apko-x it steamed itself near it (a- transitional; L- it; -x- reflexive; L- it; -gem- near; -'apko stem to steam; -x usitative)
- 5a. -xEm- reflexive form of -gem- with, NEAR.
 - n-i-n-xem-tcē'na he lays me near himself; i. e., I lay him near me (n- transitional before vowel; i- he; n- me; -xem- near; -tcē'na stem to LAY)
 - c-xem-l-ā'it they two stood near each other 228.25 (c- they two; -xem- near; -l- stem to move [?]; -a-it to be in a position)
- 6. -x- on the ground.
 - ē'-z-ō-c he is on the ground 39.18 (ē- he; -z- on ground; -ō-directive; -c stem to be)
- 7. El-. No translation can be given for this element, which appears in a position analogous to the other adverbs in a few verbal stems.
 - El-kel to see
 - El-që'l-ako to uncover
 - Frl-tatke to leave

§ 26. Directional Prefixes

I use this term for a group of prefixes which are difficult to classify. One of them designates undoubtedly the direction toward the speaker, another one negates the direction toward an object, and a third one seems to imply direction from the actor. For this reason I have applied the term "directional prefixes," although its propriety is not quite certain.

1. -ō-, a very frequent verbal prefix which seems to indicate motion away from the actor, although this significance does not readily apply in all cases. This prefix occurs with most verbs and immediately precedes the stem.

a-tc-i-o-cg-am he takes him 135.9 (-o-o-directive; -cg stem to take; -am completive)

 $i-\bar{o}'-c$ he is $(-\bar{o}-\text{directive}; -c \text{ stem TO BE})$

When the stem begins with a velar, a glottal stop, or a w, the $-\bar{o}$ - changes to -a-, but, when not accented, it remains -o-before stems beginning with w.

a-tc-i-ā'-wa' he killed him 23.20 (-a- directive; -wa' stem to kill) tc-n-u-wu'l'-aya he will eat me 212.15

a-tce'-t-a-x he did them 9.5 (-a- directive; -x stem to Do)

a-tc- $\bar{a}'y$ -a-qc he bit him 9.9 (-a- directive; -qc stem to bite)

a-q-i-a-co'nim some one laughs at him 184.3 (-a- directive; -conim stem to laugh)

This change is evidently secondary, and an older form—in which \bar{o} was used in all cases, as we find it now in Upper Chinook—must have existed. This is proved by the persistence of o in place of all a vowels that occur after this stem, even when the directive o is changed into a.

tc-i-n-l-ā'-x-ō he will make him for me 69.25 (terminal -ō for future -a, as would be required by the laws of vocalic harmony if the directive -a- before the stem -x had remained -ō-)

a-tc-t- \bar{a}' -x- $\bar{o}m$ he reached them 191.12 (terminal - $\bar{o}m$ for -am)

This explanation does not account for a form like naiga't!ōm SHE REACHES HIM, in which the change from am to -ōm follows the fortis which stands for tq. (See § 29.4.)

The directional -ō- is never used with imperatives. As stated in § 22, the imperative of the transitive verb has also no subject.

Intransitive imperatives:

 $m_{E'}$ -tx-uit stand up! 211.21 (m-thou; -tx to stand; -uit suffix [§ 29.1])

 $m_{E'}$ -x-a-x do! 15.25 (m- thou; -x- reflexive; -a- directive; -x to do) $m_{E'}$ -Lx-a go to the beach 175.16 (m- thou; -Lx to the beach; -a future)

Transitive imperatives:

ē'-cg-am take him! 43.8 (ē- him; -cg- to take; -am completion)

ā'-latck lift her! 15.7 (a- her; -latck to lift)

 \bar{a}' -t-k_L-a carry her here! 15.24 (a- her; -t- here [§ 26.2]; -k_L to carry; -a future)

se'-pena jump! 16.3 (se- them two, namely, the legs; -pena to jump)

- 2. -t- designates direction toward the speaker.
 - a-k-L-E'-t-kL-am she brought it 124.24 (-t- toward speaker; -kL stem to bring; -am completion)
 - a-LE'-t-ga it comes flying 139.1 (-t-toward speaker; -ga to fly) a-LE'-n-ka-t-ga it comes flying over me (-k-on)
- 3. -t- potentiality, i. e., the power to perform an act moving away from the actor, without actual motion away. This prefix is identical with the preceding, but, according to its sense, it never occurs with the transitional.

tc-LE-t-x he can do it 61.8 (-t- potential; -x stem to do)

q-te'-t-pialx-ax somebody can gather them 94.15 (-t- potential; -pialx stem to GATHER; -x usitative)

- 4. -ki- negates direction toward an object, and thus eliminates one of the two objects of transitive verbs with two objects, and transforms transitive verbs into intransitives.
 - a-q-i-L-gem-ō'-kte-x somebody pays him to it 261.23 (-gem- with, near; -ō- directive; -kte thing; -x usitative)

a-tc-a-gem-ki'-kte he paid her 161.9 (-gem- with; -ki- eliminates first object; -kte thing)

a-L-k-L-ō-kct it looked at it 256.8 (-ō- directive; -kct stem το LOOK)

a-Le'-ki-kct it looked 218.9 (-ki- eliminates object; -kct stem το LOOK)

The interpretation of these forms is not quite satisfactory. The element -t occurs also as the stem to come, and the forms $\bar{a}'n\bar{o}$, $\bar{a}'L\bar{o}$ I, IT WENT, suggest that $-\bar{o}$ may be a stem of motion. If this is the case, the first and third prefixes of this class might rather form compound stems with a great variety of other stems. The potential -t-

and the intransitive -ki-, on the other hand, do not seem to occur as stems that can be used with pronominal elements alone.

Attention may be called here to the analogy between the prefixes -gel- and -gem and their reflexives -xel- and -xem- (§ 25) and the two forms -ki- and -x-. However, since -ki- never occurs with following directive $-\bar{o}$ - or -a-, while -x- appears frequently combined with it, this analogy may be due to a mere coincidence.

It would seem that the directive $-\bar{o}$ is always retained after l-, and sometimes after $-g \in l$ -, $-g \in m$ -, $-x \in l$ -, $-x \in m$ -, but that it never occurs with other adverbial elements.

§ 27. Verbal Stems

The verbal stems are either simple or compound. It was stated in the preceding section that what we called the prefixes -t- and $-\bar{o}$ -may be stems expressing to come and to go. There are a number of verbal stems which appear with great frequency in composition, and almost always as second elements of verbal compounds. All of these express local ideas. They are:

- (1) -pa motion out of.
- (2) -p! motion into.
- (3) -wulxt motion up.
- (4) -tcu motion down.
- (5) -Lx motion from cover to open.
- (6) -ptck motion from open to cover.

We find, for instance-

 $n-\bar{e}'-t-p!$ he comes in 211.18 (-t toward speaker; -p! motion into) $a-L-\bar{e}'-pa$ he goes out 46.8 (- \bar{e} -directive; -pa motion out of)

~-k-L-ō'-kct-ptck she carries it up from the beach 163.11 (-kct- to carry; -ptck motion from open to cover, especially up from beach)

a-n-ō'-tct-wulxt I travel up in canoe (-tct motion on water; -wulxt motion upward)

There are a few cases in which these verbs appear in first position in the compound verb.

 $n-\bar{e}'-Lx-Lait$ he goes to the beach and stays there (-Lx motion from cover to open, especially from land to sea; -Lait to stay) Compounds of nouns and verbs are much rarer.

 $a-tc-a-i-n_E-m\bar{o}'k!$ -foya- $k\bar{o}$ he makes her (the breath) in his throat be between; i. e., he chokes him (-n- in; - $m\bar{o}k$ - throat; -foya to be between; - $ak\bar{o}$ around)

Here belong also the compounds with t/\bar{o} WELL

ē-t!ō'-cg-am hold him well! 44.15 (-t!ō- well; -cg to take, hold; -am completion)

The idea around $(-ak\bar{o})$ does not seem to occur independently, and is therefore treated in the next section.

Suffixes (§§ 28-33)

§ 28. GENERAL REMARKS

According to their significance and position, the verbal suffixes may be classified in five groups:

First, generic suffixes:

- 1. -a-it to be in a position.
- 2. -amit to cause.
- 3. $-x^{i}t$ to be made to.
- 4. -am to complete a motion, to go to.

Second, local suffixes:

5. -ako around.

Third, semi-temporal suffixes:

- 6. -tck to begin.
- 7. -l repetition, so far as characteristic of an action.
- 8. -z continued repetition.
- 9. -Em repetition at distinct times.
- 10. -a-itx habitually.

Fourth, temporal and semi-temporal suffixes, always following the preceding group:

- 11. -x customary.
- 12. *-t* perfect.
- 13. -a future.

Fifth, terminal suffixes:

14. -ē successful completion.

On the whole, the suffixes appear in the order here given, although sometimes a different order seems to be found. In the following list the combinations of suffixes so far as found are given.

§ 29. GENERIC SUFFIXES

1. -a-it to be in a position. Followed by -amit (2), -x-it (3), -tck (6), and all the suffixes of the fourth group.

a-y-ō'-L-a-it he sits, he is 212.16 (-ō directive; -L stem to sit) a-k-L-a-qā'n-a-it she laid it 44.9 (-a directive before q; stem -qen [accented before vowel becomes -qā'n] LONG THING LIES)

After k sounds with u tinge, this ending is -uit; after a terminal o, it seems to be -it.

from stem $-tx^u$ to stand from stem $-ck^u$ hot from stem -x to do

mz'-tx-uit stand! a-L- \bar{o}' -ck-uit it is hot 174.13 lx-a-x- \bar{o}' it-a we shall do 136.14

2. -amit to cause. Preceded by -a-it (1); followed by -ako (5), -1 (7), -em (9), and all the suffixes of the fourth group.

a-L-g-ō-L-ā'it-amit it causes her to sit 249.3 (combined with -a-it) a-tc-ō'-ktcikt-amit he roasted her 94.4

After a terminal o, the two vowels o and a are contracted to \bar{o} . a-tc-i-u- $ng\bar{o}'$ -mit he causes him to run (= he carries him away)

3. -x·it, with intransitive verbs, TO BE CAUSED; with transitive verbs, this suffix forms a passive. Preceded by -a-it (1), -tck (6); followed by all the suffixes of the fourth group.

 $a-L-u-w\bar{a}'-x\cdot it$ it is caused to be pursued $a-n-o-qun-\bar{a}'it-x\cdot it$ I was caused to lie down 45.5 $a-y-\bar{o}-l\bar{a}'-tcku-x\cdot it$ he was made to begin to rise 137.5

4. -ain to complete a motion, to go to. Followed by all the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.

a-tc-i-'t-k1-am he came to take him 26.6 n-i-xa-t-ngō'-p!-am he arrives inside running

When the directive -o- is changed to an -a- before k sound, and when, in accordance with the law of harmony, the a in am would have to be changed into $-\bar{o}$ -, this change is made, even though the a before the k sound is substituted for the $-\bar{o}$.

a-tc-t-a'-x- $\bar{o}m$ he did them reaching (he reached them) a-q-L-q-a'- \bar{e} - $\bar{o}m$ some one met it 117.24

This -ō- is retained even where the -t- is substituted for -o-.

n-a-i-ga'-t!-ōm she reached him (for naiga'tqam)

After $l, n, a, \bar{e}, \bar{i}, \bar{o}, \bar{u}$ this ending takes the form -mam.

Lgā'lemam go and take it 25.26

ēxtkinemam go and search for him 25.14

nxōguilē'mama I shall go to shoot birds

aLgōguixē'mam they invited them 98.19

aqaxiktcgō'mam one gives her in marriage 250.19

The form $ay\bar{o}'yam$ he arrives, from $\bar{a}'y\bar{o}$ he goes, forms an apparent exception to this rule. Presumably the verb to go contains a stem -y- which is suppressed in some forms.

§ 30. LOCAL SUFFIXES

5. -ako Around. Preceded by -amit (2); followed by -x (11), -it (1). With -L it amalgamates by metathesis (see § 31.8).

 $m-i-t-El-m-\bar{a}'k\bar{o}$ you distribute him among them 154.4

 $n-\bar{e}'-x-L-ak\bar{o}$ he goes around him 88.24

n-ē-x-k!ē'ni-akō he wraps it around himself 138.9

The significance of this suffix is often only inadequately rendered by the word AROUND.

 $a-n-\bar{e}'-x-k-ak\bar{o}$ I get the better of him

a-q-i-eel-që'l-akō cover is taken off 329.6

 $n-\bar{i}-x\bar{e}'qaw-ak\bar{o}$ he dreams 22.11

Preceded by -amit:

a-q-i-xL-ā'mit-akō some one was made to be around him

Followed by -it:

 $a-L-aw\bar{e}-\bar{a}'y-aku-it$ he inclosed them

§ 31. SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES

6. -tck to BEGIN. Preceded by -a-it (1), -ako (5); followed by -am (4) and the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.

 $n-\bar{a}'-wi-tck$ she dances $(\bar{a}'-wi-l)$ she dances always)

n-klē'wa-tck I begin to paddle (n-klē'wa-l I am paddling)

7. -l repetition, as characteristic of an action. Followed by -mam (4), -em (9), -a-itx (10), and the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.

 $a-g-i-\bar{o}'-l-El$ she shook him 72.24

 $n-\bar{e}'-k-Lx\bar{e}-l$ he crawled about 95.14

a-tg-i-o-mel- \bar{a}' l-emam-x they went to buy him 260.15 (- $\bar{a}l$ on account of accent preceding l)

These forms are used very often with verbal nouns:

ē-ctxu-l what is carried on back

ē'-tcxem-al what is boiled 185.7

k-tge'-ka-l those who fly 60.5

After n as terminal sound of the stem, the l of this suffix becomes n (see § 8).

8. -L continued repetition. This suffix exhibits a number of curious traits in the manner in which it enters into combination with words. It is only rarely suffixed without causing changes in the preceding elements of the word. Often after t, m, x, u, it appears in the form -ni_L.

k-c-il-a'-s-om-nil always arriving

a-cg-i-ā'-qc-im-niz they two took him here and there

Lk-c-il-pē'xu-nil she blows it up 238.16 Lg-ē'-ctxo-nil he will carry him on his back 110.9 k-lk-t-ō-lā't-nil one who always shoots (disease) 200.16 a-tc-l-eēm-nil he always gives food to him 22.12

In certain cases, perhaps by assimilation or metathesis, an -l-appears inserted in the syllable preceding the suffix -L.

a-tc-r-ō'-tipa he dips it up a-g-i-ō'-lapa she digs it out a-yā'm-xg-akō I am before you a-rk-t-ā'-wul' it eats them n-L-ō-tē'lipL I dip it up often a-k-L-ō-lā'lɛpL she digs it often a-yam-xg-ā'lukL I am always before you i-k!ē'-wulɛlqL food

Following an m or n the inserted sound is generally n.

a-lk-c-i-k-lkā'n-akō it steps across a-Lk-c-i-k- $Lk\bar{a}'$ nanuk Lx she steps across 264.14

-Em distribution at distinct times, probably related to -ma (see § 38.2). Preceded by -amit (2), -l (8); followed usually by -x (11).

a-tc-L-kxōte'qo-im-x he always stood on them severally 98.6 a-Lg-i-o-pcō'tet-Em-x he hides it everywhere 199.18 a-L-x-ā'-x-um-x they always did here and there 228.8

10. -a-itx habitually. Always terminal; often preceded by -Em (9), and -L (8).

 $a-L-x^{-\epsilon}\bar{o}'t\bar{o}L-a-itx$ she always bathes 256.14 (probably with -L [8]) $a-y-\bar{o}'-tx-uit-a-itx$ he always stood 109.2

 $a-Lk-L-\bar{o}-l\bar{a}'l_{EP}L-a-itx$ they are in the habit of digging continually 74.18

§ 32. TEMPORAL AND SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES

- 11. -x customary. Preceded by all prefixes except -ē (14).

 a-lk-t-ō'-kul-x it is customary that they carry them 267.16

 a-l-x-tō't-am-x it is customary that she goes bathing 245.11
- 12. -t PERFECT. Preceded by all suffixes; followed by -\(\bar{e}\).

 tg-i-\(\bar{a}'\)-wa-t they have followed him 139.2

 tc-i-ge'n-\(xa\bar{o}\)-t-\(\bar{e}\) he has taken care of him 133.20
- 13. -a future. Preceded by all suffixes. This suffix draws the accent toward the end of the word.

n-i-o-cg-ā'm-a I shall take him g-o-piā' Lx-a some one will catch her 15.19

In those cases in which the suffix -am takes the form $-\bar{o}m$ (see p. 605), namely, after k sounds, which would normally require o

in harmony with the directive -o- that has changed to -a-, the future is -o.

tc-i-n-l-ā'-x-ō he will make him for me 70.6

After stems ending in a vowel the future is generally -ya.

m-xa-t-gō'-ya you will come back 212.2 yam-xōnenemā'-ya I shall show you 234.11

In Kathlamet the future has also a prefix, a- or al- (see § 17.3).

§ 33. TERMINAL SUFFIX

14. - successful completion. This suffix is always terminal. Its significance is not quite certain.

n-i-gō'-ptcg-am-ē finally he came up to the woods 166.8 It occurs very often with the meaning across.

a-tc-ā'-k-xonē he carried her across on his shoulder 27.8 mc-i-gō'tct-am-a-ē you will get across 51.6

The Noun (§§ 34-43)

§ 34. GENDER

The pronominal parts of the noun have been discussed in § 18. It is necessary to discuss here the gender of nouns.

Nouns may be masculine, feminine, neuter, dual, or plural. It would seem that originally these forms were used with terms having natural gender, with sexless objects, and objects naturally dual and plural. At present the use of these elements has come to be exceedingly irregular, and it is almost impossible to lay down definite rules regarding their use.

In the following a summary of the use of gender and number will be given.

(1) Masculine and feminine respectively are terms designating men and women.

In all these terms the idea of indefiniteness of the individual, corresponding to the indefinite article in English, may be expressed by the neuter; like $ik\bar{a}'nax$ THE CHIEF, $kk\bar{a}'nax$ A CHIEF.

Masculine

ī'kala man

ik!āsks boy

iq!oa'lipx youth

ē'preau widower

iq!ēyō'qxut old man

ēla'ētix: male slave

Feminine

\[\bar{o}^t\bar{o}'kuil \text{ woman} \]

\[\bar{o}k/\bar{o}sks \text{ girl} \]

\[\bar{o}x\bar{o}'t!au \text{ virgin} \]

\[\bar{o}'p\bar{v}^tau \text{ widow} \]

\[\bar{o}q!oey\bar{o}'qxut \text{ old woman} \]

\[\bar{o}la'\bar{e}tix \text{ female slave} \]

(2) Large animals are masculine, as:

badger -penpen $(-p!\bar{e}'cxac,$ Kathlamet) L; feminine SKUNK bear, black -i'tsxut ($-sq\bar{e}'ntxoa$, Kathlamet) bear, cinnamon -t! Ek bear, grizzly -cā'yim beaver -€ēna, -qoa-inē'nē (-qā'nuk, Kathlamet) bird (sp. ?) -tcu'yam bird (sp. ?) $-p\bar{o}'\bar{e}po\bar{e}$ bird -qsō'tlotlōt bullfrog $-q!oat \epsilon' x \bar{\epsilon} x \bar{\epsilon}$ deer -mā'cen (-lā'lax, Kathlamet) coyote -t!ā'lapas rat -qā'lapas (Kathlamet) buffalo -tō'iha crane -qoā'sqoas crow (mythical name) -Laq!ō' duck (sp. ?) -wē'guic eagle, bald-headed $-nin\bar{e}'x\cdot\bar{o}$ $elk - m\bar{o}'lak$ a small fish -qale'xlex fish-hawk -'ltcap grass-frog -q! En ō' nēqēn gull -qonē'qonē hawk $-t!\bar{e}'t!\bar{e}$ heron -q!oa'sk!oai, -'qulqul horse -kē'utan humming-bird -'tsentsen blue jay *-qē'cqēc* kingfisher -pō'tselal lizard (?) -kinē' pet mallard-duck (male)-cime'wat

 $\min k -'galellx, -p\bar{o}'sta (-k\bar{o}'sa$ it, Kathlamet) mountain-goat -ci'xq mussel, small -tguē' (matk) mussel, large -niā' (matk) otter -nanā'muks owl *-qoē'lqoēl* oyster -Lō'xLox panther -k!oa'yawc pike -'qoqo porcupine -celqelq rabbit -skē'epxoa (-kanaxme' $n\bar{e}m$, Kathlamet) raccoon -q!oala's (-Latā't, Kathlamet) raven -koalē'xoa salmon, fall -qelema salmon, spring -gu'nat salmon, steel-head $-goan\bar{e}'x$. sea-lion $-g\bar{e}'pixL$ sea-otter - $lar{a}'kar{e}$ shag -'paowē shark -k!ā'yicx skate, -aiā'iu snake -tciau sperm whale -'mok"txi squirrel $-k!\bar{a}'uten$ sturgeon *-nā'qōn* sturgeon, green -kalē'nax swan *-qelō'q* turtle -'Laxoa whale -'kolē lynx -*puk* wolf $-l\bar{e}'q!am$ woodpecker -qstō'konkon

(3) Small animals are feminine, as:

beetle -'bic bird (sp. ?) -pē'qciuc bird (sp. ?) -tc!ē'nakoaēkoaē sca-bird (sp. ?) -tqekc sea-bird (sp. ?) -cxulē'x chicken-hawk -'npitc chipmunk -'tsikin (-gusgu's, Kathlamet) mud clam -'i^ɛē fresh-water clam -'sala cormorant -'waniō crane -q!ucpalē'

crow -'k!unō (-t!ā'ntsa, Kathlamet) killer-whale -galā'mat dogfish (see shark) $-q!o\bar{a}'icx$ eagle -tc!aktc!ā'k fawn of deer $-q!\bar{e}'xcap$ fish (sp. ?) -nā'wan fish (sp. ?) -k!otaqē' fish (sp. ?) -'LElō flounder -'pkicx frog -cuē'eē halibut $-tc!al\bar{o}'c$ (said to be borrowed from Quinault) louse -'qct maggot -'moa mallard-duck (female) -goē'xgoēx mole -cē'ntan mosquito -'p!onats!Ekts!Ek mouse $-k\bar{o}'lxul$ (- $c\bar{o}$, Kathlamet) newt -qosā'na, -latsē'm enm en screech-owl -'cxux

pheasant (?) -ni'ctxuic pigeon -qamen porgy -qalxt! E'mx porpoise -kō'tckōtc robin -tsiā'stsias salmon, calico -'laatcx salmon, silver-side -'qawensalmon, blue-back -tsoyeha seal -'lxaiu (-qē'sgoax, Kathlamet) sea-lion, young -'xoē skunk $-p \, \epsilon n p \, \epsilon n$ (masculine BADGER) snail -ts! Emē'nxan snail -ts! Emō'ikxan snail -*L!ē'xtan* snipe $-\bar{e}'xsa$ teal-duck -munts ! ē'kts ! ēk trout $-p!\bar{a}'l\bar{o}$ trout (?) $-q!\bar{e}'xon\bar{e}$ woodpecker (female) -'kxulpa woodpecker (male) -ntciawî'ct wasp -'pa

(4) Very few animals are neuter, as:

bird -lā'lax (-p!ɛ'cp!ɛc, Kathlamet) dog -kē'wisx (-k!u'k!ut, Kathlamet)

shellfish (sp. ?) -k!iza'ta
crab -qazzē'la (= one who
crawls much)

(5) Almost all nouns expressing qualities are masculine, as:

-nu'kstx smallness
-'(k!e)sīl sharpness
-'xalx tē flatness
-'pik heavy weight
-'ts!axan large belly
-'wa expense
-'q!atxal badness
-'q!ē'latcx ēna meanness
-lq!ē'latcx ita quiet
-'yul! pride
-'k!oac(*ōmit) fear
-kā'kxul homesickness (subject of transitive verb)

-kanā'tē life

-tsā'tsa cold

-'lkuilē similarity
-'tukltx good luck
-'tc!a sickness
-'p!onenkan blindness
-'kunanem diligence
-(ki)ma'tct(amit) shame
-'l!kin bow legs
-'lk!ōp being squeezed out
(= one-eyed)
-qē'wam sleepiness (subject of
transitive verb, and possessive)
-'tc!pux round head (= forehead)
-'p!aqa flat head

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-'menukt blackened face
                                                                                                                                -'t!\bar{o}xakamit (= good mind)
             -'(ki)matck spots, painted face
                                                                                                                                        cleverness
                                                                                                                                -L!mē'nxut lie of a male (sub-
              -'tckc stench
             -'q!E8 sweet smell
                                                                                                                                        ject of transitive verb)
              -'ts!ēmen sweetness
                                                                                                                                 -q\bar{o}'LqEl\bar{e} lie of a female (sub-
              -'L!L bitterness
                                                                                                                                        ject of transitive verb)
              -'Lēlam ten
                                                                                                                                 -'ma^{\epsilon} act of hitting (= to hit)
              -'k!amōnak hundred
                                                                                                                                 -'kakamit mind (= to think)
              -'t!\bar{o}wil experience (from t!\bar{o}
                                                                                                                                 -'qalqt a wail (= to wail)
                                                                                                                                 -'kux smell (= to smell)
                     good)
             -\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2
      The following are exceptions:
                                                                                                    Feminine
              -xti smokiness (= cataract
                                                                                                                                 -'m^{\epsilon}\bar{o} what is chewed
                                                                                                                                 -'qōtck cold in head
                     of eye)
              -'lō hunger (subject of tran-
                     sitive verb)
              -xax sadness
                                                                                                                     -'xauyam what excites sym-
              -'patseu red head
                                                                                                                              pathy
                                                                                                       Plural
                                                                                                                                   -(ki) pā'lau witchcraft
              -'kull custom
             -'k'iLau taboo
                                                                                                                                   -'katakox cleverness
       (6) The verbal noun corresponding to the past-passive participle
is generally masculine, as:
              -'Lxalemax what is eaten
                                                                                                                                 -'k!ē'wulal what
                                                                                                                                                                                           has been
              -'texemal what is boiled
                                                                                                                                        picked
              -'ctxul what is carried
                                                                                                                                  -'xōtckin work
       Exceptions to this rule are—
               ā'mel purchase money
                                                                                                                                  Liā'pōna what has been
                                                                                                                                         brought to him
       (7) Nouns formed from particles are generally masculine, as:
               -yu_L!l pride (from y\bar{u}_L!l)
                                                                                                                                  syphilis
               -k!\bar{e}'wax flower (from wax)
                                                                                                                                  -g\bar{e}'_L!m_{E}n_L!m_{E}n
              -waxō'mi copper (from wax)
                                                                                                                                         from L!men rotten)
               -k!wac^{\epsilon}\bar{o}'mi fear (from k!wac)
        (8) No rules can be given for the gender of other nouns.
       Masculine are, for instance:
               -mā'ma pewter wort
                                                                                                                                  -qtcō hair, skin with hair
               -L'a body
                                                                                                                                  -qōt eye
               -qtq head
                                                                                                                                  -katcx nose
        § 34
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-cq mouth, beak, bill -mist beak *-tuk* neck -mxtc heart -to breast -wan belly -itcx tail -pote arm $-p\bar{a}'tpat$ net -'tceltcel brass buttons -kupku'p short dentalia -qā'lxal gambling-disks -L!alL!al gambling-disks -q!ā'lq!al short baton $-q\bar{o}'mx\bar{o}m$ cedar-bark basket. -'L!uwalkL!uwalk mud -q!ē'qotqot fever -'pqunx large round spruceroot basket (f. small round spruce-root basket) -ctc!ē'ct clam basket -'mar bay, sea, river - o'k blanket -'lk'au cradle -'qēl creek, brook -'ktcxem dance of shaman -'Lq digging-stick -'eam dish -'pqōn down of bird -'qcil fish-trap

Taminina and familiaria

Feminine are, for instance,

-'kta thing

-'qat wind

-'*elqel polypodium

-cā'qcaq pteris

-p!ō'xp!ōx elbow

-tcxō'ltcxōl lungs

-se'qseq buck-skin

-k!oyē'k!oyē finger-ring

-ga'cgas sealing-spear

-'*wîsqwîs breaking of wind

-'tk!entk!en open basket

-'lexlex scales

-'lemlem rotten wood

-ci'kc friend -'pxil grease -'lx ground, earth -'Lan short thong, string, pin for blanket -'cgan cedar (f. bucket, cup; n. plank) -'tsōL harpoon-shaft -'msta hat $-'t\bar{o}_L$ heat -'k'ik hook $-k\bar{a}'pa$ ice -'page boil, itch -'kxōn leaf -'m'ecx log, tree, wood (f. kettle) -'LkuiLx mat -pā'kxal mountain -'sik paddle -'€apta roe -'pa-it rope -'nxat plank $-g\bar{o}'cax$ sky -'tcxa point of sealing-spear -kā'wok shaman's guardian spirit -'c⁴ō horn spoon -'maktc spruce -qā'nakc stone (f. large bowlder)

-tspux forehead
-utca ear
-atcx tooth
-*atcx chest
-mō'kuē throat
-'kutcx bark
-'putc anus
-'kci finger
-'pxa alder-bark
-*lɛ'm bark

 $-L\bar{e}'gts_E n$ box $-p\bar{a}'utc.$ crab-apple

-'pL!ikē bow

-taleptckix fire	-gu'nkxun salal-berry
$-'ga_L$ fish-weir	$-'sk_L$ sinew
-'lalx camass	-'tcin stump, foot of tree
-'tcala grindstone	-fā' Lax sun
-'mala marrow, kernel	<i>-ē′ </i>
-'pul night, darkness	-mō'tan twine of willow-bark
-mā'p plank	-'pcam piece of twine
-gā'wē raspberry	-tcā'nix wedge
-'mopa rushes	-'pıx well
Neuter are, for instance,	·
-tse'xtsex gravel, thorn	-goag blanket
-qulā'⁵ula egg	- ^ĉ a'tcau grease
-paa nape	-'skuic mat bag
-list tail of fish	$-'tar{o}$ milk, breast
- wit leg	-tcuq water
-pc foot	$-kcku\bar{\imath}'$ pitch wood
-quq armor	

The number of these words that appear only in the neuter gender is so small that we may almost suspect that the neuter was until recently indefinite and used to indicate both indefinite singular and plural.

§ 35. DUAL AND PLURAL

(1) Nouns that are naturally dual are:

ckucku'c testicles sxōst eyes, face ckulkulō' L spear cemtk spit for roasting $c_{E'}qx\bar{o}$ double-pointed arrow cpā'ix blanket made of two deer-skins ctc!ā'maq castorium ce ōlā'l ground-hog blanket, made of two skins

double-barreled c Equala'la gun cik!ōk double ball for game ci'lxatct bed platform on sides of house sxutsō'osiq bed platform in front and rear of house stan bowstring clā'nist two-stranded twine

There are other words that are always dual, for the form of which no reason can be given, as:

ckā'kolē eel ckaqe'l dentalia of the length cengētgē't hawk of 40 to a fathom se'nteptep shrew cii'q half-fathom *Eq!alolo butterfly $cg\bar{e}'can$ fern-root (pl. $\bar{o}gu\bar{e}'can$)

(2) Nouns that are naturally plural are:

tqamilā'leq sand te'psō grass tktē'ma property $t!\bar{o}_L$ house (= dwelling of several families) tk rmôm ashes

In other cases where the noun occurs always with plural prefix the reason is not apparent, as in:

 $t\bar{a}'ta$ -is codfishtxt smoke $tm\bar{e}'n^ca$ floundert-' $sk\bar{o}$ tattooing $tts!\bar{e}'laq$ grasshopper $t\epsilon m^c\bar{a}'\bar{e}ma$ prairie

§ 36. SECONDARY SIGNIFICANCE OF GENDER

Masculine and feminine have assumed the secondary significance of largeness and smallness. This feature appears most clearly in those cases in which a stem used as a masculine expresses a large object, while as a feminine it expresses a similar smaller object. Examples of this use are:

 \bar{v}' pen pen badger \bar{o}' pen pen skunk \bar{e}' pqunx large round spruce-
root basket \bar{o}' pqunx small round spruce-
root basket \bar{e}' cgan cedar \bar{o}' cgan basket, cup \bar{e}' m'ecx log, tree, wood \bar{o}' m'ecx kettle

One example at least of the reverse relation has come to my notice:

iqā'nakc stone

ōqō'nakc large bowlder

In one case the feminine pronoun expresses plurality:

ikanī'm canoe

ōkunī'm canoes

There are also a few cases in which smallness is expressed by what appears to be the dual form: .

ikanī'm canoe skenī'm toy canoe stamē'ksōs toy canoe

§ 37. GENDER OF PLURAL

The use of the pronouns for expressing plurality has come to be exceedingly irregular. The verbal forms suggest that originally twas the true third person plural, which was perhaps originally used for human beings only.

(1) Many plurals of words designating human beings retain the pronoun t-.

	Singular	Plural
man	$ar{\imath}'kala$	$tkar{a}'lauks$
women		$tar{a}'n_Emckc$
children		tqā'cōcinîkc
virgin	$ar{o}har{o}'t!au$	tĥat!aunā'na
old man	$iq!eyar{o}'qxut$	tq!eyō'qtikc

In some cases a more indefinite number may be expressed by ι -. Thus we find for women both $\iota \bar{a}' n_{\it Emckc}$ and $t\bar{a}' n_{\it Emckc}$; for common person $\iota xal\bar{a}' yu\bar{e}ma$ and $txal\bar{a}' yu\bar{e}ma$.

(2) The articles used in the majority of cases for expressing plurality are <u>t-</u> and <u>t-</u>. Examples of these are the following:

	Singular	Plural
beak	\bar{e}' - $mist$	t-mēctkc
belly	$\bar{e} = wan^{1}$	$t = unaks^1$
bird (sp. ?)	i-pō'ēpoē	t-poēpō'yukc
blanket	e-¢ō'k	$t/\bar{o}kkc$ (also indefinite $t^{\epsilon}\bar{o}k$)
cheek	$i = m_E lgtan^1$	$t = 'm elgtanuks ^{1}$
crane	i-qoā'cqoac	t-goacgoā'cEkc
deer	ē-mā'cEn	t-macā'nukc
a bird	ēnts!x	tents! e' xukc
eye	$ar{e}'$ - $qxar{o}t$	t-qō'tekc (dual s-qōct)
dorsal fin	\bar{e}' -gala	<i>t-kala</i> (<i>îkc</i>)
monster	īqctxē' Lau	t-qctxēzā'wukc
pectoral fins	-	t-qoēā'nikc
arrow	$ar{o}'$ -kulaitan	i-kalai'tan Ema
bunch of grass	$ar{o}$ - $par{a}'wil^{ar{\epsilon}}$	t-pā'wil*-ma
chicken-hawk	\bar{o}' -npitc	te-npî'teke and
coat	$ar{o}$ - q ! $oar{e}'$ L x a p	t-q!ēlxā'pukc and l-q!ēlxā'pukc
chipmunk	ō'-ts!ikin	te'-ts!ikin
flounder	\bar{o} - $l\bar{a}'ta$ - is	t E-lā'ta-is
dip-net	\bar{o} - $k!unx\bar{a}'t\bar{e}$.	t-k!anxā'tē
board	LE'-cgan	te'- $cgan$
bird	$L-l\bar{a}'l\kappa x$	t-lalā'xukc
albatross	i-tā'm Ela	ı-tam elā'yikc
open-work clam	$\bar{\imath}'$ -ck! $al\bar{e}$	ı-ck!alā'yukc
basket		z ooraa gaac
large cedar-bark basket	i - $q\bar{o}'mx\bar{o}m$	ı-qōmxō'mukc
grizzly-bear	i - $car{a}'yim$	L-cayā'mukc
eyelashes		L - $lxar{o}'tks$
bailer	o- ^e oētēwā' L xtē	ı!itēwā' ıxtē
open-work basket	$ar{o}$ -L k ! E' nk ! E n	ık! enık!ā'nukc
round basket	$ar{o}'$ - $pqunar{x}$	1.pqu'nxukc
long baton	ō'-kumatk	LE'-kumatk
belt	ō'-koēma	ı E'-k ēma
bucket	\bar{o}' -cgan	LE'-cgEn-ma
antler	L-E'tcam	L-€atcā'ma
mountain-goat blanket	L-qoa'q	L-qoa'q-ma

¹The sign = indicates that a possessive pronoun is here required.

(3) There are a few cases in which the article \bar{o} - is used for expressing the plural, as:

Singular Plural

coat $\bar{o}' \iota q \bar{e} k c$ $\bar{o}' - \iota q \bar{e} k c$ canoe $ikan\bar{\imath}'m$ $\bar{o} - kun\bar{\imath}'m$ eagle $u - tc! aktc! \bar{a}' k$ $u - tc! aktc! \bar{a}' k ciniks$ (only used in tale)

(4) A number of words whose plural was originally a distributive retain the masculine pronoun, as:

	Singular	Plural
abalone	i-ktē'luwa-itk	i-ktēluwā'itg ema
bone arrow-point	i - $g\bar{o}'ma(tk)$	i-gomā'tg <u>e</u> ma
short baton	i - q ! \bar{a} ' l q al	i-q!alq!alō'ma
black bear	i- $i't$ s xut	i-i'tsxut Ema
buck-skin straps		i-t!ā'leqema
cedar	$ar{e}'$ - $cgan$	$ar{e}'$ -c g e n e ma
elk ·	i - $mar{o}'lak$	i-mō'lakuma
female	$ar{e}'$ - $nar{e}mckc$	ē-nēmckcō'ma

Not all words of this type, however, retain the masculine pronoun, as:

	Singular.	Plural.
bay	$ar{e}'$ -ma $_L$	LE- $mar{a}'$ LE- ma
small bluff	i - $kak!ar{a}'lat$	${\it L-kak!}ar{a}'lat{\it E-ma}$
creek	$ar{e}'$ - $qar{e}$ L	t!ā' LEma (fortis for
		elided q , see § 6.3)
disease	$ar{e}'$ - $tc!a$	t-tc!ā'ma

Feminine distributives do not seem to retain their gender, as:

	Singular	Plural
arrow	$ar{o}'kulaitan$	t-kalai′tan E-ma
bunch of grass	. $ar{o}$ – $par{a}'wil^{\epsilon}$	$t ext{-}par{a}'wil^{\epsilon} ext{-}ma$
dip-net	$ar{o}'$ - $nuxcin$	L-nuxci'n E-ma

§ 38. PLURAL SUFFIXES

(1) Besides the use of pronominal gender for designating plurality, Chinook seems to have distinguished human beings from other nouns also by the use of a separate plural suffix -ikc, -uks the use of which for human beings is illustrated by the examples given in § 37.1. At present the ending -uks is used for forming the plural of many words, including names of animals and of inanimate objects.

On the whole, this suffix is accompanied by a shift of the accent to the penultima. When the last vowel is the obscure E followed by an l, m, or n, it is lengthened to \bar{a} under the stress of the accent (see § 5); $-\bar{e}$ changes in these cases to $-\bar{a}y$.

The following are examples of the shift of accent without accompanying change of vowel:

	Singular	Plural
owl	i-qoē'lqoēl	t-qoēlqoē'luks
crane	i-qoā'cqo ac	t-goacgoā'c ekc
large cedar-bark basket	i-qō'mxōm	ı-qōmxō'mukc
Tillamook Indian	$\mathbf{L}!ar{e}'lar{e}m$	$T!ilar{e}'muks$
\mathbf{dog}	$oldsymbol{\it L}$ - $oldsymbol{\it k}ar{\it e}'wuc$	t-kēwu'cx£ks
coat	o-q!oē' Lxap	∟- q!ē⊥xā′pukc
fawn	o - q ! $o\bar{e}'xcap$	t-q!ēxcā'puks
${f twine}$	c-Lā'nict	zanē'ctuks
sea-lion	i – $gar{e}'pix\cdot$ L	i-gipē'x·luks
eight	ksto'xtkin	kstoxtkē'niks (eight persons)
moon	$ar{o}$ - k LE' $mar{e}n$	ı-kımē'naks
egg	ı-qulā′€wula	L-qula⁴wulā′uks
monster	i-qctxē' Lau	t-qctxē Lā'wuks
turtle	\bar{c}' Laxoa	Laxoā'yîkc
albatross	i-tā′m Ela	L-tam Elā'yîkc
dead, corpse	∟- mē′malust	t-memalō'stiks
dusk	ō-munts!ē'kts!ik	t-munts!ēkts!ē'kuk s
wolf	i - $lar{e}'q!am$	${\it L-lar eq!ar a'muks}$
mole	u - $car{e}'ntan$	t-cēntā'nuks
mouse	u - k $ar{o}'l$ x ul	u - k o $l\bar{o}$ ' $luks$ (lx changes to l ; see § 6)
evening	tsō'yust	tsōyō'st eks

Words are quite numerous in which the shift of accent produces a change of vowel:

0		•
	Singular	Plural
pigeon	\bar{o}' - $\epsilon_{omE}n$	t!amā'niks
fly	$ ilde{e}'$ - $mar{o}tsoldsymbol{g}_{E}n$	t - $mar{o}tsgar{a}'nuks$
box	\bar{o} -L $\bar{e}'qs$ E n	${\it Leqs} \bar{a}' nuks$
open-work basket	\bar{o} -L k ! E' n L k ! E n	$L\overline{k!}$ EnL $k!ar{a'}$ nuks
deer	$ar{e}$ - $mar{a}'s$ E n	$t ext{-}masar{a}'niks$
skunk	ō-'penpen	t - $parepsilonnpar{a}'nuks$
badger	$\bar{\imath}'$ - $p_E n p_E n$	i - p E n p $ar{a}'$ n u k s
squirrel	i - k ! $ar{a}'ut$ E n	t-k!autā'nuks
pelican	ī'-tcuy en	<i>L-tcuyā'nuks</i>
grizzly bear	i - $c\bar{a}'yim$	ι - $cayar{a}'mukc$
lance	$i ext{-}squar{\imath}'$ L $!$ E m	squi ı.!ā'muks
clam basket	$ar{\imath}'$ -ck! $alar{e}$	ı-ck!alā'yukc
frog	i - q ! oat \mathbf{z} ' $nx\bar{e}x\bar{e}$	t-q!oat Enxēxā'yukc
frog	\bar{o} - $cu\bar{e}'\bar{e}$	t-cueā'yukc
_		

The plural of i- $po'\bar{e}po\bar{e}$ (a bird), is t- $po\bar{e}p\bar{o}'yuks$. Here the accent remains on the o, although it is shifted to the next syllable, and the \bar{e} becomes consonantic.

Here belongs also $L-l\bar{a}'l_{EX}$ BIRD, plural $t-lal\bar{a}'xukc$, in which word the lengthening of the E to \bar{a} before x is irregular.

A number of monosyllabic stems are treated in the same manner, as those here described:

	Singular	Plural
kettle	ō•omē′cx	ı-€mē′cҳukc
flounder	$ar{o}$ – $pkar{e}'cx$	ō-pkē'cẓukc
round basket	$ar{o}'$ - $pqunx$	L-pqu'nxukc
eye	$ar{e}'$ - $qar{o}t$	t - $qar{o}'t$ E kc
eyelashes	_	$\bar{L-l}$ - $x\bar{o}'tks$
cinnamon bear	i - t ! $_E$ ' k	i - t ! $_{\it E}$ ' kks
blanket	$e^{-\epsilon}\bar{o}'k$	$t!ar{o}kkc$
chicken-hawk	$ar{o}'$ - np it c	$t_{\it E}$ - $np \hat{\imath}' t c k c$
well	$ar{o}$ - $p_L x$	L-plxoa'kc

In a number of words the accent does not shift:

	Singular	Plural
old person	i - q ! $eyar{o}'qut$	t-q!eyō'qtîks
shag	$i ext{-}pa'^{oldsymbol{arepsilon}}owar{e}$	ı-pā'qo−ikc
male	i'- $kala$	t - $\hat{ka}'l\bar{a}$ - ukc

This is particularly frequent in terms which occur always with possessive pronouns, such as terms designating parts of the body and relationships:

ear ō'-utca his belly ia'-wan mouth i-cqL head ē-qtq cheek ē'-mElqtan

fin \bar{e}' -gala his father L- $i\bar{a}'$ mama his elder brother $i\bar{a}'$ -xk!un his younger brother $i\bar{a}'$ -wux

his maternal uncle $i\bar{a}'$ -tata Here belong also:

lid i- $s\bar{a}'m_{E}l^{\varepsilon}$ five $qui'n_{E}m$ ten of them i- $t\bar{a}'$ - $L\bar{e}lam$ $\sin t \pi' x_{E}m$ t-iā'-utcakc his ears

tgā'-unakc their bellies

tgā'-cqlekc their mouths

tgā'-qqekc their heads

tgā'-melqtanukc their cheeks

tgā'-amcukc their guts

t-iā'-gala-ikc his fins

L-mcā'-mama-ikc your fathers

iā'-xk!uniks his elder brothers

iā'-wuxtikc his younger brothers

L-iā'-tatayukc his uncles

L-iā'-semelqaks their lids qui'nemiks five persons i-tā'-Lēlamyuks ten persons i-tā'-k!a-txemiks six in a canoe The ending -tikc instead of -(i)kc is used particularly with indefinite numerals, and expresses a plurality of human beings:

all ka'nauwē
few me'nx ka
many (their number) Lgā'pɛla
several Le'xawē

kaṇauwē'tika all persons
mē'nx katika a few persons
Lgā'pɛlatika many persons
Le'xawētika several persons

Analogous are the forms of-

up river ma'ēma poor (his poverty) Lā'xauyam his younger brother iā'wux t-maemā'tzkc those up river Lgā'xauyamtikc the poor ones iā'-wuxtikchisyoungerbrothers

Still a different connective element appears in--

man ī'-kala

ī-kā'lamuks men

Attention may also be called to the forms-

	Singular	Plural
children		t-qā'cōcīnikc
eagle	u-tcaktcā'k	u-tcaktcā'ktcinikc
gull	i-qonē'qonē	i-qonēqonē'tcinikc
raven	i-qoalē'xoa	i-qoalē'xoatcinikc
crow	$u\bar{-}k!onar{o}'$	u-k!onō'tcinikc

The last four forms occur in a wail in a myth (Chinook Texts, p. 40) and are not the ordinary plurals of these words.

(2) The frequent plural-suffix -ma (Kathlamet -max) seems to have been originally a distributive element. This appears particularly clearly in the words $\bar{e}'x$ -tema \bar{e} sometimes ($\bar{e}x$ -t one; -ma distributive; - \bar{e} adverbial); $kan\bar{a}'m$ tema both ($kan\bar{a}'m$ both, together; -ma distributive). Following are examples of this suffix. In most cases the accent is drawn toward the end of the word:

	Singular	Plural
abalone	i - k t $ar{e}'luwa$ - itk	i-ktēluwa'itg ⊭ ma
bone arrow-point	i - g \bar{o}' $matk$	i-gomā'tg ⊭m a
chisels		Lqayā'tg £ ma
willow	$ar{e}$ - $lar{a}'itk$	ē-lā'itg ɛma ; ē-lā' ēma
disease	$ar{e}'$ - $tc!a$	t-tc!ā'ma
geese		t-k!elak!elā'ma
knife	i-qē wī'qē	<i>i-qēwiqē'ma</i> iron
saliva	$L-i\bar{a}'-mxt\bar{e}$ (his—)	t <i>E</i> −mxtē′ma
whale	$ar{\imath}'$ - $kolar{e}$	i-kolē'ma
meat	$ar{e}'$ -L $^{m{\epsilon}}wu$ L $m{e}$	ı!olē'ma
pike	$ar{e}'$ - $qar{o}qar{o}$	t-qōqō'ma
seal	ō'-l̄xaiu	ō-lxaiō'ma
elder brother!	ka' pxō	kā'pxōma, ā'pxōma
breast (female)	i' -tca-t \bar{o} (her—)	t - $g\bar{a}'$ - $t\bar{o}ma'$ (their—)

	Singular	Plural	
bucket	$ar{o}'$ - $cgan$	t-cg e'nma	
cedar	$ar{\imath}'$ - $cgan$	$ar{\imath}$ – cg $e'nma$	
what	$tar{a}n$	tā'nma	
stump	$ar{o}'$ - $tcin$	t - t c $ar{\imath}'$ n m a	
arrow	ō-kulai'tan	ō-kulai'tan ema, t-ka- lai'tan ema	
dipnet	$ar{o}'$ - $nuxcin$. t-nuxci'n zma	
antler	$L^{-\epsilon}E'tcam$	${\scriptscriptstyle L^{-^c}\it Etcar a'ma}$	
bear ·	i- $i'tsxut$	i- $itsxu't$ e ma	
bluff	i-kak!ā'lat	ı-kak!ā'lat≥ma	
porpoise	u-kō'tc-kōtc	u-kōtckō′tc <i>⊵ma</i>	
mountain	$i ext{-}par{a}'k$ ņ al	ı-pakұā′l ≥ma	
\mathbf{night}	$ar{o}$ -' $par{o}l$	ı−pō′l∈ma	
bunch of grass	ō-pā′€wil	t-pā'⁵wil ∈ma	
common person	giā'-q!atxal	gitā'-q!atxal ⊭ma	
year	i-qē'tak	i-qē′tāk £ma	
elk	i - $mar{o}'lak$	i-mō'lak Ema, i-mō'la-	
		kuma	
blanket	L-qoa'q	r-qoa'q Ema	
nail	i-tsū'saq	i-tsusā'qema	
grev	сред	cpe'qema ²	
half fathom	$\dot{cii'q!}$	cii'q!ma	
deerskin blanket	$cpar{a}'ix$	tpayi'x Ema	
another	tā'nux	tenō'xuma	
mat	ē'-1kui1x	ıkuē' ıx Ema	
well	ō-р <i></i> . р. . х	Lā′p L xuma ¹	
strong person	tg e l x ēwul x	tgā' Lxēwulx: Ema	
torch	$tk!\bar{e}'wax$	tk!ēwax£'ma	
bay •	$ar{e}'$ -ma $_{L}$	LE-mā'LEma	
knee	$\bar{o}'q!\bar{o}x$ L	tq!ō'xrma	
full	$p\bar{a}_L$ $p\bar{a}'_Lma^2$		

A peculiar form is $ox\bar{o}'x\bar{o}c$ PILE, plural $ox\bar{o}$ $x\bar{o}c$ xma, which is a verbal form signifying THEY ARE ON THE GROUND.

In a few cases in which the suffix -ma occurs with obscure connective vowel, like the preceding ones, changes of consonants occur in the end of the word:

	Singular	Plural		
day	$ar{o}^{oldsymbol{arepsilon}}ar{o}'oldsymbol{\iota}ar{a}oldsymbol{x}$	$_{L^{\mathbf{c}}aLar{a}'ma}$		
(his) fathom	$ar{a}'yana$	$L-i\bar{a}'-nxama$ (stem $-nx$)		
spruce	$ar{e}'$ -makt c	t-mā'ktc-xema		
sea-otter	e-lā'kē	i-lagē't ema		

Irregular is also the change in vowel in \bar{e}' - $q\bar{e}_L$ creek, plural $t!\bar{a}'$ Lema.

¹ Also Ld'pLpoakc. ² These are particles without pronominal plural sign.

A number of words take the ending -ma with connective vowel. Examples of the connective vowel $-\bar{o}$ - are:

	Singular	Plural
female	$ar{e}'$ - $nar{e}mckc$	ē-nēmckcō'ma
ground-hog	$c^{m{\epsilon}}olar{a}'l^{m{\epsilon}}$	$t!ar{o}lar{a}'l^{ar{e}}ar{o}ma$
blanket		
baton	i - q ! $ar{a}'lq$! al	i-q!alq!alō'ma
rock	ō-qō'nakc	t-q rnakcō'ma
skin	$ar{e}$ - $ar{e}ar{e}'c$	$ar{e}$ - $ar{e}$ c $ar{o}'ma$
grandson!	$qar{a}c$	$qar{a}'car{o}ma$
prairie	t_{E} - $m^{\epsilon}a'ar{e}ma$	t _E -m ^e a'ēmayōma

The last of these seems to be a double plural, the stem being probably $-m^{\varepsilon}a$.

Another series of words take $(-\bar{\epsilon}-)$ as connective vowel, sometimes

	Singular	Plural
son!	$ar{a}q$	ā'qx <u>oē</u> ma
young seal	$ar{a}'$ - $xoar{e}$	a-xō'yēvema
widow whose hus-	a - k $\epsilon'lial$	t-k zliā'lowēma
band has been		
dead a long		
time		
island	L EX	L Exoē'ma
younger sister!	$ar{a}ts$. ā'tsēma
younger brother!	a'o	a'oēma
town	$ar{e}' l x a m$	têlxamē'ma
house	t!ōL	t!ō∟ē′ma
Here belong also:		
thing	i'- kta	t-tā'-ktema his things
prairie		tem⁵ā′ēma¹
a plant		i-q!alxoē'ma
and the irregular forms:		•
\log	$ar{e}'$ - $m^{arepsilon}_{EC}x$	LE-mqcEmā'y ema
common man	ı-xā′yal	ı-xalā'yuēma
warrior	L-t!ō'xoyal	t!ōxolā'yuēma
	•	<u>-</u>

In at least one of these words the origin of the $-\bar{e}$ is reducible to a probable fuller form of the word. The stem of the word house is -quie in Kathlamet, and would naturally form the plural tquiema, which, in Lower Chinook, would take the form t!ōzē'ma.

(3) A considerable number of words have no plural suffix whatever, but differ only in the pronoun, or may even have the same pronoun in singular and plural. Examples of these are contained in the lists in § 37. Additional examples are:

	Singular	Plural
beaver	i-qoa-inē'nē	$t ext{-}qoa ext{-}inar{e}'nar{e}$
arm	$ar{\imath}'$ - $potar{e}$	$t ext{-}potar{e}$
arm-pit	i-k em elā' pix:	t-k em elā' pix:
cut of blubber	i-gitē'tcxala ·	t-gitē' tcxala
bone	i-kamō'kxuk	t-kamō'kxuk
dip-net	$ar{e}'$ -q $xacga$	te'-qxacga
buoy	\bar{o} - $qxun$	LE'-qxun
fresh-water clam	$ar{o}'$ - $ar{s}ala$	LE'-sala
coal	$ar{o}$ - $qar{o}'$ L $ar{x}$ ats $m{x}$.	L - $qar{a}'Lar{x}atsx$
crab-apple	$ar{o}$ - $par{a}'utc$	L - $par{a}'utc$
finger	ō-kci	t - $ar{k}ci$
canoe	$oldsymbol{i} ext{-}kanar{\imath}'m$	$ar{o}$ – $kunar{\imath}'m$

(4) Several terms of relationship and a few other related words have a plural in -nāna, as:

	Singular	Plural
parent-in-law	$ar{e}$ -' $qsix$	tr'-qsixnana
sister's son	i'-Latx En	t-Latx En-nana
wife's sister	ō'−pōtsxan	t-pō'tsxan-nana
father's sister	ō-Lak	t-Lak-nana
cousin (children of brother and sis-	∟-qa'mgē	t-qa'mgē-nana
ter)		

Also:

virgin $\bar{o}-h\bar{o}'t!au$ $t-h\bar{a}'t!au$ -nana friend i-ci'kc t-ci'kc-nana

A few terms of relationship have plural forms in -iks or the distributive -ma, as:

father	L-mama	L-mama-ikc
elder brother	i- $xk!un$	t-xk!un-ikc
younger brother	i-wux	t-wux-tikc
mother's brother	i-tata	t-tata-i kc
younger brother!		
(address)	a'o	a'oema
daughter's child!		
(address)	$qar{a}c$	$qar{a}'car{o}ma$

(5) A number of words have peculiar plural suffixes:

	omguiar	Piurai	
chief	i - $kar{a}'nax$	$t ext{-}kanar{a}'x ext{-}imct$	
\mathbf{mother}	L-aa	L-atct	
youth	i - $q'oar{a}'lip x'$	t - $q!ulipx$ $un\bar{a}'yu$ under 6) §12	(see
sweetheart	$ extit{L-$qar{o}lix$}$	t-'qōleyū	

(6) In a number of cases the plural is formed by the insertion of the syllable $-y\bar{u}$ - which may be either an affix or may be considered as an expansion of the vowel of the stem by dieresis.

	Singular		Plural
to bathe	- $^{\epsilon}ar{o}t$		-€ōyut
to rise	-xalatck	•	-xalayutck
to notch	- $ts!ar{e}_L oldsymbol{x}$		-ts!ā'yuLx
to dance	- w î tck		-wāyutck
to awaken	- $^{\epsilon}ar{o}tc$		- oyutc

(7) The personal demonstrative pronoun has a plural in -c.

 $x \cdot \bar{i}'ta$ these things $x \cdot \bar{i}'tac$ these men $q\bar{o}'ta$ those things $q\bar{o}'tac$ those men $q\bar{o}'tac$ those men

(8) Several nouns and verbs form singular and plural from distinct or distantly related stems, as:

	Singular	Plurai
woman	ō-¢ō'kuil	t-ā'n emckc
child	<i>L-k!ā'8k8</i>	t-qā'sōsinîks
child (some one's)		L- <u>a</u>
relative	L-icx	ı_a t-cōlal
slave	$ar{e}$ -la'iti x ·	t-ēltgēu
eye	\bar{e}' -qot	Dual s-qōct
to be	$-\bar{o}$ - c	-x-ēla-itix
to cry	-ge'tsax	-xēnēm
to stand	-txuit	-xēna
to die	$-ar{o}$ - m E qt	-xe'-l-ait
to kill	$-\bar{a}$ - wa^{ϵ}	-o-tēna

§ 39. VOCATIVE

A few nouns, particularly terms of relationship, have a vocative, which has no pronominal element, as:

$a\bar{o}$ younger brother!	$m\bar{a}'ma$ father!
āts younger sister!	$\bar{a}q \text{ son!}$
$k\bar{a}'px\bar{o}$ elder brother! elder sister!	\bar{ac} daughter!
qāc grandchild! (said by man)	cike friend!
ka'ē grandchild! (said by woman)	

§ 40. DERIVATION OF NOUNS

On the whole the derivation of the numerous polysyllabic nouns in Chinook is obscure. Evidently a considerable number of nominal affixes exist, which, however, occur so rarely that their significance can not be determined. Examples are the derivatives from the stem $\bar{e}lx$ Land, country— $il\bar{e}'\bar{e}$ country (the x disappears because the vowel following lx carries the accent) $lg\bar{o}l\bar{e}'lxemk$ person, $\bar{e}'lxam$ town,

tê'lx'em people. From the stem xē we have iqoate'xēxē Bullfrog; from the stem kon, iqtō'konkon woodpecker.

A few affixes only occur fairly frequently, but even in these cases it is sometimes impossible to classify the words satisfactorily.

1. -kē-. I presume this prefix is the same as, or at least related to, the verbal prefix -ki, -gi, which signifies that a verb usually transitive is used without object. Thus may be explained—

o'gi Lq!up a cut
igē' L!menL!men something rotten
tgilē'matk store
oguē'pxatē alder (= wood for dyeing)
ik!ē'wulelq L food
ē'k it payment for a wife
Lk!ē'wax torch, flower
tkipalā'wul word
tkimō'cx em toy
ik!etē'nax game

2. -qe-. This seems to be a nominal prefix corresponding to the verbal reflexive -x-.

 $\bar{o}q\bar{o}gu'nk \, Latk \, \, {
m club} \, \, \, ({
m from} \, -x -gunk \, \, {
m to} \, \, {
m club})$

Lqë'tcamëtë comb (from -xel-tciam to comb one's self)

rqēlē'tcuwa hat (from -xenlē'tcuwa to hang a round thing on top
of one's self)

iqats/ē' ıxak panther (from -xtsē' ıxakō to have a notch around ōqotsiā'yu ıxak ants) one's self)

Judging from these examples, it would seem plausible that most nouns beginning with -qi-, -ki-, $-k!\bar{e}$ -, $-q\bar{e}$ -, $-q!\bar{e}$ -, contain these prefixes, for instance:

igē'luxtcutk arrow-head

igē'mxatk burial

ige'l'otē elk-skin

oquē'nxak plank

ōk!wē'lak dried salmon

and other similar ones. Here may also belong

oquewi'qe knife

'oq!welā'wulx maturing girl (the one who is moved up, hidden?)
iq!eyō'qxut old

The extensive use of these prefixes is also illustrated by-

iqēk! E's BRASS, but

ik!E'sa GALL (both from k!ES YELLOW)

 $iq\bar{e}'p!al$ doorway (probably from -p!a INTO [= that into which people always enter])

3. na- is a local prefix.

nalxoa'p hole (from lxoa'p to dig)
na'ē'lim the country of the Tillamook (from 'ēlim)

4. -tē a suffix signifying TREE, WOOD.

oguē'pṣatē alder (= wood for dyeing).

5. -tk is a nominal suffix the significance of which is quite obscure. In a few cases it indicates the point of an object, but in many cases this explanation is quite unsatisfactory. It seems possible that this suffix is the same as the verbal stem -tk to put down, to deposit, so that its meaning might be something on the ground, or something attached to something else, or a part of something else. This explanation would be satisfactory

ī'potitk forearm

iqë'luxtcutk arrow-head

in words like-

iwa'nematk belly-cut of a fish

 $il_{\it Em\bar{e}'tk}$ BED may be derived from $-\bar{e}lx$ ground, and may mean PUT DOWN ON THE GROUND

ikalxe'lematk may mean put down to eat from (= dish)

The following list contains some stems with their nominal and verbal derivatives. It will be noted that in a number of cases the verb is derived from the noun.

-pxa ALDER-BARK.

ō'-pṭa alder-bark
ō-guē'-pṭa-tē alder

\[\overline{L-g}\overline{e}'-pṭa-tē\] alder-woods

\[\overline{-al-\overline{o}'-pṭa}\] to dye in alder-bark

\[\overline{L-g-L-al-\overline{o}'-pṭa}\] dyed cedar-bark

-ts!ēlx to notch.

i-qa-ts/ \bar{e}' Lx-ak what has a notch around itself (= panther) \bar{o} -qo-ts/ \bar{a}' yuLx-ak those with notches around themselves (= ants) -s-x-ts/ \bar{e} Lx- $ak\bar{o}$ to make a notch around a thing

 $-k!anxar{a}'tar{e}$, drift-net.

 \bar{o} -k!un $x\bar{a}'t\bar{e}$ drift-net

-xen-k!anxā'tē-mam to go to catch in drift-net

nauā'itk net.

-xe-nauā'itgē to catch in net

-wiuc URINE OF MALE.

L-ō'-wiuc urine

-xa-wīuc to urinate
o-wiū'c-matk chamber

-kxamit to PAY ATTENTION.

i-ka-kxamit mind

-a-kxamit to pay attention

-gunk to club.

ō-qō-gu'nk-la-tk club -x-gunk to club

-tciam to comb.

 $L-q\bar{e}$ -tcam- \bar{e} -t \bar{e} comb

-LXE TO CRAWL.

 $L-qa-Lx\bar{e}'-la$ one who crawls much (= crab)

-utca EAR.

ō'-utca ear

-x-wu'tca-tk to hear

-Lxel(em) to eat.

i-ka-LxE'l-matk dish

-foic to BREAK WIND.

-xe'l'oic-qc to break wind (perhaps for -'oicqoic) ō'-'wic-qc wind broken

-LX AROUND NECK.

 $-Lx-\bar{o}t$ it is around the neck $i-q/\bar{e}'-Lx-\bar{o}t$ necklace

-tewa to Bail out.

-x-tēwa to bail out canoe o-ti-tewā'-Lx-tē for bailing out into the water (= bailer)

-kamōt PROPERTY.

-x· mōta to barter t-kamō'ta property

-kema(tk) BATON.

ō'-kumatk baton

-xematk to beat time with baton

-LE TO CATCH WITH HERRING-RAKE.

-x-Lē-n to catch with herring-rake i-qa-Lē'-ma-tk herring-rake

-mōcx em to play, to fool.

t-ki-mō'cx ema toys

-m'cx WOOD.

ē-m^ecz tree ō-m^eēcz kettle -zel-megci to gather wood

-pla to enter.

i-qē'-p!al doorway

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-lētcuwa to put hollow thing on top of something.
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L-qē-Lētcuwā'-ma hat

-qct LOUSE.

 \bar{o} -qct louse

 $-g\bar{e}$ -qcta to louse

-kutck to NET

c-k^utck- $m\bar{a}'tk$ net-shuttle

 $-xel-g\bar{e}'-k^utck$ to net

-tciakt to Point.

-gen-tciaktē to point at something gi-tcā'aktē-l pointer (= first finger)

-mq to spit.

-ō-mqo-it to spit

 $-\bar{o}$ - m^{ϵ} -a to vomit

L-mx-tē saliva

-kta thing, something, what.

i-kta thing, something, what

-gem-ō-kti to pay

§ 41. NOUNS AND VERBS DERIVED FROM PARTICLES.

Many particles (see § 46) can be used as stems of nouns. I have found the following examples:

i-yul! pride 74.11 (from yūl! proud)

tk!ē'waxema torches 27.22 (from wax light, to shine)

ik!ē'wax flower 165.27 (from wax to bloom)

ēwaxō'mi copper (from wax light, to shine)

ik!wacfō'mi fear 213.10 (from k!wac afraid)

igi'rq!up cut 46.2 (from rq!up to cut)

igē'L!menL!men syphilis (from L!men soft, rotten)

nats! E'x piece 69.3 (from ts! Ex to tear)

nalxoa'p hole 23.7 (from lxoa'p to dig)

 $nal\bar{o}'l\bar{o}$ something round (from $l\bar{o}'l\bar{o}$ round)

 $-x\bar{a}'p_{E}nic$ a woman gives herself in payment for services of a shaman 203.11 (from $p\bar{a}'nic$ to give in payment for services of a shaman)

-gē'staq!oam to go to war 270.1 (from staq! war)

L-xq!am to be lazy (from *q!am* lazy)

ne-āxaxome to notice 40.14 (from xāx to notice)

 $c\bar{e}'kpelept$ it boils (from lep to boil)

 $-x\bar{a}'gi_{L}q!up$ to cut one's self (from Lq!up to cut)

Nevertheless this series of stems is sharply set off from all others, since the latter never occur without pronominal elements, excepting a few vocatives that have been mentioned in §39.

§ 42. COMPOUND NOUNS

There are only very few examples of nouns compounded of two independent elements, as:

 $c-g_E-m\bar{o}'lak-tcxict$ my elk nose 193.19 (c- dual; $-g_E$ - my; $-m\bar{o}lak$ elk; -tcxict nose)

t!agēla'ktē woman's utensils (t- plural; -agē'lak woman; -ktē things)

i-k/ani-y-i'lxam myth town 216.8 (i- masculine -kanam myth; -elxam town)

A number of nouns, particularly names of animals, are descriptive in character. These were probably used as alternates in case one name of an animal became tabued through the death of a person bearing its name, or a name similar to it. Examples are:

iqats!ē' Lxak having a notch around itself, i. e., with a thin belly (= panther)

 $oqots!i\bar{a}'yullak$ those having notches around themselves (= ants) $itc\bar{a}'yau\;\bar{a}'yaqtq$ snake's head (= dragon flv)

 $\bar{e}'gal_{ELX}$ going into the water (= mink)

otcō'itxul dip-net maker (=spider)

 $eq\bar{e}'wam$ the sleepy one (=a fish [sp.])

 $ok\bar{o}'lxul$ thief (= mouse)

ik!u'tk!ut the one who always breaks (bones) (=dog [Kathlamet dialect])

§ 43. SUBSTANTIVES AS QUALIFIERS

Substantives are often used to qualify other substantives. In this case the qualifying substantive takes the gender of the one qualified:

ō'kxōla o'ō'wun a male silver-side salmon 109.3

e'ē'kil imō'lak a female elk 264.3

ē'kņala imō'lak a male elk 264.2

These qualifiers are not adjectives, but remain true substantives, as is shown by the feminine prefix \bar{o} -, which is characteristic of substantives.

§ 44. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs

(1) Demonstrative Pronouns of Lower Chinook. The structure of the demonstrative pronoun of the Chinook proper is analogous to that of the noun. It consists of a modal element, which seems to express visibility and invisibility; the personal pronoun which expresses gender; and the demonstrative element, which expresses position near the first, second, and third persons.

(1) Modal element.

Visibility, or existence in present time x-Invisibility, or existence in past time q-

(2) Gender.

Masculine -i-

Feminine -a-

Neuter -L-

Dual -ct-

Plural -t-

(3) Demonstrative element.

Near first person-k

Near second person -au (-i-a)

Near third person -x $(-\bar{o}-a)$

In the forms with consonantic pronoun (-L-, -ct-, -t-), the demonstrative element is represented by a secondary character— $-\bar{\imath}$ - $(-\bar{e}-)$ preceding the pronoun for the demonstratives of the first and second persons; $-\bar{o}$ - for the demonstrative pronoun of the third person.

Thus the following table develops:

Present, Visible

Near 1st person					x: ik	Feminine $x \cdot ak$	Neuter x·ī <i>lik</i>
Near 2d person				•	xiau	x· au	$oldsymbol{x}oldsymbol{ar{\imath}_La}$
Near 3d person					$x \cdot ix \cdot$	$x.a\dot{x}$	x ·ōla
					Dual	Plural	Plural, human beings
Near 1st person					$x \cdot \bar{\imath} ctik$	$oldsymbol{x}ar{\cdot}ar{\imath}tik$	x itikc
Near 2d person					$oldsymbol{x}ar{\cdot}ar{oldsymbol{\imath}}cta$	$x \cdot \bar{\imath} ta$	x· $itac$
Near 3d person	•	•	•	•	$x \cdot ar{o}cta$	x·ōta	x·ōtac

Past, Invisible

						Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Near 1st person						-	-	-
Near 2d person						qiau	_	q ē L a
Near 3d person	•		•			qix.	qax	qō1 .c
						Dual	Plural	Piural, human beings
Near 1st person					•	_	_	_
Near 2d person						qēcta	q ēta	qētac
Near 3d person	•	•	•	•	•	qōc ta	qōta	q ōtac

The forms for past or invisible near the first person do not seem to occur. Besides these, emphatic forms occur in which the initial elements are doubled. Of these I have found the following:

	Present, Visible	:
Masculine x·ix·i'k x·ix·iau' x·ix·ī'x:	Feminine <i>yayā'k</i> <i>yayau'</i>	Neuter - - x'ix' ō' 1.a
	$xaxar{a}'x$	
Dual —	Plural —	Plural, human beings —
* x·ix·ō'cta	x · ix · $ar{o}'ta$	x·ix·ō'tac, x·ix·ō'1ac
	Past, Invisible	
Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
- qiqiau'	qaqau'	-
qiqē'x.	$ar{qaq}ar{a}'x$	$qiqar{o}'$ La \cdot
Dual.	Plural.	Plural, human beings.
_	_	_
giqō'cta	qiqō'ta `	qiqō'ctac

On the whole, these doubled forms are used more frequently in a predicative sense than the single forms. Apparently they are often substantival forms, but I think they are better characterized as predicative. Quite often these forms may be translated This one, who.

x·ix·ē'k algē'tkulam x·ila lq!eyō'qxōt it is this (masc.), he brought it (masc.) this (neut.) old man 67.6

\[
\bar{o}q!\bar{o}'x\bar{o}L \text{ xaxau'} \bar{o}'Lxat \bar{O}q!\bar{o}'x\bar{o}L, \text{ this is the one, she has come down to the beach 107.9 (\bar{o}-\text{ she; -Lx to the beach; -t perfect)} \]
\[
xixiau \text{ amiga't!\bar{o}m this one whom you met 185.12 (a-\text{ transitional; m-thou; i-him; -gatq to meet; -am completive)}
\]

aniā'wa' qiqiau'x ktcenxgā'lukī I killed that one who always went first 89.5 (-wa' to kill; qiqiau'x probably for qiqiau'; k- the one who; tcen—he me; -xgako to go about; -z with suffix -ako by metathesis -alukī)

The simple forms occur generally in adjectival form.

nal*ē'ma xak ōk!u'ltcin I will give her this fish head 183.7 (nal-I her to her; -*ēm to give food; -a future; ōk!u'ltcin fish head) atcile'l*ēm ikamō'kxuk qō'la zgē'wusx he gave a bone to that dog 187.12 (atcilel- he him to it; ikamō'kxuk bone; zgē'wusx dog) k*ca'la x'ik nē'mal up this river 220.2

In some cases I have found tikc, tik, tik instead of the same elements with the prefix x i, but I am not certain whether in these cases the beginning of the word was not slurred over.

Apparently there is also a duplication of the terminal element in -k. At least this is a possible explanation of the form $x \cdot ix \cdot \bar{e}'kik$.

x·ix·ī'gik mkā'nax tcemā'xō this here is what will make you rich 218.1 (m- thou; -kānax chief, rich man; tcem- he thee; a-directive before x; -x to make; -ō future after x)

ē'kta tcīuwā'ya x'ix ē'kik what can this one do! 134.25

iä! x·ix·ē'kik! oh, this (miserable) one! 41.10, 147.1
tqā'ma* x·itē'kik these are shot 213.20 (tqā- their; -ma* being shot)

To this form may belong the demonstratives $\bar{o}'kuk$, $y\bar{o}'kuk$, ya'xkuk, $x \cdot ix \cdot \bar{o}'kuk$, $qiq\bar{o}'k$, but all these seem to be demonstrative adverbs.

(2) Demonstrative Adverbs of Lower Chinook. These are very numerous and it is difficult to present them in a systematic way. One set corresponds strictly to the set described before. The forms expressing present have the element x-, those expressing past q-. Both occur with the two vowels $-\bar{\imath}$ - and $-\bar{o}$ -, which, in this case, seem to express this and that. Their locative character is expressed by the suffixed locative element $g\bar{o}$. Thus we find—

 $egin{array}{ll} x \cdot ar{i} g ar{o} & x \cdot ar{o} g ar{o} & q ar{o} g \ar{o} & q \ar$

- a'lta ā' lō iau'a x igō nalxoa'p algā'yax ilē'ē now they went thus to this place where they had dug up the ground 23.7 (a'lta now; a- transitional; l- indefinite; -ō to go; iau'a here thus; na- place; lxoa'p to dig; a- transitional; lg- indefinite transitive subject; -āy- for -i- masculine object; -a- directive; -x to do; ilē'ē ground masc.)
- $x\bar{i}g\bar{o}$ Nagalā'mat, $g\bar{o}$ $tg\bar{a}'k^{u}lil$ $q\bar{o}'ta-y-\bar{e}'ka$ here at Galā'mat is their custom thus 240.25 (na- place; $g\bar{o}$ there; $tg\bar{a}'$ -their; $-k^{u}lil$ custom; $\bar{e}'ka$ thus)
- iā'xkēwa tal! x ōk q!at aqā'nax nevertheless there I am loved 39.5
 (iā'xkēwa there thus; tal! nevertheless: q!at to love; a- transitional; -ān me [accented ā]; -a directive; -x to do)

tc!a'a, $qa'da x \bar{o}gu n_E'xax$ see! how I became here 178.8

- a'lta *pil qigō leku nē'xax* now it was red where it was broken 185.20 (*pil* red; *leku* to break)
- $p\bar{a}$ L $ik\bar{a}'pa$ $qig\bar{o}$ $m\bar{a}'Ln\bar{e}$ it was full of ice there seaward 44.24 $(p\bar{a}L$ full; $ik\bar{a}'pa$ ice; $m\bar{a}'Ln\bar{e}$ seaward)
- ale'xelategux qigō nōpō'nemx he would arise when it was night 165.6
- qōgu itcā'q!atxala ayā'xɛlax utcā'nix there the wedge was bad 161.8 (i- masculine; -tcā- feminine possessive; -q!atxala badness; ayā'xɛlax hers is on her; utcā'nix wedge)

a'ctōp! gō qōgō gitanō'kstx t!ōL they entered that little house 29.14 (a'ctō they two go; -p! into; gō there; gitanō'kstx having their smallness)

A distinct series, continuing the idea in this manner are ya'kwa, yau'a, ē'wa, qēwa, ya'xkēwa.

Related to these is the interrogative $q\bar{a}'x\bar{e}wa$. All of these contain the element -wa. They designate nearness and distance, but I am unable to tell the difference in their use, which is rather indefinite. According to their form $ya'kwa\ (=yak-wa)$ probably belongs with the series designating position near the speaker, $yau'a\ (=yau-wa)$ position near the person addressed. The form $\bar{e}wa$ seems to correspond to the demonstrative position near the third person, while $ya'xk\bar{e}wa$ always refers back to a place previously designated: Thus Just at That place.

iakwa' gōyē' ā'tcax here he did thus 65.21 (gōyē' thus; ātc- he her; -ax to do)

nēkct mō'ya iau'a do not go there! 185.17

nē'k·ikst ē'wa wē'wuzē he looked there into the house 130.17 (nē-he, intransitive; -k·i designates lack of object; -kst to look; wē'wuzē inside of house)

iā'xkēwa nē'xankō there (to the place pointed out) he ran 23.17 iā'xkēwa ayuqunā'ētix't there (where he was shot) he fell down 62.22

The forms in -wa are used often to express the idea HERE—THERE: $\bar{e}'wa \ \bar{e}'nata$, $iau'a \ \bar{e}'natai$ here on this side,—there on that side 201.12

ia'kwa nō'ix ā'ēxat, iau'a ta'nuta nō'ix ā'ēxat here went the one (feminine); there to the other side went the other 75.14

But we find also forms in -uk used in the same way-

iō'kuk agā'yutk iqē'sqēs, ia'kwa ē'natai agā'yutk kā'sa-it here on one side she put blue-jay, there on the other robin 50.4

zā'yapc iakwa',—iō'kuk iā'm zlk his foot there,—here his thigh 174.15

The same adverb is not often repeated to indicate different directions or places.

iā'ma iau'a mō'yima; näkct iau'a mai'ēmē iztā'yim only there (upstream) go; do not go there downstream 192.9

Generally repetition refers to the same places.

iau'a acgixa'lukctgux, iau'a acgixa'lukctgux here they two threw him down, here they two threw him down; i. e., they threw him down again and again 26.8

yauā' actik!ēlā'pxuitxē, yauā' actik!ēlā'pxuitxē there they turned over each other again and again 127.4

iā'koa-y-ēxt, ia'koa-y-ēxt kanā'mtema one here, one here, both;
i. e., one in each hand 45.10 (see also 157.22)

As stated before, the forms in -uk seem to have adverbial meaning. Following are examples of their uses:

ō'kuk kīā'qēwam ikē'x imē'xanātē there (with that) shaman is thy soul 199.23 (kīā'qēwam one having a shaman's song; i- he; -kē- indicates absence of object; -x to do, to be; -mē- thy; -kanatē soul)

iō'kuk agā'yutk gō itcā'xemalap!ix here she put him in her armpit 50.4 (-tk to put; -kemalap!ix armpit)

aqā'nukct x'ix'ō'kuk some one looked at me here 30.8 (-kct to look) Lonas yaxku'k Ltxā'mama Loc may be our father is there 29.14 (Lonas may be; -mama father; -c to be)

tcintuwa' comx qiqo'k antsauwi'p! ena'nanma-itx te'kxeql he comes to kill me when I always jump in my house 64.25 (tc-he; n-me; t- to come; -wa'- to kill; -am to arrive; -x habitually; a-transitional; n- I; ts- probably for s- both [feet]; -auwi- for -on into them [see § 9]; -pen to jump; -an assimilated for -al always [§ 8] -a-itx always [§ 31.10])

Quite isolated is the form ia'xkati, which appears with great frequency. The ending -ti is evidently adverbial, as is shown by the parallel Kathlamet form $gip\bar{a}'tix$ THERE, and $n\bar{o}'L!katix$ FOR A LITTLE WHILE. It signifies the position near the third person, THERE.

iā'zkati mō'p!aya! enter there! 24.5 iā'zkatē ayō'za-it there he stayed 76.14

Still another form, apparently related to the forms in -uk, is ia'xkayuk HERE.

ia'xkayuk ayō'yam here he arrived 64.24 ia'xkayuk nr^eeltā'qra I shall leave it here 186.1

Related to this form may be $yukp\bar{a}'$ HERE and $yukp\bar{a}'t$ TO THIS POINT HERE. These contain the locative suffix -pa AT, which is characteristic of Upper Chinook, but does not occur in Lower Chinook, while the ending -t is directive and related to the Upper Chinook -ta (see § 55).

yukpā' iā'ma' atcē'lax here he hit him (his shooting he did to him here) 62.22

yukpā' ayageltcē'mex'it here it hit him 153.22

yukpä't zā'yaqsō aqzē'lax izā'zqta his hair was made that long (to here his hair someone made it on him its length) 156.17 yukpe't nizē'za-it ztcuq up to here he stood in (it) the water 225.8

It will be noticed that the element $iax\ (yax)$ occurs quite frequently in these demonstratives. As terminal element it is found in $x \cdot ix \cdot \bar{o}' yax$, $g\bar{o}' yax$ and the interrogative $q\bar{a}' x\bar{e} yax$.

As initial element it occurs in ya'xkuk, ia'xkayuk, ia'xkēwa, ia'xkati. It is undoubtedly identical with the terminal yax of the Kathlamet demonstrative and with the first element in ia'xka HE ALONE, the third person masculine personal pronoun of Lower Chinook.

(3) Demonstrative Pronouns of Kathlamet. In Kathlamet and Wishram, the distinction of visible and invisible does not occur and the structure of the demonstratives is quite different. In both Kathlamet and Wishram, the demonstrative expressing location near the first person has a prefix (which in Kathlamet has the same form for masculine and feminine), while all the other genders are designated by their characteristic sounds. In Wishram this prefix is invariable. The location near the second and third persons is expressed in both dialects by invariable suffixes.

Kathlamet

		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Near 1st person		tayax	tawā'x	La Lā′‡
Near 2d person		yā'xauē	$ar{a}'xauar{e}$	ıā'‡auē
Near 3d person		$yax \cdot \bar{\imath}'(yax)$	$wax \cdot \bar{\imath}'(yax)$	$\textit{\textit{Lax}} \cdot \bar{\imath}'(\textit{\textit{yax}})$
		Duål	Plural	Plural, persons
Near 1st person		ctactā' x	tatā' ŗ	La Lā'ikc tatā'ikc
Near 2d person		ctā' xau ē	tā'xauē	()
Near 3d person		$ctax \cdot \bar{\imath}'(yax)$	$tax \cdot \bar{\imath}'(yax)$	La-itci ta-itci

Besides these forms, Kathlamet has two very short forms, gi and tau. Both are used for positions corresponding to HERE, but their exact relationship has not been determined. They occur with all genders and numbers. The form tau is undoubtedly identical with the Wishram dau, which characterizes the first and second persons as prefix and suffix.

its!ā'ts!emôm gi ā'mēqct her sweetness this thy louse (=your louse here is sweet) 118.12 (Kathlamet Texts)

Lā'ema gi LE'tcin Lā'tgatcz only this stump drifts down 92.5 (ibid.) qātcqī k!ā igō'xoax gi tgu'nat? why have these salmon disappeared? (why nothing became these salmon?) 47.8 (ibid.)

qā'mta iō'ya tau igîxatkloā'mam? where went he who came home? 162.7 (ibid.)

ikzotā'mit tau aqagē'lak this woman carried him away 163.1 (ibid.)

The element gi appears also presumably in tanki something.

(4) Demonstrative Adverbs of Kathlamet. The two most frequent forms of the demonstrative adverbs in Kathlamet are

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gipar{a}' here gar{o}par{a}' there
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both compounds of demonstrative stems and the locative suffix -pa.

gipā' gi txā'qcqmapa ayamelgē'tga here to these our wedges I shall put you 114.13 (Kathlamet Texts) (txā- our; -qcqem wedge; -ma plural; -pa to; ayamel- I to thee; -gi- indicates absence of object; -tk to put; -a future)

 $gip\bar{a}' cxq!o\bar{a}' \iota q\bar{o}x$ here the two were grown together 17.1 (*ibid.*) $icx\bar{e}'la-itx$ $k\bar{o}'pa$ they stayed there 10.6 (*ibid.*)

kōpa' igixî'qo-îtq then he awoke 21.8 (ibid.)

imō'lak gōpā' cā'xalîx an elk is up there 71.5 (ibid.)

In place of $gip\bar{a}'$ the stronger form $gip\bar{a}'t\hat{i}x$ is found. $gip\bar{a}'t\hat{i}x$ $si\bar{a}'x\hat{o}stpa$ right here on his face 76.14 (*ibid*.)

Compare with this form-

ilō'yam ēlxpadîx they arrived in that land 17.14 (ibid.)
iōquē'wulxt iqā'm enoqpā'tîx: he climbed a pine there 11.14 (ibid.)

Corresponding to the forms $yukp_E't$, $yukp_E't_Ema$, in Lower Chinook, we find here $gip_E't$, $gip_E't_Emax$.

gipe't ā'yaıqt up to here its thickness 189.5 (ibid.)

Lxp!octemtîx LE'Laqcō gipE'temax braided was his hair to here 131.10 (ibid.)

Often yax'i' (masc. dem. 3d person) is used as an adverb:

yaxī' aqaLā'x there (was) the sun 109.3 ya'xi mā'Lnîx iqē'kta there seaward he ran 172.11

The series of forms of Lower Chinook ending in -wa is represented by $\bar{a}'koa$, $\bar{e}'wa$.

iqcxē' tau ā'koa itcō'xoa here thus he made her a monster 224.3 (ibid.) (iqcxē' tau monster; itcō'- he her)

 $L\bar{a}n \ Laxi \ \bar{a}'kua \ Lx\bar{o}'la?$ who is that here thus talking? 51.9 (ibid.) $L\bar{a}n$ who; $Lx\bar{o}$ - it by itself)

ictō' Lxa ē'wa ikak!ō' Lîtx the two went down there thus to the lake 18.95 (ibid.)

It is characteristic of Upper Chinook that these forms occur often with distributive endings and with directive -ta.

måket ä'wimax iteā' 14tax two these thus their length 189.4 (ibid.) (måket two; iteā'- her; -14tax length)

Another adverb is found in this dialect, $t\bar{\epsilon}'ka$ thus here.

tē'ka gi atxōqō'ya! here we will sleep! 109.4 (ibid.) tē'ka atxk!ayā'wulalɛma here we will play! 167.17 (ibid.)

(5) Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs in Wish-

ram (by E. Sapir).			
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Near 1st person	$\begin{cases} da'uya(x) \\ da' = (x) \end{cases}$	da'ua(x)	da'ula(x)
•	da'ya(x)	da'wa(x)	da'la(x)
Near 2d person	{ya'xdau	a'xdau	{la'xdau
•	ya'xda(x)	a'xda(x)	la'xda(x)
Near 3d person	ya'xia(x)	a'xia(x)	la'xia(x)
Near 3d person (formed	_		•
from $ya'xdau$)	yakā'xdau	$akar{a}'xdau$	lakā'xda u
	Dual	Plural	Plural, persons $(da'uda-itc)$
Many lat warran	$\int da'ucda(x)$	$\int da'uda(x)$	da'da- itc
Near 1st person	da'cda(x)	da'da(x)	da'(u) la - itc
			da'(u)a-itc
	(-1-1-1	(3-13	da'xdauaitc
Near 2d person	$\begin{cases} cda'xdau \\ cda'xda(x) \end{cases}$	$\{da'xdau\}$	la'xdauaitc
-	(raa xaa(x)	da'xda(x)	a'xdauaitc
			(da'xiaitc
Near 3d person	cda'xia(x)	da'xia(x)	la'xiaitc
•	• , ,	. , ,	a'xiaitc
			dakā'xdauaitc
Near 3d person (formed			łakā'xdauaitc
from $ya'xdau$)	$cdakar{a}'xdau$	dakā'xdau	$ak\bar{a}'xdauaitc$
			(and add date)

Note.—It is somewhat doubtful whether ya'xdau should be so read or as ya'xdau. (x) in personal and demonstrative pronouns is deictic in value.

-ka may be added to demonstratives in -itc.

Elements -t/a and -t/ikc are perhaps "diminutive" forms of demonstrative pronominal stem da This and personal plural -dikc.

Following is a list of the demonstrative adverbs of the Wishram dialect:

andreec.	Locative	up to	towards, on side	
Stem $da(u)$	da'ba here	dapt	$dab\bar{a}'t$ little ways if ther on	fur-
Stem kwô	$kw\hat{o}'ba$ there $(yax da'ba 48.16)^3$	kwôp t	kwôbā't	•
Stem iaxi	ia'xiba yonder ia'xi away, off	ya'xpt	iaṣā't further on	
Stem di	di'ka here (dika dabā' 92.11)	(-pt also in qa'n tcipt how long?)	di'gat (18.17)	

¹ References in the rest of this section relate to E. Sapir, Wishram Texts (vol. II, Publication Amer. Ethnolog. Society).

Locative

Stem gi

i'wa thus, there

towards, on . . . side gi'gat (18.17) i'wat to you (place) { (106.22) iwa'tka (158.24)

NOTE.—Compounded with gi are also da'ngi something; qa'tgi somehow; qxa'matgi somewhere (96.11).

Related to di'ka and di'gad is perhaps digu'tcix PERHAPS (96.17); also di'wi LIKE.

In -xi we have, besides ya'xi, also (aga) du'xi oh, well! (60.4).

NOTE.—Ya'xa INDEED (also in quet i'axa as it turned out); au (perhaps = aw', a'wa, and related to Chinook ya'wa) in da'n au ayamlu'da what, pray, shall I give you? (154.6); yaxa'wa however.

Note also kwô'bixix right there, not very far.

-a'dix forms: a'ngadix long ago; ixtka'dix (192.2); ina'tkadix (192.5).

With stem dau: kwô'dau and; da'ukwa just as before; qxi'dau thus.

§ 45. Independent Personal Pronoun

The independent personal pronoun is formed from the objective pronoun by means of a number of suffixes of unknown origin and the terminal suffix -ka only.

naika I ntaika we two (exclusive) ntcaika we (exclusive)
maika thou txaika we two (inclusive) lxaika we (inclusive)
ia'xka he ntaika your two selves
a'xka she cta'xka their two selves
La'ska it ta'ska they

These forms may also be interpreted as intransitive verbs. Another emphatic form, apparently more verbal in character, is—

 $n\bar{a}'mka$ I alone $m\bar{a}'mka$ thou alone, etc.

A peculiar form $m\bar{\imath}'ca$ you occurs in the texts (23.1)

In the Kathlamet dialect an emphatic form na'yax I, ma'yax thou (Kathlamet Texts 114.11) is found, which occurs also in Wishram.

The forms for I, thou, etc., alone are:

na'ēma I alone

 $txa'\bar{e}ma$ we alone 134.16

These correspond to Wishram forms recorded by Sapir:

na'-ima I alone la'imadikc, da'-imadikc, a'-imadikc
ma'-ima thou alone they alone

lxa'-imadikc we (incl.) alone

Besides these, Doctor Sapir has recorded in Wishram the following: Shortest form:

na(x) I ya(x) he da'-itc they ta'-itc they (Wishram Texts 48.4) a'-itc they

Inclusive:

nai't!a I too ya'xt!a he too la'-it!ikc they too lxai't!ikc we too da'-it!ikc they too a'-it!ikc they too

He remarks that the demonstratives of the third person (ya'xia) seem morphologically parallel to first and second personal emphatic pronouns (na'ya); that the demonstrative element -i- is characteristic of the first and second persons, -x- of the third; as in

na-i-ka I ya-x-ka he na'-i-t!a I too ya-x-t!a he too na'-i0]-ya I ya-x-ia he

These elements -i- and -x- are probably identical with Chinook $-\bar{\imath}$ - and -x-, -x in $x\cdot\bar{\imath}'za$ and $x\cdot ix\cdot$, $x\cdot ax\cdot$.

Particles (§§ 46-52)

§ 46. Attribute Complements

It is one of the most striking characteristics of the Chinook language that a few verbs of very indefinite meaning which require subjective and objective attribute complements are applied with great frequency. By far the greater number of these, and the most characteristic ones, are words that do not require pronominal prefixes. Many are clearly of onomatopoetic origin. In some cases it appears doubtful whether the words belong to the regular vocabulary of the language, or whether they are individual productions. This is true particularly when the words do not form part of the sentence, but appear rather as independent exclamations. Examples of this kind are the following:

oxuiwā'yul kumm, kumm, kumm, kumm they danced, kumm, kumm, kumm, kumm, 167.5 (here kumm indicates the noise of the feet of the dancers)

hômm, iguā'nat ēni Lā'kux hômm, I smell salmon 67.3

a'lta, pemm, temōtsgā'nuks gō iā'yacqı now pemm, flies were about his mouth 72.22 (pemm indicates the noise of flies)

tcx, tcx, tcx, gō Lkamelā'leq there was noise of footsteps (tcx) on the sand 75.3

In a number of cases onomatopoetic terms which undoubtedly belong to the regular vocabulary are used in the same manner:

texup, texup, texup, texup ale'xax lā'k!ēwax the torch flickered (literally, made texup) 50.24

L!äq, L!äq, Lläq, Lā'xa nē'xax iskē'pxoa, out, out, out, out came a rabbit 113.6

These cases make it plausible that most terms of this kind belong to the regular vocabulary. The frequent use of such onomatopoetic words and the occurrence of new words of the same kind (such as ti'ntin clock, watch, time; tsi'ktsik wagon) suggest that in ('hinook the power of forming new words by imitative sounds has been quite vigorous until recent times.

Examples of onomatopoetic words of this class are:

 $h\bar{e}'h\bar{e}$ to laugh tsex to break $h\bar{o}'h\bar{o}$ to cough texup to flicker texoap to gnaw pō to blow t! Eq to slap k!ut to tear off tlāk to break a piece oùt xwē to blow $t\bar{o}'t\bar{o}$ to shake l_{EP} to boil L!äq to crackle cix to rattle L!lep to go under water cāu low voice

It is difficult to say where, in this class of words, the purely onomatopoetic character ceases, and where a more indirect representation of the verbal idea by sound begins. I think a distinct auditory image of the idea expressed is found in the following words:

ku'lkul light (of weight) $i\bar{u}'_{L}!l$ proud $k!\bar{a}$ silent wāx to pour out $p\bar{a}_L$ full *'q!am* lazy teme'n clear q!uL fast tell tired $l\bar{o}'l\bar{o}$ round Lell to disappear tc!pāk loud gu'tgut exhausted Lāx to appear Lxoap to dig gE'cgEc to drive

Most stems of this class occur both single and doubled, sometimes they are even repeated three or four times. Repetition indicates frequency of occurrence of the verbal idea; that is to say, it is distributive, referring to each single occurrence of the idea. We have—

 $w\bar{a}x$ to pour out (blood) 68.1 $w\bar{a}'xwax$ to pour out (roots) 43.2 $p\bar{o}$ to blow once 66.25 $p\bar{o}'p\bar{o}$ to blow repeatedly 129.20tell tiredte'lltell to be tired in all parts of the bodyk'lut to tear off 89.25k'lu'tk'lut to tear to pieces 249.4

A few stems, however, occur in duplicated form only, probably on account of the character of the idea expressed, which always implies repetition. Such are—

 $h\bar{e}'h\bar{e}$ to laugh gu'tgut exhausted $h\bar{o}'h\bar{o}$ to cough ku'lkul light (of weight) $t\bar{o}'t\bar{o}$ to shake $l\bar{o}l\bar{o}$ round

Others do not occur in duplicated form, but take the distributive ending -ma. These are—

pāl full 39.1, distributive pā'lma 229.24 wuk! straight, real 24.12, distributive wuk!ma 107.20 cpeq gray, distributive cpe'qema

Still others do not seem to undergo any change for the distributive.

teme'n clean, empty $k \cdot /\bar{e}$ to disappear, nothing $t\bar{a}'menua$ to give up 61.18 $k \cdot wac$ afraid 90.5 $tq/\bar{e}x$ to wish 129.27t/ap to find 140.1, 138.15 $st\bar{a}q \cdot war$ 272.5

On the whole, it would seem that those least onomatopoetic in character lack the doubled distributive.

In a few cases the doubled form has acquired a distinctive significance.

k/wan hopeful 134.8 k/wa'nk/wan glad 38.20 $l\bar{a}x$ sideways 267.3 $l\bar{a}'xlax$ to deceive 65.19, to rock 129.2

The most common verbal stem which is used in connection with these attributes is -x to be, to become, to do, to make. the general verb for motion, is sometimes used with stems signifying motion. It seems difficult to classify these words, except those that clearly express noises. Among a total of 126 words of this class, 44 express activities or processes accompanied by noises; 16 are decidedly imitative; 22 designate states of the mind or body which may be expressed by imitative sounds, such as cold, tired, fear; 7 are terms of color; 45 express miscellaneous concepts, but some of these may also be considered as imitative. It seems likely that, in a language in which onomatopoetic terms are numerous, the frequent use of the association between sound and concept will, in its turn, increase the readiness with which other similar associations are established, so that, to the mind of the Chinook Indian, words may be sound-pictures which to our unaccustomed ear have no such I have found that, as my studies of this language progressed, the feeling for the sound-value of words like $w\bar{a}x$ to pour, $k^{\cdot}!\bar{e}$ nothING, $k!\hat{o}mm$ silence, $L\bar{o}$ calm, $p\bar{a}'^{\epsilon}p\bar{a}^{\epsilon}$ to divide, increased steadily. For this reason I believe that many words of the miscellaneous class conveyed sound-associations to the mind of the Chinook Indian.

It will be noticed that verbs of motion and transitive verbs, except such as are accompanied by decided noises, are almost absent from the list of these words.

In quite a number of cases these words seem to be rather adverbs than attribute complements:

cā'ucau naxayi'llkulē she told him in a low voice 40.21 Lux nu Lā'tax it it fell down broken 49.2 Lke'plkep atcio'cgam it took it in its talons 137.15

If I remember rightly the cadence of the spoken sentence, these words must rather be considered as standing alone, the auxiliary verb -x being omitted.

LIST OF ATTRIBUTE COMPLEMENTS

(1) Actions and processes accompanied by noises. $(w\bar{a} \text{ a noise under water } 217.15)$ $uh\bar{u}'$ noise of an arrow striking a body 49.3 (hemm noise of wind 41.25) $h\hat{o}mm$ smell 67.2 (hä noise of an arrow breaking 49.4) $h\bar{e}'h\bar{e}$ to laugh 12.22 $h\bar{o}'h\bar{o}$ to cough pemm noise of flying 72.22 $p\bar{o}$ to blow 66.25; $p\bar{o}'p\bar{o}$ 129.20 pâ, pâ, pâ 175.3 (dell noise of bursting 49.19, noise of bear spirit 217.14) t!Eq to slap 40.25; tE'qtEq 26.8 $t\bar{o}'t\bar{o}$ to shake 194.1 tumm noise of fire 45.16, noise of bear spirit 217.13 temm noise of feet 133.17 t!āk to break a piece out of something cix noise of rattles 22.5 cell noise of rattles on a blanket 61.22; ci'llcill rattling of breath of one choking 150.7 cā'ca to break, to wreck 198.7 cāu low voice 162.11; cā'ucau 40.21 cxx noise of flying birds 137.14 ts/ex (tc/ex, tc/ux, tsex) to break a piece of wood, antlers, etc., with hands 60.7; to split wood 27.2; sinews 138.19; roots 95.14 (not used for splitting planks out of trees); to skin a bird 136.23; to bark a tree 164.16; ts/E'xts/Ex 45.19; nats/E'x a piece of flint flaked off 69.3

```
texup, texep to extinguish 51.2, to flicker 50.24; texe ptexep 28.8
  tcx noise of footsteps on sand 75.3
  texoa'p to gnaw; texoa'ptexoap 175.23
  gumm a noise under water 217.16
  gom noise of something heavy falling down 27.9
  kumm noise of dancing 167.5
  gg'cggc to drive 15.5
  k/ut to tear off 89.25; k/u'tk/ut to clear up (sky) 249.4
  ku'tcxä to sneeze 64.24
  qull noise of falling objects 67.1, noise of heels striking the ground
    65.13
  q!a'lq!al to beat time
  q!\bar{e} door creaks 66.14
  xx to blow 113.20
  x\bar{a}'xa to rub 65.9
  xwē to blow nose 113.21, to blow on water before drinking 213.13
  LEk^u to break 165.19; LE'kLEk 68.16
  LE'k LEK to burrow 95.13
  LEX to split (planks) 27.1, to burst 204.4; L!EX to tear 145.20
  LE'XLEX noise of scratching 153.7
  Lap noise of shooting 272.20
  Lux to come out 49.2, 201.1; Lu'xLux to pull out (of ground) 138.9
  Lke'plkep to grasp in talons 137.15
  Lk!\bar{o}p to squeeze 9.8; Lk!\bar{o}'pLk!\bar{o}p with eyes run out 29.20
  Lq!\bar{o}p to cut 114.3
  Lxoa'p to dig 23.5; Lxoa'pLxoap 115.15
  L!L! to titter 177.15
  L!Eq to hit, to strike 156.23
  L!äq, L!äx to crackle 38.1, 185.8
  L!lep under water 14.8
(2) Descriptive words.
  p\bar{a}_L full 39.1; p\bar{a}'_Lma 229.24
  w\bar{a}x to pour out 68.1, to take across river in canoe 23.24; w\bar{a}'xwax
  wāx to light, set afire 28.2, to bloom 165.26
  k!ômm no noise
  k!\bar{a}'ya no, none
  k/\bar{e} no 128.5, nothing 14.1, to disappear 128.28
  q!el strong; q!e'lq!el hard, 139.8, too difficult 204.12
  teme'n empty, clean
  te'te to stop doing something
  tuw\bar{a}'x to light, shine 12.1 (see w\bar{a}x)
  ku'llkull light of weight 199.9
  k!am, k!em no, none 37.15
  lep to boil 173.1
```

```
l\bar{o}'l\bar{o} round 186.23
\underline{\iota}!\bar{a}k spread out 178.7
```

L!men to break into small pieces, soft 130.4; L!me'nL!men 17.9

(3) Words expressing states of mind and body.

iū' L!l proud 93.16 *pEt* quiet 177.24

 $p!al\bar{a}'$ quietly, safe 198.4

tell, täl tired 62.14; te'lltell tired all over (= rheumatism)

tq!ēx to like 129.27

 $t!ay\bar{a}'$ well, healthy 165.21

ts Es cold 41.9

tse'xtsex unwell, feeling uncomfortable

tcxap to hesitate 27.15

q!at to love 41.6

xāx to notice, observe 75.17

LEk!, Läk! weak 212.21

tc/ē'ktc/ēk almost choked 151.1

 $l\bar{a}x$ lonesome 22.3

gu'tgut exhausted

k! ex cloyed 46.24; k! e'xk! ex grease smell 137.7

k!ā silent 37.9, 129.2

k!wan hopeful 134.8; k!wa'nk!wan glad 38.20

k!wac afraid 211.15

 $k!c\bar{o}$ stiff in joints

q!am lazy 138.4

L!ō'ya stingy (?) 139.11

L!â to fear 212.11

L!pāq to recover 196.22

(4) Color-terms.

ıē'el black 25.11

k!äs yellow

cpeq gray (dry?) 109.10

tk!ōp white 124.25

ptcîx green 30.21

Lpîl red 185.20

ts! emm variegated

(5) Miscellaneous words.

 $i\bar{a}'c$ to let alone 187.13

ux to take a chance

wuk! straight 24.12; wuk! Ema' 107.20

pe'nka afoot 217.8, 107.6

 $p\bar{a}'nic$ to give secretly payment to a shaman 200.7

 $p\bar{a}^{\epsilon}$ to divide; $p\bar{a}'^{\epsilon}pa^{\epsilon}$ 248.4

 $p\bar{a}x$ unlucky 264.13

```
pōx foggy 37.4
pux lukewarm
pō'xoiē to make a mistake
m_{EL}! wet 37.5
man\bar{e}'x to learn a secret 200.10
tā'm enua to give up 61.18
tkr/ltkrl dull
tk!ē to sit looking on
t/\bar{a}'nuwa to exchange 228.8
n \in k \bar{o} to keep, to retain 277.14
stāq! war, attack 272.5
stux to untie, to unwrap 135.13; stu'xstux 116.10
(tctāx around a point)
tsk!Es to stoop
tc!pak strongly 164.9, 110.1
k!au to tie 123.19; k!au'k!au 118.6
qoä't reaching 48.6, high water 198.24
que to hang, to fish with gaff-hook 27.16, to put on garment, to
  dress 136.23
q! E' cq! Ec dry 14.19 (= thirsty) 21.1
(q!oa'p \text{ near } 40.9)
q!ul low water 198.26
q!ul fast; q!ul ē'cgam hold fast 44.15 (see qul)
xuē't half full 166.8
x\bar{o}p streaming
lāx sideways 267.3, afternoon 63.18, to miss 13.19; lā'xlax to rock
   129.2, to deceive 65.19
lu'xlux slick
lu'xpamē adultery
LEX to sit still
L\bar{a}q to step aside 146.14; to turn 137.12, 63.4; to cut off, to fall
  off 154.28, 194.1; to take out 65.11; Lā'qLāq zigzag, also plural
  for the other meanings
Lāx to appear, become visible 23.13; Lā'xLax to emerge
L\bar{e}x to cohabit 228.16; L\bar{e}'x L\bar{e}x to prepare corpse for burial 253.3
L\bar{o} calm 25.18
Luwā' freshet
L/ap to find 261.8
L!\bar{a}p fitting 154.8
```

§ 47. Adverbs

The dividing line between attribute complements and a number of adverbs can not be drawn very definitely. I am particularly doubtful how tlaya' well should be classed, and a few others which are placed in parentheses in the preceding list.

A considerable number of temporal and modal adverbs occur, the latter expressing certainty, compulsion, intention, and a great variety of ideas which we express by auxiliary verbs or by separate clauses. These can not be derived from simpler forms. Such are:

```
ai'aq can 1
xa'oxaL can not
aōi will
q\bar{e}'xtc\bar{e} without reaching the desired end
ka'ltas in vain, only
qā'doxuē must
atsuwa' probably
Lx may (implying uncertainty)
k!ōma perhaps
Lō'nas I don't know (expression of uncertainty)
pōc contrary to fact
pet really
näket not
na interrogative particle
Lēgs almost
qalā'tcx'ī hardly
\bar{a}'nqa(t\bar{e}) already, before
a'lta now
\bar{a}'_{L}q\bar{e} later on
kawa'tka soon
anā' sometimes
nau'i at once
lē, lē'lē a long time
q!astE'n for the first time
tcax for a while
wixt again
kule'ts once more
alā'tēwa again in this manner
quā'nsem always
w\bar{a}x next day (wux\cdot\bar{\imath}' to-morrow; kaw\bar{\imath}'x early)
q!o\bar{a}'p near
tc!pāk quickly
Lawā' slowly
(ai'aq quickly)
txul too much
maniq!ä' too much
t!ā'qea just like
\bar{a}'la even
```

¹ Evidently the original significance of this word is QUICKLY; for instance, ai'aq nö'ya (if you tell me to go) I GO QUICKLY, i. e., I can go.

§ 48. Exhortative Particles

A number of exhortative particles form a peculiar group of words. They are applied so regularly and seem to be so weak, that I do not quite like to class them with interjections. It would seem that the meanings conveyed by some of these have very nice shades. Examples are:

wuska a somewhat energetic request—now do let us make an end of it and—37.12

nixua please, just try to 130.3

tcux since this is so, do (or let us) 24.10

tayax oh, if he would! 22.4

hō'ntcin be quiet

tca! well! introducing a new idea

(qā't!ōcxxm look out!)

(nau'itka indeed!)

(tyt!ō'kti good!)

The last three of these hardly belong here. They are derivatives: $q\bar{a}'t!\bar{o}cxem$ is probably derived from $t!\bar{o}$ well; nau'itka, perhaps from nau'i at once; $ttl\bar{o}'kti$, from $t!\bar{o}$ well and -kta thing.

§ 49. Interjections

The line between the last group of words and true interjections is very indefinite. As might be expected, the number of interjections in this language which has such strong onomatopoetic tendencies is considerable. Some of these are:

```
\bar{a}, \hat{a}, \bar{o} oh!
ad\bar{e}' surprise 29.13
ē pity for hardships endured 187.19
nā pity 116.15
anā' pain, regret, sorrow, pity 22.4, 161.13
ahaha' pain 177.16
an\bar{a}'x pity 153.8
h\bar{e} call 12.2, indeed 38.22, 186.8
h\bar{e} a long distance 28.3, 123.13
h\bar{o}, hoh\bar{o}', oh\bar{o}' surprise at the success of an action 24.3, 25.22,
   67.14
Lxuä' disgust 46.26
hato'm, hao' now I understand! 39.27, 100.23
nä disapproval 145.12
näq! contemptuous rejection of an offer 124.11
hoh\bar{u}' derisive rejection of a remark 23.25
ahā' ridicule, disbelief 166.23
ehehiū' derision 45.1
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```
le derision of weakness 60.14, 146.1

iä' reproach for foolishness 117.9

nāṇaṇaṇ anger 186.16

tcṇä that is nothing! 47.4

kuc good! 89.4 (also used by the Chehalis)

k!c oh! (?)
```

As mentioned before, many of the imitative attribute complements may be used as interjections. This may, indeed, be their original function. Such are hemm noise of wind, kumm noise of dancing, klômm silence. A few differ so much in form and use from the attribute complements, that I include them among the interjections:

ha'lelelelelele noise of flight of an arrow 62.21 wu'lelelele noise of flight of cormorants 77.16 wa'tsetsetsetse cry of bluejay 31.2, 157.25 cry of gull 88.21 qa'nawul ewul ewul ewul e bark of dog 23.9 wō cry of child 185.24 wä cry of a person weeping 118.8 hä พสินินิน low voice 162.3 kukuku voice of bluejay after he had become a ghost 166.19

In this group belong also the burdens of songs, a few of which occur in the texts.

§ 50. Conjunctions

A number of invariable words perform the function of conjunctions. The meanings of a few of these are not quite certain. The most important are the following:

```
ka and, then (connecting sentences) 26.18
cka and, while (connecting sentences) 25.4
k!a and (connecting nouns)
tcx \bar{\circ} a little while passed, then 37.4 (often following the conjunction qi\bar{a}'x if)
tcu or 276.1
tatc!a although it is so, still 44.4
tal! although I did not expect it, still 74.9
\bar{a}'olel although I did not intend to, still 13.3
take then 135.6
a'lta now 135.5
taua'lta otherwise 134.8
manix when 253.14
qi\bar{a}'x if 127.20 (q\bar{e}, q\bar{e}c?)
$50
```

§ 51. Adjectives.

Color-terms, the plural of small, the numerals from two to nine, and the indefinite numerals are used without pronominal prefixes. The color-terms were enumerated among the attribute complements, because they are generally used in that form. gene'm small 38.17 is used only for plurals. I have found very few cases only in which these words are clearly used as adjectives:

aqıō'cgam ptcix le'luwelkluwelk green mud was taken 30.21 lō'lo ikta something round 127.5

This is possibly due to the rarity of adjectives, except numerals and a few others in the texts. It would seem, however, that in most cases derivatives of these stems are used whenever the substantive or adjective is to be used, for instance:

ma'nix kā'ltac izā'yuz!l kzā'qēwam when a shaman only has pride 203.18

More often nouns with the prefix k- the one who has (p. 579) are used to express adjectival ideas.

 $g\bar{e}'$ Late!a a sick one (the one who has its sickness) 196.14

The cardinal and indefinite numerals of this class are:

<i>môkct</i> two	<i>si'namôkct</i> seven	ka'nauwē all
$L\bar{o}n$ three	kstô'xkin eight	$kap\hat{e}'t$ enough
la'kit four	kui'tst nine	qāmx part
$qui'n_{\it E}m$ five	tcä several	mank few
$t_{E'}x_{Em}$ six		

All the cardinal numbers of this group when used as distributives take the suffix -mtga; when used as adverbs, they take the adverbial suffix $-\bar{e}$. The ordinals are formed by the third person pronominal prefix and the possessive form; for instance, $\bar{e}_L a' L \bar{o} n$ its third one (m.) 217.21, $a_L \bar{a}' L \bar{o} n$ (f.) 211.20; and from these, again, ordinal adverbs, $\bar{e}' L a_L \bar{o} n \bar{e}$ the third time 134.23. When counting human beings, all these numerals (cardinals as well as indefinite) take the prefix a- and the plural suffix -kc. $m\hat{o}kct$ two may also take the dual prefix c-.

To the groups of indefinite numerals belongs the peculiar form kanem each, all, together, which occurs alone only in its distributive form $kan\bar{a}'mtgema$ 157.23, while generally it appears as a prefix of numerals: $kanemqo\bar{a}'nem$ five together 201.22, kanemqoa'nemiks 176.8. With $m\hat{o}kct$ two it seems to lose its m: $skanasm\hat{o}kst$ both 76.14. In this form it appears also in $ka'naw\bar{e}$ all.

§ 52. Adverbs Derived from Intransitive Verbs

Particles used as adverbs have been mentioned before. It has also been stated that numeral adverbs are formed from both ordinal and cardinal numbers by the suffix $-\bar{e}$. This is also used with intransitive verbs, the adverb being formed from the masculine third person singular.

 $i\bar{u}' Lqat$ it is long; $i\bar{u}' Lqt\bar{e}$ long . $\bar{e}'nata$ the one on the other side; $\bar{e}'natai$ on the other side

Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism (§§ 53-54)

§ 53. Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism in Wishram (by Edward Sapir)

Very characteristic of Wishram, as also without doubt of all other Chinookan dialects, is a series of changes in the manner, and to some extent in the place, of articulation of many of the consonants, in order to express diminutive and augmentative ideas in the words This peculiar process of "consonantal ablaut," though perhaps most abundantly illustrated in the case of the noun, is exemplified in all parts of speech, so that it has almost as much of a rhetorical as of a purely grammatical character. Of the two series of consonantic changes referred to, that bringing about the addition to the meaning of the word of a diminutive idea is by far the more common, an actual change to augmentative consonantism hardly being found outside of the noun. The main facts of consonantic change may be briefly stated thus: To express the diminutive, nonfortis stopped consonants become fortis, the velars at the same time becoming back-palatals (the treatment of velar stops, however, seems to be somewhat irregular); c and its affricative developments tc and tc! become s, ts, and ts! (s seems sometimes to be still further "diminutivized" to ts, ts to ts!, so that c, s, ts, ts! may be considered as representing a scale of diminishing values); x becomes x, in analogy to the change of velar stops to back-palatal stops just noted; other consonants remain unmodified. To express the augmentative, fortis consonants become non-fortis (generally sonant) stops, no change taking place of back-palatal to velar; s, ts, and ts! become respectively c, tc, and tc! (in some few cases ts and tc affricatives become dj, pronounced as in English judge, this sound not being otherwise known to occur in Wishram); other consonants remain unmodified.

The following table of consonantic changes will best make the matter clear:

Normal	Diminutive	Augmentative		
b, p	p!	(b)		
d, t	$ar{t}!$	(d)		
g, k	k!	(g)		
g, q	k!, (g, k)	(<i>q</i>)		
$\dot{q}x$	kx	(qx)		
q!	k!, (kx)	\boldsymbol{g}		
$\overline{p}!$	(p!)	$oldsymbol{g} oldsymbol{b}$		
$\bar{t}!$	$(\bar{t}!)$	\boldsymbol{d}		
<i>k!</i>	(k!)	$oldsymbol{g}$		
c	8, ts	(c)		
tc	ts	(tc), (?) dj		
tc!	ts!	(tc!), dj		
8	(8)	c		
ts	(ts), ts!	tc, dj		
ts!	(ts!)	tc!, (?) dj		
\boldsymbol{x}	x	(\boldsymbol{x})		
x	(\$\dtau\$)	(?) x		

On the whole, there is a distinct tendency to have all the consonants of a word bear a consistent diminutive or augmentative coloring, though absolute concord in this regard is by no means always observed. In general it may be said that c and s sounds are most easily varied in accordance with our rule. Final non-affricative stops seem incapable of change. It often happens that the normal form of a word is itself partly diminutive in form owing to its meaning; in such cases the form may be still further "diminutivized" if it is desired to give the word a more than ordinarily diminutive force. Thus -k!ac- in il-k!a'c-kac child is evidently a semi-diminutive form of the stem-syllable -kac; LITTLE CHILD, BABY appears in more pronouncedly diminutive form as ilk!a'skas (Wishram Texts 176.3).

The following table of body-part nouns will serve as a set of examples of diminutive and augmentative forms. The diminutives would naturally refer to the body-parts of a tiny child, the augmentatives to those of an abnormally large being, as a giant.

Normal	Diminutive	Augmentative
i-p/a'qxa flat-headed-		$i ext{-}ba'qxa$
ness (dim.)		
i-ge'tc nose (aug.)	i - k ! $_{\it E}$ ' tc	
i'l-pc foot	i'l- ps	

Normal	Diminutive	Augmentative
i-qxwi't leg	i- $khwi't$	
a-q!o'xl knee	a- $k!u'$ x t	a- $go'xl$
a-m E'luqtan cheek	a - m_E ' luk ! tan	•
i-m El Extk!u'lamat		i-melextgu'lamat
tongue		•
i-mî'ct lips	i - $m\hat{\imath}'st$.	
i-kucxa't mouth	i- k !" s x a ' t	
wa'-kcen finger	wa'-ksin	
is-qxu's eyes (dim.)		ic- $qxu'c$
id-mE'qco face-hair	id-m E'kso	•
i-k!wa'yat crown of		i-gwa'yat
head		•
a - $tck_E'n$ shoulder	a- $tsk!$ $E'n$	
wa-qxa'tc breast	wa-kxa'ts 1	
i-kxa'tc tooth	i- k ! a ' ts	
i-q!a'qctaq head		i-ga'qctaq
ic-k!a'lkal hip-joints	is- k ! a ' $lkal$	ic- $ga'lkal$
is-q!wû'gwôst jaws	is-k!wa'gwast	U
(dim.)	· ·	
a-mu'q!wal paunch,		a- $mu'gwal$
stomach		

Examples of other than body-part nouns are:

Normal	Diminutive	Augmentative
it-q!u'tcu bones	<pre>it-q!uts'iê'lxlem dog (literally, eater of small bones)</pre>	
i-tc!i'au snake	i-ts!i'au	i-dji'au
i-tsi'ktsik wagon (dim.)	is-ts!i'ktsik buggy	i-dji'kdjik heavy truck
i-cgi'lukc wolf (aug.)	il-sk!i'luks new-born wolf cub (Wishram Texts 56.30)	
da- $ga'c$ yellow	a-qx-k!î'c gold	
<i>i-cga'n</i> cedar	[wa-ska'n box	
board	wa'-tsk!un cup	
i-k!a'lamat stone	•	i-ga'lamat
a-k!a'munaq fir		a-ga'munaq
il-k!a'ckac child (dim.)	it- k ! a ' $skas$	
a-t!u'-gagilak good	1,	a-du'-gagilak strap-
strong woma		ping big woman

In these lists, (dim.) and (aug.) mean that the words so designated are wholly or partly diminutive or augmentative in consonantism owing to their primary significance. In i-p!a'qxa, for instance, the diminutive notion implied by p! is easily understood if we remember that head-flattening is associated with infancy. In some cases a consonant change involves or is accompanied by a vocalic change; it seems that the change of a to u or E has in itself more or less diminutive force (cf. wa'-tsk!un from wa-ska'n with ila-k!ô'its very LITTLE [Wishram Texts 176.3] ordinarily -k!aits small). The case of i-cga'n as compared with wa-ska'n and wa'-tsk!un illustrates the fact that the diminutive form of a noun often has a specialized meaning of its own. A few more examples are:

Normal
i-tc!î'nôn eagle
i-tc!i'laq cricket
i-q!apca'lwac turtle
a-tca'la grindstone

il-ts!i'nôn bird
i-ts!i'laq grasshopper
is-k!a'psalwas lock (of door)
a-tsa'la file

It will be observed that several nouns on becoming diminutive in form at the same time change to a more suitable gender, masculines often becoming feminines (e. g., wa-ska'n), neuters (e. g., il-skli'luks), or diminutive duals in is- (e. g., is-kla'psalwas). Most examples of diminutives and augmentatives hitherto given have been formed from nouns that in themselves have no necessary diminutive or augmentative force. Other examples than those already given of words with inherent diminutive force, and hence with at least partial diminutive consonantism, follow:

a-k!u'ksk!uks ankle
a-p!u'xp!ux elbow-joint
i-p!u'xc cotton-tailed rabbit
a-t!antsa crow (c o n t r a s t
i-cka'lax raven)
i-sk!u'lya coyote (? cf.
i-cgilukc wolf)
a-gu'sgus chipmunk
a-p!una'ts ekts ek mosquito
(? cf. -bena jump)

is-ga'k!aps hat
i-k!a'its smallness (contrast -qail
BIGNESS)
i-k!a'stila crab
il-xan (somebody's) child
i-sk!wô'latsîntsîn swallow
wa-tsk!E'nLx nit

Particularly instructive as indicating a live feeling for diminutive consonantism are such words as a-lik!u'k chicken and a-lap!u's car borrowed from Chinook jargon (p in -pus would not be consistent

with diminutive s). It is perhaps not too far-fetched to recognize augmentative consonantism in the following nouns:

i-ga'nuk beaver ic-kcku'ct testicles (contrast isi-gu'nat Chinook salmon (contrast wa-tsu'iha BLUE- i-gu'cax sky
BLACK SALMON) ic-gwô'lala gun
i-ce'lqcelq porcupine wa'-itc tail of mammal
ic-ga'kwal eel ic-li'ct fish-tail (contrast is-p!i'ost
i-du'iha buffalo TAIL OF BULB, DRIED FISH)

It sometimes happens that a change to diminutive consonantism implies not so much the diminutiveness of the object referred to as a sense of endearment. This seems particularly true in the case of certain terms of relationship:

Non-diminutive	Diminutive
	-k!a'c-u-c paternal grandfather
$ga'c$ - u (vocative) \int child	
-gak-an man's daugh-	-ga'k!-u-c maternal grandfather
ga'g-u(vocative) ter's child	
-gi-an woman's son's child	-k!i-c paternal grandmother

Interesting as examples of augmentative consonantism are the names of Coyote's four sons, all of which are derived from words denoting body-parts of the salmon. The augmentative consonantism implies the lubberliness of Coyote's sons.

Body-parts of salmon	Names of Coyote's sons				
i-k!la'tcin salmon-head gristle	Sipa'-glatsin Big Gristle (Wish-				
	ram Texts 66.5)				
i-ksa'lk!uts backbone of fish	Sipa'-ksalguts Big Backbone				
	(Wishram Texts 66.6)				
i- q ! w i' n a n fin	Sapa'-gwinan Big Fin (Wishram				
_	Texts 66.7)				
a-k!a'tkutgwax adipose fin	Sapag-a'tkutgwax Big Adipose Fin				
(? better -q!a'tkutgwax)	(Wishram Texts 66.8)				
(? better $-q!a'tk^utgwax$)					

As has already been remarked, the noun is not the only part of speech that illustrates the consonantal play here discussed. Adverbs and particle verbs of appropriate meaning sometimes show diminutive consonantism: ts!u'nus A LITTLE; $s\bar{a}k!$ TO WHISTLE; sa'u sau TO WHISPER (contrast Lower Chinook $c\bar{a}u$); Lower Chinook k!a and may be diminutive to ka. The diminutive form of a particle verb denotes a less intense state of being or activity than its correlative form. Sometimes its meaning is considerably specialized:

Non-diminutive

Obminutive (ts!u'nus) a-itsā's just (a little) cool (Wishram Texts 190.15)

ma'ca to spoil
gut to break up (earth) by
digging

ma'sa to be ashamed k!u'tk!ut to pluck

Possibly also-

wax to pour out lq!up to cut

wax to set on fire; to bloom

lq!up to cut

lk!up to shoot

The dual in is- is not the only example of a diminutive form of a

purely grammatical element. The diminutive stem -q/wa'lasup fast running occurs with possessive prefixes showing diminutive consonantism. Thus the normal elements -tca- her and -cda- of them two appear as -tsa- and -st/a- in i-tsa-q/wa'lasup she runs fast (Wishram Texts 66.9) and i-st/a-q/wa'lasup they two run fast (Wishram Texts 66.13). Similarly, in a song (Wishram Texts 94.23), where the reference is to is-p/i'ast tail of bulb, a noun of diminutive form, the pronominal element cd- and the post-positive local element -ba at appear as st- (? better st/-) and -p/a. Thus:

staimap!ā' giskip!i'ast it-alone-at the-my-tail

Finally the verb may show diminutive consonantism, partly in the stem itself, partly in its local and adverbial prefixes and suffixes, partly and most frequently in its pronominal prefixes. Examples of verb stems in distinctly diminutive form are not exactly common, but certain cases seem clear enough. Thus gaqiulat!a'-ulx he was TOSSED UP (Wishram Texts 84.26) and gatciulat!a'melq HE SWAL-LOWED HIM BY SUCKING HIM IN evidently contain a diminutive form of the verb stem -lada- to throw AWAY; silu'skwax it trem-BLES (Wishram Texts 116.10) and gasî'xîmk!na-ukuatsk he looked AROUND (Wishram Texts 30.6) show diminutive consonantism both in their stems (-skw- and -k!na-u-) and in their first incorporated pronominal objects (dual 8-), the latter verb also in its adverbial suffix -tsk, doubtless the diminutive form of -tck up from position OF REST; gats(s)altsgi'ma HE LAID HER BELLY UP (Wishram Texts 56.27) shows diminutive consonantism in both stem (-tsqi) and incorporated pronominal subject (-ts-) and first object (dual -s-).

We have already given -tsk as an example of a derivative suffix with diminutive consonantism. Other such suffixes are -p!a slightly out (of position) (from -ba out) in ayulap!a'tcguxwida it will tilt up, literally, it will spontaneously move out up from its sitting

POSITION (Wishram Texts 184.10) and tsu (from -teu down) in ililu'stsu (water) moved down into the (hollow place). As examples of diminutive forms of local prefixes may be given -k!el-(from -gel- directed toward) in ga-tssi'k!elutk he looked at him and its reflexive correlative -xel- (from -xel) in gasi'xelutk he looked; -sk!em- under in iniask!emla'datcu I threw it down under her is doubtless diminutive to -gem- next to (cf. -tcu and -s-tsu above).

The only examples of diminutive consonantism in the pronominal prefixes of verb forms occur in the case of ts (for tc, third person masculine subject transitive) and s (for c, third person dual subject intransitive and transitive and object transitive). Whenever the object of the transitive verb (or the apparent subject, really first object, of the "half-transitive" verb) is diminutive in form, the pronominal prefixes tc and c appear as ts and s; the ts by no means implies the diminutive character of the transitive subject. are: ī'wi gatssu'x isiê'nqxôq he looked at his fish-line (Wishram Texts 140.28), where the incorporated pronominal dual element -s- of gatssu'x refers to the diminutive dual object is-iê'-nqxôq His FISH-LINE, while the pronominal subject -ts- HE agrees with the object in diminutive consonantism; galksu'klam (-lks- always appears for -skl-) the two (women) came home with the (baby) (Wishram Texts 2.12), the diminutive dual -s- referring to the grown-up women, not to the baby; gasengatk!agwā'x gas ktênak!wā'st 11-WAVES-FREELY-OVER-ME-MY-FEATHERED-CLOAK (Wishram Texts 142.5), where the first object -s- of the half-transitive verb refers to the diminutive dual noun s-tênak!wā'st (SMALL) FEATHERED Particularly noteworthy in this connection is the idiomatic use of a diminutive dual object -s- referring to an implied, unexpressed noun of diminutive significance; there need not even exist such a diminutive dual noun to which reference, if desired, could be explicitly made. A good example is: gaksi'lutk she cradled him, literally, SHE PUT THE-TWO-SMALL (OBJECTS) DOWN TO HIM, where THE TWO SMALL (OBJECTS) refer to an implied word for CRADLE, though the word for CRADLE in actual use is a masculine (i'-lkau). Similarly, verbs of jumping and somersaulting have an incorporated diminutive dual object -s- referring to THE TWO SMALL (FEET), though the actual word for FEET is plural (i't-pc). Examples are: gaksu'brna SHE JUMPED; gasixmi'lqwa HE TURNED A SOMERSAULT (Wishram Texts 82.18); and gats(s)altsgi'ma HE LAID HER, BELLY UP. The

most transparent example of the use of an incorporated diminutive dual object to refer to an unexpressed but existing noun is afforded by certain verbs of looking, in which the -s- has reference to is-qxu's the two eyes. A frequently occurring example of such a verb is gatssi'k!elutk he looked at him, literally, he put the two small (eyes) down toward him, the -tc- and -gel- appearing in their diminutive forms -ts- and -k!el- to agree with the object -s-; gasîxîm-k!na'-ukuatsk he looked around is another such verb.

As a rule, it will have been observed, a verb form tends to be consistently diminutive or non-diminutive in its consonantism. It is at least possible, however, to limit the application of the diminutive idea to some specific element of the action by "diminutivizing" only some corresponding element of the verb form. An example already published elsewhere will again do service here. The normal word for I STRUCK HIM WITH IT is inige'ltcim. If the verb stem -tcim appears, with diminutive consonantism, as -tsim, it implies that the person struck is small; if the verbal prefix -gel-, which implies in this case intent to hit, is pronounced -k!el- the implication is that the missile used is a small one. Hence we have four forms: inige'ltcim I HIT HIM WITH IT; inig E'ltsim I HIT HIM (a child perhaps) WITH IT; inik! E'lteim I HIT HIM WITH IT (SOMETHING SMALL), and inik! E'ltsim I HIT HIM (A CHILD) WITH IT (SOMETHING SMALL). To be sure, such examples are very uncommon and the one just given is perhaps little more than a linguistic tour de force. Nevertheless, it shows very clearly how thoroughly alive is the feeling for the significance of consonantal play.

§ 54. Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism in Chinook and Kathlamet

So far as I am able to discover, the diminutive and augmentative consonantism of the p and t stops does not occur in Chinook; perhaps because the strengthening of these consonants in case of the dropping of a following velar counteracted this tendency. When the word $t!al\bar{e}'ma$ creeks has a fortis t! on account of the dropping of q in the stem $-q\bar{e}l$, the same strengthening can not very well denote at the same time diminution.

There are, however, indications that the changes from c to s and the corresponding affricatives occurred, although the significance of

the process does not seem to have been very clear in the mind of my sole informant, Charles Cultee, while my only Clatsop informant considered changes of this type as distinguishing characteristics of the Chinook and Clatsop dialects. For instance: Clatsop, ē'cɛlqcɛlq; Chinook, ē'sɛlqsɛlq porcupine.

The most characteristic case that I have found in Chinook is the following:

 $itsa'antca-y-\bar{o}g\bar{o}'lal$ the waves are too bad (too great) $itsa'antsa-y-\bar{o}g\bar{o}'lal$ the waves are a little bad

I have also:

ē'cgan cedar

i-sgE'nEma young cedars

It is, however, worth remarking that this plural occurs with the particle—

 $g_{E'}n_{Em}$ is $g_{E'}n_{Em}a$ small young cedars without strengthening of the g of $g_{E'}n_{Em}$. An examination of the texts and explanatory notes collected from Cultee makes it fairly certain that he did not use the diminutive changes of stops in Lower Chinook.

It seems possible that a relation like that between c and s may exist between c and ts.

iā'qoa-iz largeiō'zqat longL!ex to split large planks

Lxoa'p to dig

 $iar{a}'qoa$ -its small $iar{u}'tsqat$ short

ts! Ex to split small pieces of wood tsxoa'p to gnaw

In Kathlamet I have found one very clear case of consonantic change, analogous to those found in Wishram:

ksemm taxi tk!unā'temax ō'xoaxt small are those little salmon 98.8 (Kathlamet Texts)

Here the s in ksemm indicates smallness, and tgunā'temax SALMON has been changed to tk!unā'temax.

Syntax (§§ 55-56)

§ 55. Syntax of Lower Chinook

In the discussion of the morphology of the verb it has been shown that every verbal form contains incorporated pronominal representatives of the subject, and of the direct and indirect objects when these occur. Nominal incorporation is almost entirely absent. The nominal subject and the object are treated as appositions, without any organic connection with the sentence, except in so far as the

pronouns agree with the nominal gender. This agreement is, on the whole, one of form, but in the Lower Chinook texts cases occur in which the noun has indefinite (neuter) gender L-, while, according to its actual sex or number, the incorporated pronoun is masculine, feminine, or plural. I do not know whether this is an individual trait of the narrator of the available texts or not.

Generally the verb with its incorporated pronouns precedes the subject and objects, but there is great freedom of usage.

Sentences with intransitive verbs:

ayō'maqt izā'xak! māna dead was their chief 37.1 aztē'mam zgōzē'lxmk it came a person 11.15

Sentences with transitive verbs, nominal subject and object:

alktō'p!ena lā'eēwam qō'la lā'nēwa he utters his song that first one 196.7

tgig e'nxautē ikanā'tē temēwā'lema they watch it a soul the ghosts 199.10 (tgi- they it; i-kanā'tē soul; t-mēwā'lema ghosts)

azgō'ctxôx L'ā'gil qax ō'ō'kuil she carries her on her back a woman that woman 248.21

Examples of inverted order are the following:

ēqctxē' Lau atcungō' mit Lemcā' wux a monster (he) carried (her) away your younger sister 11.5

ka qō' La iau'a k:!imta' aLktōp! Enā'x Lā' ēwam and that one there behind (he) utters (them) his songs 196.9

ēmā'cen algiā'x klā'qēwam a deer makes the one who has (his) songs (i. e., the shaman) 199.11

aqui'nemike tkalā'muke atgā'qex ō'lexkul five men (they) hold (her) in their mouths dried salmon 267.19

 $\bar{e}^{\epsilon}\bar{o}'k$ alg \bar{e}' le $\bar{l}\bar{o}tx$ kl $t\bar{o}p!$ en $\bar{a}'n$ tê'lxem a blanket he gives (it) to (them) those who named the people 267.25

Particle verbs always precede their auxiliary verb:

 $L\bar{a}q^{\sigma}$ atcā'yax he took him out 133.13

stux atcā'yax he untied him 135.13

 $\bar{u}hu'$ $n\bar{e}'xax$ he made $\bar{u}hu'$ 49.3

LEku nā'xax it (fem.) broke 70.24

 $L!lap \bar{a}'y\bar{o}$ he went under water 14.16

This agrees with the most frequent position of adverbs:

ä'ka arxā'x thus it does 239.16

nau'i alō'm eqtx it faints at once 239.6

näkct azgiā'wa^e they did not kill him 99.18

ya'xkati atgr'p!x there they entered 49.14

The discussion of the prefixes in § 25 shows that the relation of indirect objects to the verb are expressed by verbal elements. In

Lower Chinook prepositional elements are practically absent, but we find the demonstrative $q\bar{o}$, which is used almost like a preposition.

iō'c gō iqē'p!al he was in the doorway 65.3

atcā'yaqc gō iā'tuk he bit him at his neck 9.9

naxalgu'zitck gō ōgō'xō she told her daughter 11.20

atczî'tkzam gō wē'wuzē they brought it into the house 11.23

pō'pō agɛ'zax gō ztcuq she blew on them with water 12.6

agiō'xtkinɛma gō tê'lxim she searched for him among the people

The demonstrative character of $g\bar{o}$ appears in sentences like— $m\bar{o}'ya$ $m\bar{a}'$ $Lxol\bar{e}$ $g\bar{o}$ go there inland! 13.1 a'lta $g\bar{o}$ -y- $\bar{o}^{\epsilon}\bar{o}'$ Lax now (when) there the sun 13.5 $L\bar{o}'$ nas $g\bar{o}$ $Lq\bar{e}tcam\bar{e}'t\bar{e}$ $Lk\bar{e}x$ perhaps a comb is there 13.20 $g\bar{o}$ $n\bar{o}'$ yam $\bar{o}^{\epsilon}\bar{o}'$ Lax there arrived the sun 97.16

It will be shown in § 56 that Wishram possesses quite a number of post-positional elements. In Lower Chinook a few of these appear, clearly loan-words, taken from Upper Chinook:

 $yukp_E't$ up to here 13.9 $kap_E't$ (go- $p_E't$?) up to there, enough 98.4

In Kathlamet the number of post-positional elements is greater, but only one or two are used with any degree of freedom:

-pa. This post-position takes the place of $g\bar{o}$ of the Lower Chinook. It is used quite freely (see § 56.1).

igişk!oā'mam tε'ctaqıpa he arrived at their two selves' house 91.13¹ itcıōιā'etamit ιαχὶ ιēҳā't ιtcu'qoapa q!oā'p he placed it that one at the water near 121.4

q!at igī'yuxt ē'tcamxtcpa like she did him her heart in 132.5

Here belong also the common demonstrative adverbs-

 $k\bar{o}'pa$ there 216.9 $gip\bar{a}'$ here 250.14

-pEt. The post-position -pEt is not quite free in Kathlamet.

 $gip \, E't \, Emax$ to those places 131.10 $\bar{e}'lxp\ddot{a}t$ as far as the ground 67.12

-ta toward.

 $iar{o}'ya\ ar{e}'wata\ ca'xalata$ he went there, then upward 219.2

-at from

ē'wa iā' pōtcā't 1qā'wulqt 1āx i1î'xôx then from his anus blood came out 184.5.

-te like.

L!a Lkak! mā'nate itcā'lkuilē like a chief was her resemblance
247.6

siā'xôst La Lktemenā'kstē his face was like the moon 246.6

¹ References on the rest of this page refer to F. Boas, Kathlamet Texts.

In most cases transitive and intransitive verbs are used in the ordinary manner, but a number of peculiar forms of expression deserve mention. The directional -ō- (§ 26) occurs in many transitive and intransitive verbs. When, however, a stem, according to its significance, is transitive, it may be made intransitive either by means of the prefix -ki- (§ 26), which brings about elimination of an object, or by the use of reflexive forms. Which of these forms is used depends in part on usage. In some cases the two forms are used for expressing different tenses. Thus $i-k\bar{e}'-x$ (i- he; $-k\bar{e}$ - prefix eliminating object; -x to do) signifies HE is, the continuative tense, $n-\bar{e}'-x-a-x$ (n-modal; $-\bar{e}$ - he; -x- reflexive; -a- directive; -x to do) signifies HE BECOMES, the transitional tense. The manner of eliminating objects has been discussed before (§ 26). It seems, however, desirable to call attention here to the frequent use of implied objects and to the peculiar intransitive verbs with indirect objects which occupy a prominent position in Chinook sentences. Implied objects occur frequently with. verbs implying the use of parts of the body, as

alksō'pena it jumped (literally, it jumped the two [feet]) 9.6 atkcīntenā'xē they kneel (literally, they kneel them two) 270.6 sā'npōt she closed her eyes (literally, they two were closed in her) 48.10

They occur also with other verbs:

melneltcā'ma you will comb me (literally, you will comb it [namely, the comb] to me)

atca-iä'lq max he shouted at him (literally, he shouted her [namely, the shout] at him 236.9)

anlē'ltckō I oil him (literally, I oil it [namely, the oil] to him)

Intransitive verbs with indirect object are used often in place of our transitives. These forms also contain often implied objects.

nē'nxzayu he deserts me (literally, he removes himself from me) ayaxe'l*iōmeqt she forgets him (literally, he on account of her forgets his own) 167.16

ninxE'lgiLx I burn him (literally, he catches fire from me)

snenpō'xuit I close my eyes (literally, they two are closed in

mcagelā'etā-ē you cure her (literally, you cure on account of her)

Subordinate modes are not indicated in Chinook by changes in the form of the verbs. Subordination of sentences is indicated only by conjunctions which are followed by the usual verbal forms. The most frequent form of subordination is brought about by the particle ma'nix which indicates primarily a temporal relation.

ma'nix aqi*e'lgelax ikë'utan when someone sees (it) a horse 198.1 ma'nix ttë'mama, mitelō'ta when they come, give it to them 66.22 mixentk!ā'yōgō imē'tuk ma'nix aqemō'lektca bend your neck when some one will roast you 107.21 (mi- you him; -xen reflexive; -tkt!ik to bend, plural -tk!āyuk; i-tuk neck; -lektc to roast)

The conditional conjunctions are closely connected with the demonstrative pronoun. The forms $q\bar{e}$, $q\bar{e}a$, $qi\bar{a}'x$ occur, which perhaps express NEARNESS and ABSENCE. When a statement contrary to fact is to be expressed, the particle $p\bar{o}s$ is used.

- qē nēkctx mai'kxa imē'q!atxala, pōc nēkct ē'ka atci'lxax if it had not been for your badness, he would not have done so to us 139.19 (nēkct not; mai'kxa thou; i-q!atxala badness; ē'ka thus; tc- he; -lx us; -a directive; -x to do)
- qia näket qax ō^eō'kuil, pōc näket aqiā'wa^e if it had not been for that woman, he would not have been killed 64.5 (qax that, feminine; ō^eō'kuil woman; qi- somebody him; -a- directive; -wa^e to kill)

t!ayā' qia' mkr!ē'men good, if you dive 12.12

- qiā'x q!oā'p ilē'ē tcx ī pōs am Lō'lxam algiō'cgam when you were near the land you should have said to it to take it 44.2 (q!oā'p near; ilē'ē land; tcx ī then; am L- you it; -ō- directive; -lxam to say; algi- it him; -o- directive; -cgam to take)
- qiā'x itcā'yan, tcx ī miā'xō if it is a snake, then you shall eat it 194.2

The interrogative is expressed by the particle na, which, however, is not used when there is an interrogative pronoun or adverb.

 $t_{Enl\bar{a}'xo-ix}$ na $tg_{E'\hat{e}ltgeu?}$ are (they) known to me my slaves? 117.10

nēkct na tnē'txix? do I not know it? 66.2

 $\bar{e}'ktalx\ lgi\bar{a}'x\bar{o}$? what will he eat? 22.20 ($\bar{e}'kta$ what; -lx may be; lgi- it him [masc. object corresponding to $\bar{e}'kta$])

 $q\bar{a}'x\bar{e}wa\;\bar{a}'L\bar{o}$? where did they go? 23.14

La'ksta x'ix'ō'La? who is that? 73.14

The imperative differs from other verbal forms in that it has no directive prefix. The imperative of the transitive verb has no subject of the second person. (See §§ 22,26).

§ 56. Post-positions in Wishram (by Edward Sapir)

Wishram, differing markedly in this respect from Lower Chinook, makes rather considerable use of a series of post-positive particles

defining material case relations (chiefly local and instrumental). As most such relations can be expressed by means of local and adverbial prefixes and suffixes in the verb, the denominating parts of speech being in apposition to incorporated pronominal elements, this use of postpositions must be considered as un-Chinookan in origin; the fact that some of the postpositive particles are phonetically identical with corresponding Sahaptin case suffixes proves the whole process to be borrowed from the neighboring Sahaptin linguistic stock. As a rule such postpositive particles are used with denominating parts of speech (nouns, pronouns, adjectives), but some of them may also be suffixed to predicating words (verbs, particle verbs); in the latter case the predicate is to be considered as substantivized syntactically, though not morphologically, and is used subordinately to another predicate. Wishram thus utilizes its postpositions to some extent in the building up of subordinate clauses. Where a noun or other denominating part of speech has been already represented in the verb by an incorporated pronominal element, its relation to the verb and to other nouns in the sentence is necessarily already defined, so that no postposition is necessary; even here, however, it not infrequently happens that a postposition is pleonastically used (compare such English possibilities as "He entered into the house"). noun is modified by a preceding attributive word (demonstrative pronoun, numeral, noun, or adjective), the postposition is used with the modifying word. The postpositions, with examples illustrating their uses, are listed in the following paragraphs:

1. -ba (-pa) IN, AT. With this element should be compared Yakima -pa IN. Examples illustrating its use with nouns and pronouns occur with very great frequency, so that only a few need here be given.

cikxa'-imat ci't!ix yakucxa'tpa half of it lies in his mouth 4.31 gaklakxa'-ima ilk!a'ckac aknî'mba she put the child in the canoe

atgadi'mama da'uyaba wî'lz they will come in this land 6.17 gayu'yam îxtpô' wîlz he arrived at one land 6.28 itcqxe'mem axqxatcpa I am sick in my breast 12.27 gatci'upmt it!ô'xwatckpa he hid it in the bushes 18.25 galu'ya yaxka'ba he went up to him 20.10 (one can also say galiglu'ya he went to him with local prefix -gel-)

- gadiq! Ellxi'uba icia'gîtcba ya'kucxatpa wamr!u'xiba they went out through him at his nostrils, at his mouth, and at his ears 28.24 galu'xuni yaqa'ilpa wi'mal it floated in the great river 48.7
- alxu'ya wa'tcktib' itga'qpuks let us go on the tops of the grass 70.26 (literally, the-grass-at its-tops)
- Observe that the first two examples illustrate its pleonastic use; the nouns $yak^ucxa't$ and $akn\hat{\imath}'m$ have been respectively anticipated in the verb by the pronominal elements -i- and -a-, while their local relation to the verb is defined by the prefix -k- on following these elements. -ba is also used with demonstrative stems to form adverbs of place where: da'ba here; $kw\hat{o}'ba$ there; $i\bar{a}'xiba$ yonder.
- As subordinating element, -ba denotes where; less frequently it indicates cause. It is suffixed either to the verb itself, or, similarly to the case of the modified noun, to an adverb or particle preceding the verb. Examples are:
 - ctā'xya i'nadix q!a'tsɛnba gatccgɛ'lgɛlx across yonder (were) the two where he had first seen them S.10 (literally, first-at he-saw-them)
 - galiktô'ptck gatccgelke'lxpa he came to land where he had seen them 8.5
 - ē'wi gali'xôx gayaxa'limalxpa he looked back to where he had thrown himself into the water 8.6
 - ma'sa gali'xôx q!u'mba gagi'ux he was ashamed because she had disturbed him in his sleep 58.26 (literally, disturb-in-sleep at she-made-him)
- 2. -iamt (often with palatalized a as -iämt, -iêmt) to, from. This suffix is probably Chinookan in origin; it may be plausibly analyzed as verb stem -i- go+verb suffix -am arriving+tense suffix -t. This analysis would explain its two apparently contradictory meanings. It tends to draw the accent to itself. Examples are:
 - icktê'lgwiptck wimalia'mt they collected (driftwood) from the river 2.2
 - nig Elga'ba iciagitcia'mt it flew out of his nostrils 80.29 (literally, out of him from his nostrils)
 - gacxuk!wa'x tctôqlia'mt the two returned to their house 2.12
 - gayuk!wî'xa ilaxnî'miêmt he swam to the person's canoe 18.23 mxa'tcktcam wimalia'mt go to the river and wash yourself 22.18 (literally, go-and-wash-yourself to-the-river)
 - gatclu'kul itquliä'mt iltegoa he took the water to the house 28.8
 - As subordinating element it may be translated as TO WHERE. An example of its use after verbs is:

- as mx elu'tka a't pxiama aga' 1 ax you shall look towards the east 188.21 (literally, she-comes-out to-where the-sun)
- 3. ba'ma for, Belonging to. This is evidently the Yakima suffix -pama for. Examples of its use with denominating words are:
 - na'ikabam' amtklni'dama ilqagi'lak for my sake you two will go and get me the woman 62.25
 - ya'xtau laxka'bama lgiubī'tc ma that (fish) he obtains for himself 186.4
 - gaqxô'gwigax its!î'nônks wî'lxpama animals were taken belonging to the country 16.13
 - ctmô'kct gactu'ix ntca'ikabama two of our men (literally, us-for) went on 216.16
 - da'nbama qxē'dau mxu'lal what for do you speak thus? 132.24 lga'tqwôm luwa'n qa'xbabama he has come I know not where from 128.17 (literally, what-in belonging-to)
 - k!a'ya kwô'babama id E'lxam tcduxt he had not made people belonging to there 44.23
 - gi'gwalbam' itk!i'tit underclothes (literally, below-for clothes)
 - Less commonly bama may precede. An example is
 - bam' ilxē'wulx aklugwi'' ilk!a'lamat he carries rocks for (i. e., in order to gain) strength 186.17 (cf. ilxē'wulx bama 188.2)
 - When used at the beginning of a predication, bama gives it the meaning of a clause of purpose. Examples are:
 - ba'ma la'-itcka a'lem' atcludi'na in order that he might kill them 54.2 (literally, for them will he-will-kill-them)
 - bama capca'p qiuxu'nnil ika'ba 188.19 for chopping up the ice (literally, for chop-up it-is-always-made the-ice)
 - When accented (bama'), it is used after predicates to mean EVER SINCE. An example is
 - nk!a'ckacbama' k!ā'ya qxantcix itctcg e'm em ever since I was a child I have never been sick 190.9
- 4. (E) nEqi with, by Means of, less frequently made out of. It seems to be the Yakima genitive case ending -nqi. Examples are
 - axk' E'nEgi amcgiu'xa lq!ô'p with it you will cut it off 12.4 Lq!ô'p galgi'ux aqE'nEkc E'nEgi they cut it off with the stone knife 18.5
 - galklô'ql' alakce'n enegi he counted them with his finger 18.19 it!a'ma ngi gayu'ya he went by means of a round-pointed canoe 38.21
 - iga'b nac e'negi gatclu'x he made them out of young oak 4.13

Less frequently ngi may precede. Examples are—

xa'u xau galxu'x ng' ilkcr'n they combed themselves with the hand 78.10

ayak!a'lamat ngi wa'nux his pipe (was) made out of a stomach 94.9

a'mEni MADE OUT OF, less frequently with. It is perhaps the Yakima -nmi. Examples are—

sā'qu itk!a'lamat a'mɛni aki!xax it is entirely out of stones 82.13 isk!u'ly' amɛni isga'k!aps aqsu'xwa a hat is made out of coyote 182.7

alk!wa'dit ameni aqiu'xwa it is made of tule 182.9

itq!u'tc' a'meni tse'xtsex gaqtu'x itk!a'munaq they split trees by means of antlers 182.14

6. -pt up to is used to form adverbs out of demonstrative stems: dapt up to here; kwôpt up to there, then, enough; ya'xpt up to yonder. Probably etymologically identical with this element is -bEt, frequently added to verbs or other words in the predicate to form temporal clauses. Examples are—

gatcl E'mquit lqa'wulqt gagiula'dabît he spit blood when she threw him down 14.11

galikta'tckpet p!a'la igi'xôx when he had come up out of the water, he stopped 22.18

 $l_{E'}p(b)$ et alxu'xwa anig elgā'ya when he dives, I shall take hold of it 18.20

nk!a'ckacb t when I was a boy 188.8

aga'lax alaxu'xwa yaxtadi'wi gali'xux galxô'qb et the weather will be as it was when they came together 130.27

. When rhetorically lengthened to $-b\ddot{\bar{a}}'t$, this post-position has a general cumulative significance; with verbs it is best translated as many as. Examples are—

 $gw_E'n_Emab\ddot{a}'d\ ilgw\hat{o}'m_{EX}\ antk!wa'lalaqwida\ I\ shall\ be\ absent\ as\ much\ as\ five\ days\ 122.12$

kwô'pt natcdupgenayabā't that many (ropes) as he had apportioned 188.6

qxa'ntcipt alklxa'tgway' atclulxamabā't he piles up as many as he tells him to 186.19

7. diwi (emphatic dä'wi) LIKE. This element is very likely of demonstrative origin, and so does not perhaps belong here. It is freely used, however, as a post-position, and so may be included. Examples are—

ick!a'li diwi datc!i'p striped like a basket 166.2

iya'lqx ilgwa'lilx diwi his body (was) like a person's 166.17 naika dä'wi itc E'lgulit exactly like my appearance 104.10

VOCABULARY (§§ 57-60)

§ 57. Onomatopoetic Terms

The most important trait of the Chinook vocabulary is the abundance of onomatopoetic terms.

There are many nouns of onomatopoetic origin. All of these contain the imitative group of sounds doubled. Since, in onomatopoetic words when used as verbs, duplication of the stem signifies repetition, the doubling of the stem in nouns may be interpreted as meaning that the particular sound is uttered habitually by the object designated by the onomatopoetic term. Some nouns contain other phonetic elements in addition to the doubled group of imitative sounds.

This class of nouns includes particularly names of birds, of a few other animals, and a miscellaneous group of terms among which are found names of parts of the body and a few terms of relationship. Some of these are not strictly onomatopoetic, but may be included in the class of doubled stems for the sake of convenience.

(1) Birds.

From stem t/\bar{e} is formed $it/\bar{e}'t/\bar{e}$ hawk

qoēl	<i>iqoē'lqoēl</i> owl
$ar{p}ar{o}ar{e}$	$i p ar{o}' ar{e} p ar{o} ar{e}$ (sp. ?)
qēs	<i>iqē'sqēs, oʻē'c</i> ʻēc blue jay
qoās	iqoā'sqoas crane
$qonar{e}$	<i>iqonē'qonē</i> gull
ts En	ē'tsentsen humming-bird
$goar{e}x$	ogoē'xgoēx female mallard-duck
tc!āk	utc!aktc!ā'k eagle
tsiās	otsiā'stsias robin
qul	$ar{e}'qulqul$ heron
$\overline{m{l}}ar{m{o}}m{t}$	$iqs\bar{o}'tlotl\bar{o}t \text{ (sp. ?)}$
ts!ēk	ōmunts!ē'kts!ēk teal-duck
$oldsymbol{koa}ar{e}$	otc!ē'nakoaēkoaē (sp. ⅔)
tcxen	tq!ē'ptcxentcxen sprigtail ducks
$qar{e}t$	cenqētqē't hawk
$ar{k}on$	<i>iqstō'konkon</i> woodpecker

(2) Mammals.

From stem pen is formed ō'penpen skunk; ī'penpen badger

i pen is tormed	o penpen skunk, v penpen budger
nam (?)	ēnamnā'muks otter
$oldsymbol{kar{o}tc}$	ukō'tckōtc porpoise
<i>tep</i>	se'nteptep shrew
c <u>e</u> lq	ē'celqcelq porcupine

(3) Other animals.

From stem qo is formed $\bar{e}'qoqo$ pike

ilō'xlox oyster LŌX

iqale'xlex a small fish (see lex scales) l_{EX}

iq!oatz'xēxē bullfrog $x\bar{e}$ *ōlatsē'm ⊑nm ⊑n* newt mens Eq!alolo butterfly lõ

(4) Plants.

From stem ma is formed emā'ma pewterwort

ō' Elq El polypodium qElucā'qcaq pteris cāq

(5) Parts of body.

From stem $p!\bar{o}x$ is formed $up!\bar{o}'xp!\bar{o}x$ elbow utczō'ltczōl lungs $tcx\bar{o}l$ ckucku'c testicles kuc

(6) Terms of relationship.

From stem ga is formed $i\bar{a}'gaga$ his mother's father

iā'qacqac his father's father qacoyā'cgacga his mother's mother cga oyā/k!ēk!ē his father's mother k!ē Liā'mama his father ma

Liā'tata his mother's brother ta

k!āc ik!ā'ckc boy

(7) Miscellaneous terms:

From stem $p\bar{a}t$ is formed $ip\bar{a}'tpat$ net

ē'tceltcel brass buttons tcel ōse'qseq buck-skin 8 E Q Lts E'xts Ex gravel, thorn ts ex k!oyē ok!oyē'k!oyē fingering ogō'cgac sealing-spear gac ikupku'p short dentalia kupiqā'lxal gambling-disks gāl (?) i L!al L!al gambling-disks ı!al iq!ā'lq!al short baton q!āl qwîs ō'wîsqwîs breaking of wind qōm (?) iqō'mxōm cedar-bark basket $\bar{o}' Lk! En Lk! En$ open basket Lk!En

qula *Lqulā'⁵ula* egg l_{EX} $\bar{o}'lexlex$ scales

L!uwalk ē'L!uwalkL!uwalk mud

 $\bar{o}l$ eml em rotten wood (- $^{\textit{el}}$ em rotten bark) l_{Em}

iq!ē'qotqot fever qot

A second large class of onomatopoetic terms, those used in place of verbs, has been discussed before (§ 46).

§ 58. Nouns Expressing Adjectival and Verbal Ideas

In Chinook a great many adjectives and verbs are expressed by substantives. In these expressions the quality or action becomes the subject or object of the sentence, as the case may be. The Chinook will say, the man's badness killed the child's poverty, meaning that the bad man killed the poor child. It is true that such expressions are not entirely unfamiliar to us; for we can say, he went the whole length of the way, of he mastered the difficulties of the problem, in which we also treat a quality as objective. In Chinook this method is applied to a greater extent than in any other language I know. Many qualities are used only as abstract nouns, while others may be transformed into adjectives by the prefix g-, which expresses possession (see § 17.6); for instance:

 $i\bar{a}'q!atxal$ his badness $gi\bar{a}'q!atxal$ the one who has his badness (i. e., the bad one)

In the same way, verbs appear as nouns. This also is a mode of expression not unfamiliar to us, although the frequent application of such expressions and the ideas they express appear very strange. We can say, like the Chinook, HE MAKES A HIT and HE HAS A SICKNESS, instead of HE HITS and HE IS SICK; we can even use the verbal idea as the subject of a transitive verb, or form analogous passive constructions; for instance, sorrow filled his heart, HE WAS SEIZED BY A FIT OF ANGER; but the absence or rarity of the corresponding verbal forms and the strong personification of the verbal idea in the noun appear to us quite strange.

Most of the nouns of this class are always used with the possessive pronoun. The following examples illustrate their uses:

- a'lta (1) itsanō'kstx (2) ōLk!E'nLk!En (3) agiā'lōtk (4) ik!Enā'tan (5) now (1) she put (4) potentilla-roots (5) into (4) the smallness of (2) a clam basket (3) 43.22
- ohō' (1) itci'qōqcin (2) Lia'xauyam (3) ! ohō' (1) my wife's relative's (2) poverty (3) ! i. e., oh, my poor relative ! 67.21
- taqë' (1) eë'tcxōt (2) iā'lkuilē (3) just like (1) a bear's (2) similarity (3) 275.11
- qule'tc (1) igō' Lgeli (2) tcāxt (3) Iō'i (4) once more (1) her lie (2) has done her (3) Ioi (4) i. e., Ioi has lied again 163.14
- $\bar{o}'l\bar{o}$ (1) $akt\bar{a}'x$ (2) $t\hat{e}'lx\cdot_{Em}$ (3) hunger (1) acts on (2) the people (3) 260.16

ka'nauwē (1) telalā'xukc (2) ō'tām'ō (3) all (1) birds (2) their chewed thing (3) i. e., all birds eat of it 40.18

 $ta'k_E$ (1) $\bar{a}'yatc!a$ (2) $nix\bar{a}'lax$ (3) then (1) his sickness (2) came to be on him (3) i. e., then he became sick

qa'da (1) itxā'alqt (2) qtgiā'xō (3) ? how (1) shall we make (3) our wailing (2)?

A list of these nouns has been given on pp. 599-600.

It will, of course, be understood that these words, from the Chinook point of view, do not form a separate class, but that they are simply concrete or abstract nouns, as the case may be. They are in no way different from similar constructions in English, in which the quality of an object is expressed as its property. We find, therefore, also, that many ordinary concrete nouns perform the functions of adjectives. Ayā'pxela (1) icimē'wat (2), literally, the duck (2) its fat (1) means the duck had (much) fat, or the fat duck. The only peculiarity of Chinook in this respect is, that certain ideas which we consider as qualities or activities are always considered as concrete or abstract nouns. A glance at the list shows clearly that quite a number of these words can not be considered as stems. Some are derivatives of unchangeable words, and others are evidently compounds.

§ 59. Phonetic Characteristics of Nominal Stems

On account of the intricate derivation of Chinook nouns, and our unfamiliarity with the component stems, it is impossible to describe the phonetic characteristics of nominal stems. The lists of nouns given before (pp. 597 et seq.) contain a number of stems consisting of consonants only, while most of the others are monosyllabic stems. It is doubtful if the purely consonantic stems have originated entirely through phonetic decay. A comparison of the Upper and Lower Chinook dialects gives no decisive answer to this question.

On the whole I am under the impression that a considerable number of monosyllabic nouns, and perhaps a few of two syllables, may be considered as stems.

§ 60. Verbal Stems

The onomatopoetic stems which do not readily form true verbs, and the nouns used for expressing verbal ideas (so far as they are not derivatives) reduce the total number of true verbal stems considerably. These are very brief, consisting sometimes of a single

sound, often of a group of consonants, or of a single syllable. Stems of this character are relatively so numerous as to arouse suspicion that all dissyllabic stems may be compounds.

In many cases it is very difficult to determine the stem of the verb, because it remains often doubtful whether an initial -x, -k, and -g belong to the stem or to a prefix. The following list contains only such stems the phonetic character and significance of which appear reasonably certain. The stems are arranged according to their initial sounds—first vowels, then labials, dentals, palatals, and finally laterals. The beginning of the stem is marked by parallel lines: suffixes are separated by single lines; tr., signifies transitive; intr., intransitive.

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-Enux others, apart
-ā'mka only, alone
-ā'newa first
-ēxt one (for animals and inanimate objects)
-\bar{e}'xat one (person)
-o||i to go. The forms of this verb are irregular. Some are
  derived from a stem -i, while others seem to have the stem -o.
  It may be, however, that the latter is only the directive pre-
  fix -\bar{o}. The stem -i (which is absent in forms like \bar{a}'y\bar{o} HE
  GOES, \bar{a}' L \bar{o} IT GOES) reappears in
     ayō'yam he arrives
     ayō'ix he is in the habit of going
     nō'ya I go
     nō'yam I arrive
     nē'gemoya he goes along it
     nigelō'ya I go for a purpose, i. e., I go hunting
     ayoē'wulxt he goes up
-xel ōi ma other, different
-wa to pursue
     -\bar{a} wa to pursue tr. 62.12
     -x\bar{a} wa to run pl. intr. 276.9
     -xe'l||wa||ko| to follow around
     -u | w\bar{a}' | x it to flee (=to be pursued) 223.10
     -u||w\bar{a}'|ko to demand 157.19
-\bar{a}|wa^{\epsilon} to kill sing. obj.
-a wan belly 186.6 (= pregnant)
-ā wule to swallow 46.12
-ā wintsx to melt
-u |w\bar{e}'^{\epsilon} raw, unripe 93.26
-pena to jump
     -o||pena tr. with dual obj. to jump 192.13
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-palau to talk
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-o||palaw|ul to address some one tr. 213.15

-ki||palau substantive to bewitch (=word) 62.16

 $-o||pi\bar{a}'Lx|$ to gather, to pick 245.5

-o||pēqLa to scratch 26.21

 $-o||p\bar{e}L|$ to stretch out 109.12

 $-p\bar{o}$ to close, to shut

 $-x||p\bar{o}|t\bar{e}|$ to be locked 12.3

 $-\bar{a}||p\bar{o}|$ to shut a box

 $-n||p\bar{o}|t$ to shut in (=to shut eyes) 47.18

-x | pona to carry food to wife's relatives 249.7

-o ponit to put up 29.8

-pōl darkness, night

-pō'lakli dark 29.8

no'ponem it gets dark 23.5

 $-\bar{o}||pcut$ to hide 9.10

-o ptca to lead by hand 130.6

-o ptcx to mend

-o p!ena to pronounce, to utter 253.21

-o'mako to distribute, to give presents 98.8

 $-l||m\ ako\ 77.17$

 $-o|m\bar{a}'inx$ rotten 199.26

 $-o||m\bar{e}tck|$ to find, gather up 162.21

 $-l|m\bar{e}'ctx$ to loan, to lend; tr. with two obj.

-o, $m\bar{e}qL$ to lick 42.8

 $-o||m\bar{e}la$ to scold 93.24 (= bad? Kathlamet)

-mēxa one more

-o. met to grow up 224.4

 $-\bar{o}||mE||$ to buy 94.20

 $-\bar{o}$ |m eqt to die sing. 114.3, to faint, 239.6

 $-\bar{o}|m_Eqtit$ thirsty 71.1

-meq to vomit, to spit

 $-\bar{o}_{\parallel} m Eq o - it$ to spit

 $-\bar{o}_{\parallel}m^{\epsilon}|a$ to vomit 13.6

e' |mea|lqL qualmish

-xen mo'sx em to play, to fool, to make fun of 178.18

 $-\bar{o}$ to give 164.6

-t to come

-te to come 15.18

-t|ē|mam to arrive coming 161.14

 $-x/tak\bar{o}$ to come back 28.21

-x takom to arrive coming back 16.17

 $-ga|t|/\bar{o}m$ (for $-gatq\bar{o}m$) to meet 94.11

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-ael ta to leave 250.8
     -x \in l to leave 250.10
     -\epsilon_{El}|ta|qL to leave sing. obj. 123.15
     -\bar{e} | ta q L to leave pl. obj. 128.7
     -l||ta|tkc to leave to somebody 177.5
-k||ta to pursue, to meet 197.24, 23.19
-l tagt to meet 164.26
-o||tēna to kill pl. obj. 23.22
-l|tigo to oil, to grease; tr. with two objs., the direct obj.
  -L- standing for GREASE
-xel||tōm to accompany 135.20
-o tuke to suck
-tk to put down
     -\bar{o}_{\parallel}tk to put away 177.6, to snow 42.1
     -x \in m \bar{o} \mid tk to stake 30.16
     -\bar{o}|_{\dot{a}}tg|ak\bar{o} to put down around (=to step) 240.29
     -\bar{o}|tcin|tk to put first (=to begin)
-ō||tx to give away
-tx to stand sing.
     -\bar{o} tx uit to stand 184.20
     -g|o|tx to stand on, to strike 191.20
     -ō||tx|uit|tcu to fall down
     -ō txumit to place upright 48.5
     -\bar{o}||tx||uitck| to make ready 42.17
     -xel||tx|uitck to get ready
-tcam to hear
     -x tcîmaq to understand 165.16
     -l tcimag to hear 24.18
-o tcēna to lay down 98.6
-o||tceq Lk^u| to be crosswise 266.13
-qel teim to strike, to hit 66.4
-tct to move on water
     -olltcttcu to go down river by canoe 277.3
     -o tct amit to push into water 74.22
-o|tctxom to finish 46.23
     naxe' | tctxom to finish one's own (breath), to faint
-olitcktc to wash 39.23
-o tsgat short
-xel_{0} tcx to observe 25.1
-o||texem to boil 23.4
-c to be somewhere sing.
     -o|c to be 219.7
     -l|\bar{o}||c to be in 151.3
     -k|\bar{o}||c to be on 39.12
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 $-x|\bar{o}|c$ to be on ground 39.18

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-o||ci to roast in ashes 185.4
  -o ctx to carry on back 114.20
  -cq to take
       -o||cq|am to take 134.1
       -o||cqe|Lx to take to water 116.24
       -x||cg|am to take away
       -qelige | |cg|am to help 28.6
       -x||cg|alil to play 17.4
  -o||sko it warm 174.13
  -ckta to search on beach 88.4
  -o||ck^{u}||_{L} to turn over fire
  -'! nata on the other side, across
  -naxL to miss something that is needed
        -o||nax_Latck| to lose 43.17
  -o nalx to wipe
  -ni to tie (?)
       -k!\bar{e}||ni\,ako| to tie around 253.2
       -x||ni|ako to tie around 115.24
  -ngo to run sing.
       -xa||ngo to run 23.23
       -xa|tE| ngo to come running 28.3
        -o||ng\bar{o}'mit to cause to run (= to carry away) 27.16
       -o||nguē to flutter
  -kEl to see
        -\epsilon_{El}||k_{El}|| to see sing. obj. 115.1
       -\epsilon \bar{e} | k E l to see pl. obj. 66.11
  -ka to fly
       -\bar{o}_{\parallel}k\bar{o} to fly
       -t ka to come flying
       -t||ka|mam to arrive flying and coming
  -kim to say 127.17
  -g\bar{e}'xa to swim
       -o||quēxa to swim 14.15
        -g \, \epsilon l \, | g \bar{e} x a | x \bar{e} to swim across 217.11
  gēxē (-guēxē?) to sweep
        -o guēxē 172.5
  -k\bar{o} to go home, to pass
       -x_i k \bar{o} to go home 25.9, to go past
       -xat|k\bar{o} to come home 212.2
  -ka (-k\bar{o}?)
        -o'|k\bar{o} to order 129.29
  -g\bar{o}n another
  -x||kxu\bar{e}| to throw away 17.11
  -o||kuman to look at 47.2
§ 60
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-o kula to sharpen 15.21
-o ktik to lie down on side 76.8
-kto mit to take revenge on relative of a murderer 203.10
-ktuq to enslave
-o ktc to carry 66.4
-ktcax (-qe'tcax) to cry 275.2
-o ktcan to hold in hand 271.10
-o ktcikt roasted, done 134.10
     -o||ktcikt|amit to roast 93.26
-o kc to harpoon 92.9
-o kct to see 217.22
     -o kct am to go to see 187.10
-olkct (probably the same as -ktc above) to carry 38.18
-x o kcti to lie down, to sleep 76.20
-xalo ketgo to throw down 16.8
-o k^u t c k to make net 95.4
-o kul to carry 129.19
     -t|_{\mathbf{k}^{\mathbf{u}}L} to bring 127.13
     -t k^{\mu} L | am to arrive bringing 67.6
-k^{u}L to tell
     -x,l 'guz'itck to tell 37.17
     -x |k^{u}L| \bar{e}l 41.4
-k \, L \bar{e} w a to paddle 135.1
-o|k \iota pa to miss 271.13
-k!a to haul, to pull
     -x | k/a | 117.19
     -gat k!a to haul here
-k!\bar{o}_L to glue
-a \mid q to meet
     -ga|_{[\bar{c}]}\bar{o}m to arrive meeting 117.24
-a qamt (-a| qamit?) to look 218.11
-a gamst to drink
-l gamx to shout
-gana it to lie
     -o quna it to lie down 16.23
     -k||qana| it to lay on top of
     -o||qunā'|itx'it to fall down
-qā'yaqt between
-o||qa-iL large
-qēna orphan
- rem to give food
     -l||em to give food 22.10
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-t|!!ēm to come to give food

 $-g\bar{e}||qoim 240.28|$

- oua between

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-n|_{1}^{\epsilon}\bar{o}ya to put between into 172.20
     -a foya mit to leave meanwhile 93.26
     -a||^{\epsilon}oya time between (= days) 175.9
-a||^{\epsilon}w\bar{\epsilon}wuL to invite 176.18
      -t !!ēwul to invite here 41.6
-allewilx to hit, to strike 65.12
-a||\epsilon\bar{o}ptit to sleep 255.16
-a^{1} \bar{e} \bar{o} p k to steam on stones 97.25
-a || q \bar{o} t to bathe
     -x||^{\epsilon}\bar{o}t to bathe sing. 12.8
     -x||^{\varepsilon}\bar{o}yut to bathe pl.
-a^{i}|^{\epsilon}\bar{o}tc! to awaken sing. 137.23
     -a||^{\epsilon}\bar{o}yutc| to awaken pl.
-a||fonim to laugh at 184.3
-a||qc| to split wood 45.18, to bite 100.13
-a gcti to be satisted 172.12
-qLa to count
      -q\iota\bar{a}'x it to be counted (= to menstruate) 245.20
-o xun to drift
-o|xtk to steal 163.12
-o x tkin to search 12.5
-xq\bar{o} to be transformed
      -xgō mit to transform 30.23
-a|x tr. to do; intr. to become, to be
     -||x|\bar{o}m to arrive
     -a|x|otck to begin to do (= to work)
-xauwē many
-xāyal common man -(xal?)
-xēna to stand pl., to place upright 23.6
     -x\bar{e}na|x\cdot it to stand pl. 235.19
-xomem to show 41.2
-g_{En}|\bar{o}'t\bar{e}n to help sing 235.5
-o xogtc to invite 60.4
-x\bar{o}_{L}!t \text{ dizzv}
-xoll to finish
-o xtk to swim (fish) 63.13
-xg|ako to surpass 245.13
-a|xs to cut
-l to move
     -o la to move
     -x|ll to shake intr. 156.14
     -o | | l| atck to lift 25.21
-lap to dig
\bar{a} -laxta next 60.8
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-o||lektc to roast 124.19
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-o||lxam| to say to tr. 13.17

-LEMāt next to last

-La to sit, to remain

-o|| to be, to sit 22.10

-gemiliait to wait for 128.5

-xE'||La|it dead pl.

-k||La|it to be in canoe

-o||zata to pull back 38.13

-o|| \(\bar{\alpha}' \ta | x \cdot it\) to fly about

-Lk!ik crooked

-o|| Lqat long

 $-o|L^{\dagger}$ (-o| L^{\dagger}) to win, to surpass 30.15

-LqLa to strike

-ge||LqLa to stab 89.1

 $-x = l \mid \bar{o} \mid Lq \perp a$ to hammer

-xel | Lxelem to eat

-L!ala foolish

-L!Elex lean

CHINOOK TEXT

THE SHAMANS

Gitā'kikelal ¹ Those who have power of seeing	atgē'îx 2 they go	ē'wa³ thus	tmēwā'le:		nîx ⁵ aLō'nîks, ⁶ en three persons,
La'newa aqLa that one first some of makes i	ne really	One w	XAWÔK; ¹⁰ Tho has a lan spirit;	k!îmta′ 11 last	aqLā'x s pāt some one really makes him
giLā'xawôk;10 kā one who has a guardian spirit;	i'ts Ek ¹⁸ a qi iddle some makes	one on	anu'kstx ¹³ le who has smallness	iLa' Xawôl his guardian spirit.	K. 14 Aqē'ktaôx 15 Some one pur- sues it
iLā'xanatē ¹⁶ L his life t	kā'nax, ¹⁷ he chief,	ma'nîx when	K ⁵ Ē'Latc!: his sickne	ss the c	
	yā'xElax ³⁰ it is on it ⁷ Ma'nîx When	that	uē'xatk, ²² trail, k:!îmta' ¹¹ behind	he utters i	ala 19 ayā'xElax 20

¹⁻kel to see, as a transitive verb used with the prefixed element -Pi-(§ 25.7); -ki- is introduced to make the stem -kel intransitive (§ 26.4); terminal -l (with connecting weak vowel al) indicates an action characterized by many repetitions (§ 31.7); this compound stem kikelal is treated as a masculine noun. Fower of seeing (§ 34.5); this appears as third person plural possessive -la-(§ 23), and is transformed into a personal noun by prefixed g-(§ 17.6).

² a- sorist (§ 17.1); tg- third person plural, special form (§ 19.2); ≥ vowellengthened under stress of accent; -z usitative (§ 32.11).

* &'wa THUS, THEN (\$ 44.2.)

- *t- third person plural (§ 21); -mēwal GHOST, a stem introduced after the older stem -mēm Előst had been tabooed on account of the death of a person whose name contained this word; -ma distributive ending, always used with the stem -mēwal (§ 38.2).
 - 5 ma'nir, temporal conjunction WHEN.
 - 6 Lon THREE; -tks plural indicating human beings (§ 38.1); a-special plural.
 - ¹-ā'nēwa FIRST; L- neuter pronoun (§ 18).
- ³ a-aorist, q-, subject some one (§ 18); L- object it (§ 18); -ā- directive, for ō before k sound (§ 10); -x stem to do; contracted with the usitative ending -x (§ 32.11), which has drawn the accent to the last syllable.

 pāt really, adverb.
- 10 i'kawôk GUARDIAN SPIRIT; -Lō-neuter possessive (§ 23), after which the k changes to τ (§ 6.1); g- transforms the term into a personal noun (§ 17.6).
 - 11 k/imta' LAST, AFTERWARDS, BEHIND. Adverb, may also be used as noun.
 - 12 kā'tsEk MIDDLE. Adverb, may also be used as noun.
- 12 i- nukst; SMALLNESS, with possessive pronoun masculine third person, and personifying prefix g- (see notes 1, 10).
 - 14 See note 10.
- ¹⁶ a- agrist; q- some one; $-\bar{c}$ him; stem presumably $-ta^i$; the preceding k seems to be adverbial on (§ 25.3), because when accented it takes the form gE^i , and because, after \bar{c} , an \bar{c} is inserted following it: for instance, $aquq\bar{c}'ta^ix$ 197.15 some one pursues them; the verb has, however, only one object. It never occurs with directive $-\bar{c}$ -.
 - i i-kanā'tē LIFE, SOUL. Neuter possessive (§ 23). See also note 10.
 - 17 i-kā'naz chief, Rich man; ôkô'naz chieftainess (§ 7); Lkā'naz indefinite, a chief.
 - 18 &'-tc/a SICKNESS. Masculine noun; neuter possessive.
 - 19 &-q/atzala BADNESS. Masculine noun, feminine possessive, relating to the feminine noun u& yatk.
- ²⁰ Intransitive verb with indirect object; a- aorist; y for i between vowels (§ 17.1), HE (namely, badness); d- HER (namely, trail); -1: indicates that the badness belongs to the trail (§ 24); -1 TO (§ 25.1); -e-directive before k sound (§ 10); -x stem to Do, to BE.

qō'La 25 qax 21 ka.26 k!îmta' 11 uē'xatk,22 iau'a 27 alktop!Ena'x 28 that that one he utters it trail, and then behind Cka 26 Lā′€ēwam.24 me'nx · ī 29 nopo'nemx 30 ka26 atōgoē'la-îtx,31 tatel his song. And a little while ft is dark and they treat him, however. qō'La25 gē'Latc!a.35 avu'ktelil 32 iō'itet 33 ka 26 aqita' 6 om 34 ila' xanate 16 the morning and some one his life that one who has comes his sickness. SIAT reaches it. tgā' xawôk 38 Aqiō'cgam 36 ilā'xanatē.16 Nōxotā'kox 87 gitā'kikElal.1 Some one takes his life. They return their guardian those who have spirits power of seeing. ka 26 E'xtemaē 39 mô'kcti40 alā'eoîx,41 ē'xtemaē 39 ē'xti 42 81.ā'^e0îx ⁴¹ Sometimes are between, sometimes is between twice once qigō44 qõ'ta 46 tga'wôk.38 aqē'telōtxax 43 iLā'xanatē 16 nōxotā'komx 45 those guardian some one gives his soul they return him to them spirits.

T!ā'ya 47 aLxā'x 48 gē'Latc!a. 35 Well he becomes one who has his sickness.

aqiā'wax 49 gē'Latc!a,35 atgē'îx 2 iLā'xanatē 16 gitā'kikElal¹ Ma'nîx 6 When some one pursues his soul one who has his they go those who have the him sickness power of seeing, aqiā'wax 49 gē'Latc!a: 35 iau'a 27 ma'nîx 5 iLā'xanatē 16 qiq!E'tcqta50 one who has to the left when some one pursues his soul then him sickness;

- 21 Demonstrative feminine, absent past (§ 44); the corresponding masculine is qiz.
- " u-č ratk TRAIL. Stem probably -čr.
- = a- sorist; L- indefinite (neuter) subject; -k- indicates L as transitive subject (§ 19); -t THEM; -5- directive; stem p!Ena (Upper Chinook -pqEna).
- ²⁴ L- $q\bar{c}'$ was SHAMAN'S SONG. Neuter possessive (§ 23); since the accent is thrown back before the q, it is weakened to c (§ 6.3).
 - ≈ qō La, neuter demonstrative, absent invisible past (§ 44).
- ²⁸ The connective conjunction appears as ka, k/a, and cka. It has not been possible to give a satisfactory explanation of their uses.
 - 27 THEN. Demonstrative adverb related to &'wa.
 - See note 23, with usitative suffix -z (§ 32.11).
 - mank A LITTLE; with adverbial ending -i, the k is always aspirated.
- ** Irregular formation from the feminine stem $-p\delta l$. It would seem as though the directive $-\delta$ had been inserted in the verbal form in which the aoristic n- appears before a vowel (§ 17.1). This n- has assimilated the -l of $-p\delta l$ (§ 8). The explanation is, however, not satisfactory.
- ²¹ a- aorist; t- third person plural intransitive subject; -ō- third person plural object before -g; -gē- prefix eliminating one object (?) (§ 26.4); -la-it stem, perhaps -l+-a-it (§ 29.1).
- Intransitive third person masculine singular before vowel, when the i- takes a consonantic character, so that the aeristic a is retained; -u directive; stem -ktEliu.
 - ⇒ i- third person masculine singular before vowel, -ō.
- ²⁴ a- aorist; -q- indefinite subject; -i- third person masculine singular object; -ia* stem to pursue; $-\bar{o}m$ for -am after k sound, to arrive (§ 26.1).
 - ≈ See & Latc/a (note 18); g- personal noun (§ 17.6).
- ≈ a- aorist; -q- indefinite subject; -i- third person masculine singular object; -ō directive; -cg- stem to take; -am completion of motion.
- ²⁷ n- aorist before vowel; -5- third person plural before k sound; -z reflexive; -0 probably short and introduced after o preceding z; -4 stem to come; -āko around, back; -z usitative.
 - ≈ t-plural; tgā'-third person plural possessive; i'kawôk GUARDIAN SPIRIT.
 - ≈ čpt one; -ma distributive; -č adverb.
 - môkct TWO; -i (= -ē) adverb.
- 41 a- aorist; L- intransitive third person neuter subject; -a- directive, for $-\bar{o}$ before k sound; stem- toya BETWEEN; -x usitative.
- ** a- sorist; -q- indefinite subject; -\$- HIM; -\$- THEM; -\$- TO; -\$- directive; -tr TO GIVE AWAY; -r usitative.

 This form is unusual in so far as the two terminal r's are not contracted and the accent is not on the ultima.
 - 44 Demonstrative adverb q- invisible; -i- masculine; -gō THERE.
 - See note 37; -om for -am after k sound and perhaps contracted with -ako; -z usitative.
 - # See note 25, plural.
 - 47 See § 46.3.
 - # a- aorist; -L- neuter; -z- reflexive; -ā- directive, for -ō- before k sound; -r stem to Do.
- a- aorist; -q- indefinite subject; -i- third person masculine object; -d- directive, accented before w; -wa- TO PURSUE ONE; -z usitative.
- qiq/E'icqta LEFT; qinq/eama' RIGHT. Particles.

qax ²¹	uē'xatk ²² trail	aLō'ÎX; 51 it went;	nōgō'goî they say	mx ⁵²	gitā'kikEla those who have power of seein	the "Oh,
Lō'mEqt	a, ⁵³ tall ie, neverthe	" 54 Ma'n When When	îx ⁵ iau' 1 ther	a ²⁷ q	inq leama' 50 to the right	ayō'îx ⁵⁵ goes
iLā'xana his sou	itē: 16 "Ō,	tlä'ya ⁴⁷ (well som	Lā'xō." 56 e one will mai him."	te		
Aqiga	e reaches it	igō ⁴⁴ naL ^{when} tl	xoā'pē ⁵⁸ ne hole	ilē'ē. ⁵⁹ ground.	Ia'xkatē ⁶	alkle- they always
drink it	itx ⁶¹ tmēm the g	hosts.	When	he has dru	nk it the one his sic	who has there
qō'La ²⁵ that	Ltcuq, 65 a'	lta ⁶⁶ nēkct hen not	qa'nsix ⁶⁷ (any) how	tlayā' well	aqLā'X.8 some one makes him.	Qē'xtcē ⁶⁸ Endeavoring
ka'nauw	'ē ⁶⁹ tgā'qē v their sham	vama ⁷⁰ ata an songs th	Lgē'la-itx, ey treat him,	71 näko not	ct ⁷³ L!pāx ⁷ well	aqLa'x. ⁸ some one makes him.
L!ap 78 Find	aqē'ax 74 some one does	iLā'Xana it his life	tē 16 qō′	LA ²⁵] at	LkLämetx ⁶³ it has drunk it	Ltcuq. 65 the water.
Aqiō'cg	amx, ³⁶ iā'qo takes it, it is l	a-iL ⁷⁵ qix ^{.2} arge that	ikanā'tē.	16 Nõxe The	ōtā'kux ³⁷ ta y return d	yā',xawôk ³⁸ heir guardian spirits
gitā'kiki those who power of se	Elal. Iā'qo have It is l eing.	erge that	ikanā't	ē. 16 A	qiō'cgamx ³ ome one takes it	q loa'p 72
iā'kua ⁷⁶ here	Natē'tanud Indians	e 77 ka 26 is	ınö'kstx ¹³ ts smallness	nē'xEl	ax. ⁷⁸ Nōg be on it.	ō'go-îmx ⁵² 'hey sa y
51 a- aorist	; - <i>L</i> - neuter subje	ct; -ō- directive; :	see note 2.			

⁵² n-acrist before vowel; -5- plural before k sound; -95 introduced before k stop (§ 19.2b); -k-im, -gim to say, in which -5- is introduced in harmony with preceding o (§ 7); -x usitative.

⁴ L neuter subject; -5- directive; stem -mEqt DEAD, -a future.

⁵⁴ See § 50.

 $[\]omega$ a- a orist before consonantic y, which stands for intervocalic -i- third person masculine subject (see note 51).

 $[\]stackrel{\text{def}}{q}$ -indefinite subject; -L- neuter object; - \bar{a} -directive before k sound; -x stem to do; - δ future for -a after k sound (§ 26.1).

of a- a arist; q- indefinite subject; -i- third person masculine object; -ga- adverbial prefix (?); -stem to meet; -5m for -am after k sound, completion of motion (compare note 34).

be na- prefix for local names (§ 40.3); Lzoap onomatopoetic term, to DIG; -? suffix.

^{**} Stem $-\bar{\epsilon}l_T$; masculine; on account of accented vowel following the cluster $-l_T$, the τ is dropped (§ 6.2); $-\bar{\epsilon}$ suffix.

[∞] See § 44.

a a- aorist; -Lk- neuter transitive subject with following k sound (§ 19); -L- neuter object, implying water (see note 65); -qamet stem to DRINK, here modified by accent into -amet; -a-itz ALWAYS (§ 31.10).

⁴⁸ See note 4. The stem -mēmElōst DEAD was used occasionally by the narrator; t- plural; -ikc plural ending (§ 38.1).

⁸⁸ See note 61. This form stands for alkLE'Emctz.

⁶⁴ Demonstrative adverb (§ 44).

⁶ Stem -lcuq; neuter.

⁶⁶ See § 47.

⁶⁷ See § 44.

^{*} Adverb indicating an action performed, but not attaining the desired end.

[∞] Indefinite numeral (§ 51).

[®] See note 24. Here the stem -qēwam is retained in its original form; tga- plural, possessive third person plural; -ma plural.

n a- agrist; -t- third person plural intransitive subject; -L- neuter object (see note 31).

n Ekct NOT, with rhetoric emphasis näkct.

n Attribute complement.

[&]quot; a- aorist; q- indefinite subject; -?- masculine object; -a directive before k sound; -x stem to Do.

^{*} i- third person masculine singular continuative; -a directive before k sound; -qoa-iL stem LARGE.

To Demonstrative adverb of the groups &wa, iawa, iakwa (§ 44).

⁷⁷ Plural in na-; stem -të'tanuë (§ 21).

^{**} Intransitive verb; n-aorist; -\(\bar{c}\)- contracted from i-i HE HIS (§ 12); -x- reflexive; -i- to; -a- directive before k sound; -x stem to DO, TO BE.

Lō'meqta."53 ktōguilā'lē:79 "Lō'nas näkct73 LE't!oîx 80 "Perhaps those who treat them: it comes between he will die." Qē'xtcē 68 aqē'tElōt43 Niktcō'ktixē.⁸¹ ilā'xanate.16 Aqä'telōtx,83 It gets day. Endeavoring some one gives it to his life. Some one gives it to them Nilgengā'gux 84
It is too small q!oa'p 73 ka'nauwē 69 ē'LaLfa 83 ka 26 alo'meqtx.58 nearly all and he dies. his body iLā'xanatē.16 his soul.

[Translation.]

The seers go thus to the ghosts. When there are three of them, the one who has a strong guardian spirit is placed first, and one who has a strong guardian spirit is placed last. One who has a small guardian spirit is placed in the middle. The soul of a chief is pursued when the chief is sick. When the trail is bad, the first one utters his shaman song. When the trail is bad behind, then the one there behind utters his shaman song. And it is night for a little while, and they treat him; but when the morning star comes, the soul of the sick one is overtaken. His soul is taken. The guardian spirits of the seers return. Sometimes his soul is given to him two nights, sometimes one night, after the guardian spirits return. Then the sick one becomes well.

When the soul of a sick person is pursued, the seers go, when the soul of the sick person is pursued. There it went thus on the trail to the left. Then the seers say, "Oh, he will die, anyway!" when the soul went there thus to the right, "Oh, he will become well!"

It is reached where there is a hole in the ground. There the ghosts are in the habit of drinking. When the sick one has drunk of that water, he can not be made well at all. All those who have shaman songs try to treat him, but he is not made well.

The soul of one who has drunk of that water is found. It is taken. That soul is large. The guardian spirits of the seers return. That soul is large. It is taken here, near to the Indians, and it grows small. Those who treat them say, "Perhaps it will not be one night before he will die." It gets daylight. The attempt is made to give him his soul. It is given to him. It nearly (fills) his body, and he dies. His soul is too small.

⁷⁹ See note 31. k- personal noun.

^{**} See note 41. Presumably with directive -t- TO COME, which is strengthened by the elision of q (§ 6.3).
** n- acrist before vowel; -t- masculine subject; -k is a prefix. The origin of the suffix is not clear.

[≡] ä rhetoric lengthening of č (see notes 43, 72).

^{■ 2-} masculine pronoun; -La- neuter possessive; -La stem Body.

^{**} n- aorist; -f- third person masculine intransitive subject referring to the soul; -L- neuter object, referring to the owner of the soul or life; -gEn probably for -gEl ON ACCOUNT OF (§ 25.4); -g- probably stem; -ago ABOUND, or part of stem; -z usitative.

KATHLAMET TEXT

Ēxā't¹ nē'qatexem² nai'ka³ tge'qlēyuqtîkc.⁴ Tgē'glax⁵ gatciuxoā'he sang conjurer's my ancestors. song 1.axanakcō'ngut⁷ iLā'lxam.8 Noxuā'koaxº ta-îtci¹º tê'lxam8 watcguîx.⁶ Laxanakco'ngut his town. They assembled those ta'xi11 te'LaqLpa¹² ya'xi¹³ Lpő'lemax15 iqē'qtcxam.2 Lākt14 that his house at that the one who sang Four nights conjurer's songs. noxuiwī'vutckuax16 ta-îtci10 tê'lxam.8 $A'ga^{17}$ va'xi¹³ nigē'mx¹⁸ they danced those people. Then "A'qa17 Lxatō'guala¹⁹ La'xi¹³ Lqleyo'qt,4 aLxetelo'tciqē'qtexam: óne who sang ''' Thên he will come to hear that old man. he will go to see conjurer's song: Lq23 aLtē'mama24 xama."20 IgoxuiLō'xoa-it21 "Qā'mta22 tê'lxam:8 may be the dances." "Whence They thought the people:. he will arrive

¹ Stem -ērt one; feminine ač'rt; neuter Lērt; plural tērt; forms indicating human beings č'rat, ač'rat, tē'rat.

² Stem -lczam; the preceding -k- (heard here generally -q-) probably on; nê- transitional masculine (§ 17).

 $^{^{2}}$ naika I, independent personal pronoun; used here to intensify the possessive pronoun in the following noun.

 $⁴⁻q/\bar{\epsilon}y\bar{\delta}t$ OLD PERSON; t- plural; qE- my; -4kc plural, human beings.

This form is not otherwise known.

⁶ qa- a very frequent verbal prefix in Kathlamet, either transitional, or a siurred form of aqa then contracted with transitional i-: ic- he, transitive subject; -i- him; this verb may correspond to Chinook tcid'ruwalick he helped her sing (Chinook Texts 144.3).

⁷ Lazanakcō'ngut is a Nehelim town, called in that language Nesō'ka; perhaps derived from ongut a small bay with steep banks, and La'ranē outside.

^{*} i- masculine; -Lā-indefinite possessive; -lṭam town, from stem -lṭ. The neuter or indefinite possessive pronoun refers here to the indefinite ancestor whose name is not stated. From the same stem is formed U'lṭam, with t- plural prefix.

⁹Stem probably -kpa (Lower Chinook -ko); no- transitional, third person plural; -rua- reflexive after 5 vowel; -koa stem; -r usitative.

¹⁰ Demonstrative, indicating human beings (see § 44).

¹¹ Demonstrative plural, referring to tqu L HOUSE.

¹² Without possessive pronoun this noun has the stem-quL: with possessive pronoun the vowel is dropped. It has always the plural prefix t-: -La- refers to the same person as the possessive in iLa'lpam (see note 8); -pa at (§ 55).

¹³ ya'ri, wu'ri. La ri demonstratives (§ 44).

¹⁴ Numeral; for human beings the form la'ktike is used.

¹⁵ wā'pōl night; L-indefinite pronoun; -pōl night, dark; -max distributive plural.

¹⁶ $n\bar{\phi}$, $ig\bar{\phi}$ - transitional third person plural (§ 17); - $\bar{r}ui$ - reflexive, used apparently in this verb only in the plural; the u is introduced after preceding $\bar{\phi}$, stem - $u\bar{e}$ to dance; always ending with -i expressing repetition, or -ick expressing probably an inchoative (§ 31); -x usitative.

¹⁷ This is the most common connective AND THEN (see note 6).

 $^{^{10}}$ ni- masculine transitional; -kṛim, accented, -qēm to say; -x usitative.

¹⁰ L- indefinite; -za- reflexive; the stem does not occur in any other place in the available material.

a-future; -L-indefinite; -r- reflexive; -c- him; -t- coming; -loter to look on; -am to go to--; -a future.

[&]quot; igo-transitional third person plural (§ 17); -x- reflexive changed to -xui- after preceding -o-; -Lōro to think; -a-it suffix expressing rest.

²² qā where; -mta suffix, not free; whence, whither.

²³ Lq enclitic particle, MAY BE.

²⁴ a- future; -L- indefinite; -tē to come; -mam for -am after vowel to arrive (§ 29); -a future.

Lax'13 Lqleyō'qt?4 Lxuan25 ē'wa26 Naqē'lēm27 aLtē'mama24 aLxitrlō'tc-Perhaps old man? thus Nehelim he will arrive he will see the Lxuan²⁵ ē'wa²⁶ Tiā'k!ēlakix²⁸ altē'mama²⁴ alxitelō'texama."²⁰ he will arrive dance. perhaps thus Clatsop he will see the dance." wī't'ax30 Igō'pōnem. 29 $\mathbf{A'qa^{17}}$ iguxuiwī'yutck16 ta-îtci10 tê'lxam.8 lt grew dark. Then again they danced those people. a'qa¹⁷ Qē'q layaq³¹ wā'pōlpa,32 tEll23 igō'xoax¾ ta-îtci¹⁰ tê'lxam.* Middle night at. then tired those became people. Igugoaqē'witx it.35 $L\bar{e}x\bar{a}'t^1$ Lq!eyō'qt4 as^{37} Lqagë'lak³⁶ nō'L!îx38 They rested. and One old woman a little igō'pōnEm29 iLoqo'ptit.39 a'qa17 Q!oā′p⁴⁰ ē'ktelīL41 qiLXE'qo-îtq42 then it was dark she slept. Near morning star she arose La'xi13 Lqleyō'qt4 Lqagē'lak.36 A'qa¹⁷ tā'nki⁴³ igē'xox.⁴⁴ Ingilter maq45 oľd Then that woman. something was (there). She heard q!a'ē q!a'ē q!a'ē⁴⁶ tā'nki⁴³ igē'xox⁴⁴ icî'qēpa.47 ILXLO'XOa-it21 La'Xi13 noise of a crack opening something Was the door at. She thought that sāq° 48 Nî'xua50 antcuqō'yutc-"Lxuan²⁵ iqantcî'txam.49 Lq!eyō'qt:4 old one: " Perhaps war some one comes to Well 1 awoke make on us.

the people." remaining quiet them Then she woke them. and ta-îtci10 tê'lxam. tê'lxam⁸. Iguxoã′qo-îtq⁵⁴ Iguxoalā'yutck.55 people. They arose those people. They arose.

A'qa17 iLktuqō'yutcq,52 ac27 qene'mkatix53 ta-îtci10

■ Demonstrative adverb (see § 44).

qema51 tê'lxam.8"

- ²⁷ na-locative prefix (§ 40); -qēlēm stem for a place name south of Columbia river; Tqēlēmuks the proprie of Naqēlēm (nehelim), the Tillamook.
- ** t- plural; -id'- His; -k/člak roasted, dried salmon; -iz adverbial ending; where there are their roasted salmon, the native name of Clatsop. In the Clatsop dialect the name Ld'isep has the same meaning; Ld-their; -isep roasted, dried salmon.
 - ⇒ igô- transitional and directive; -pôl NIGHT; -pônEm IT IS ALWAYS NIGHT (see § 8).
 - as AGAIN corresponding to Lower Chinook west.
 - 31 që'q/ayak the MIDDLE OF A THING.
 - 22 to-nominal prefix (§ 17); d-feminine; -pôl NIGHT; -pa AT, IN.
 - 23 Onomatopoetic particle verb.
 - ≥ igō- transitional intransitive third person plural; -z- reflexive; -og- changed from g after ō; -z to po.
 - * igugoa- third person plural before k sound (§ 19); -qëwit to best; -xit suffix (§ 29).
 - ≈ L- indefinite; -qagë'lak WOMAN.
 - 27 as, ac connective conjunction, sometimes used for WHILE.
 - 28 nol/ A LITTLE; no'L/1x adverb.
 - ™ iL- indefinite transitional; -ō- directive; -qōptit to sleep.
 - 40 NEARLY, NEAR BY; also q/od'piz almost.
 - 41 Stem -ki Bli L.
 - 42 qiL- see note 6; -r- reflexive; -qo-ltq to ARISE.
 - 4 tan what; Lan who; ta'nki something.
 - 44 igē- transitional third person masculine; -x- reflexive; -o- directive; -x TO DO:
- ** iLgi- IT HIM; -L is probably the prefix to (§ 25); stem -tcmmaq to HEAR; the terminal -aq may also be a suffix.
 - 46 An onomatopoetic particle.
 - 47 i- masculine; -ci'qē doorway; -pa at.
 - 48 A particle verb (see p. 46).
 - 6 i- transitional; -q-some one; -ntc inclusive plural; -t to come; -r to do; -am to arrive.
- so nitua corresponds almost exactly to the German "doch;" here it might be translated anyway.
- 51 a- future; -ntc- I them; -u directive; -qōtcq plural; -qōyutcq to awaken; -em distributive; each one (?); -a future.
 - 52 iLkt- IT THEM.
- 48 Perhaps qua Quiet; distributive quarma; -katir adverbial suffix; compare ('hinook ia'zkati right there; q'od'pkati Quite near.
 - igo- transitional third person plural; -roa- reflexive after o; -qo-ttq TO ARISE.
- * igazoa- see note 54; -latck plural; -layutck to ARISE; this word contains the inchoative -tck, and may be the stem -l to Move.

^{*} Perhaps related to -Lözo- to think (see note 21); compare mzlő'quan ici qloù'piq do you think it is near? 26.5.

Itgō'guiga tgā'qamatcx.57 IqLo'lxam58 Laxi13 Lēxā't:1 "Wār59 ā'xa60 "Light their arrows. He was told that They took one: do it Wāx59 ile'kox62 la'xi13 lgoalē'lx.63 wu'xi¹³ ā'tōL.61 " A'qa¹⁷ tā'nki⁴³ Light person. fire." he did that Then something that Lāx⁵⁹ Lxuan²⁵ ă'wima64 îctā'qa-iLax65 igē'xox⁴ icî'qepa.47 siā'xôstes the door at. its largeness vizible became Perhaps thus its face Igugoā'k îm⁶⁰ ta-îtci¹⁰ tê'lxam:⁸ "Iqctxē'Lau" "A monster La⁶⁷ Lktemenā'kstē. 68 like the moon like. They said those people: ya'xi¹³ alîlxgē'tpqa.⁷¹" that he will come in." Ige'k îm⁶⁰ ya'xi¹³ iqe'qtexam: ''Iqexe'lautei ?''²⁷
He said that the one who sang ''A monster is it? the conjurer's song: iLxētelō'tcxam20 iLgemcîtooë'mam." 74 Lā'xka⁷⁸ La'xi¹³ Lq!eyō'qt4 he came to give you food." that old one he came to see the dance he Tiā'maq70 iqtē'lôx,80 yaxī'yax⁷⁷ igixElō'tcxam.78 Qoct76 igē'pixL76 they made on it, Behold a sea lion that he came to see the dance. His shots kõpa'81 ya'xi¹3 Kelā'îx83 ē'Lxam, iō'maqt.83 cā'xalîx⁸³ tate!a there it died. that nevertheless iuquē'wulxt84 ya'xi18 ta-îtci10 igē'pîxL.76 $A'qa^{17}$ itgixe'lemux85 it went up that sea lion. Then they ate those tê'lxam, ta-îtci10 igē'taxelō'tcxē.86 Oxuē'lutcx86 ya'xi13 ē'tcxampa.37 people, those who had come to see They saw the dance that song at. the dance. Lā'yuLEmax⁸⁸ ā'nqa⁸⁹ KloaLqē' Laxanakco'ngut' nai'ka' tge'q!ēyuqthen supernatural long ago Laxanakcö'ngut helper tîkc.4

⁵⁶ itgő- they them; -gsl after ő changed to -gui; stem -gs to take.

⁶⁷ t- plural; tga- THEIR; -qamate; ARROW.

⁵⁶ iq L- SOME ONE HIM; -5- directive; -lyam to SAY.

[•] Onomatopoetic particle verb.

[∞] Imperative of transitive verb without subject; ā- feminine object; -z To Do; -a future.

⁶¹ a- feminine; -tōL FIRE.

e Probably i- transitional; L- IT; -k indicating preceding transitive subject; -a- HER; -z TO DO.

Probably from the stem - Elz PLACE, COUNTRY.

[&]quot; ¿'wa THUS; distributive ä'wimax (?)

^{*} i- masculine; -ctd- their two sides, relating to the following dual noun face; -qa-ilax largeness.

⁶⁶ s- dual; -id'; HIS; -x6st FACE, EYES.

⁶⁷ La JUST LIKE.

^{*}In Chinook okle'mën is used for Moon. After the death of a man named Kle'men, whose guardian spirit was the moon, the Kathlamet discarded the word akle'men, which corresponds to the Lower Chinook form, and used ake'm instead (see lkaemu'ks Kathlamet Texts 27.3). The word at this place corresponds to the plural of the Lower Chinook, and should read perhaps lklemena'ks (see Chinook Texts 245.18); the ending to like (see § 55).

[∞] igu- transitional third person plural; -goa- inserted before stem in k; -k'im to say; see note 18.

⁷⁰ Stem -qctxë' Lan.

n al-future before vowels (§ 17); i- HE; -lx- US; -get coming to; -pq into; -a future.

⁷² tci interrogative particle.

¹⁸ ia'zka, a'zka, La'zka HE, SHE, IT.

¹⁴ f- transitional; Lgeme- it you; -t to come; -qoem to give food; -am to arrive.

⁷⁵ An exclamation.

¹⁶ Stem *-g& pi-zL*.

⁷⁷ Demonstrative, see § 44.

^{**}igi-transitional intransitive; -zzl reflexive on Behalf of Themselves; -6- directive; -4czam to go to see.

¹⁹ t- plural pronun; -iā- His; -maq the act of shooting.

m iqtel- somebody them on him; -o- directive; -z to do, to make.

⁸¹ Perhaps better go-pa' THERE AT.

^{*} i- masculine; -o- directive; -maqt TO DIE, singular.

⁸³ Both words contain the adverbial ending -4.7.

⁸⁴ From a stem -që to go up; -wultt up.

s itgi- they нім; -xe'lemu; used here as a transitive verb; more commonly intransitive itixe'lemu; тнеу ат, ім керекемсе то нім; stem -mu;.

^{**} See note 20; -zēlūtez to witness a dance; ō- third person plural; gē'tazelō'tezē is nominal, probably the ones who had their witnessing; g- nomen actoris; i- masculine; -ta theirs.

⁸⁷ See note 2; Etczam the conjurer's song that is sung; -pa at.

^{*} Lå- THEIRS; -yūleme Supernatural Being.

[■] In Lower Chinook a'ngatē.

WISHRAM TEXT 1

By EDWARD SAPIR

COYOTE AND ITC!E'XYAN

Aga ² Now	kwô'pt³	gayu'ya4 he went	isklu'lya ⁵ Coyote	wi't!ax.6 again.	Nā'2wit ⁷ Straightway	gayu'yam; ⁸ he arrived going;
galixm'li	-	isk!u'lya Coyote	gwā'nîsîm¹ always		la'mElqt ¹¹ ef.) are always ng them down	ide'lxam ¹² the people

- ¹ A connected English translation of this text will be found in Sapir's Wishram Texts, Publications of the American Ethnological Society, II, 41, 43. The Indian text as here given has been very slightly normalized from its form as there published (pp. 40, 42).
- ² Used partly with weak temporal force, partly as mere connective in narrative. It is frequently practically untranslatable into English.
- *** **kwopt**, then, at that time, is regularly used with preceding aga to mark new step in narrative. It can be analyzed into demonstrative stem kwo- (or kwo-) that (— Chinook go there) and local suffix -pt up to (so and so) far. Neither of these elements occurs freely. kwo- is not used to form demonstrative pronouns, only occurring stereotyped in several adverbs; besides kwopt we have kwo'ba there (note 39), and kwo'dau and (note 46). -pt also hardly seems to occur except stereotyped in adverbs; cf. dapt as far as this (related to da'ba, this-in-here, as kwopt is to kwo'bc), and wappt, as far as that tonder, from ya'ri off tonder). See also note 56.
- *ga-(gal- before vowels) tense prefix denoting remote past, regularly used in myth narrative. -y—3d per. masc. subj. intr., referring to isk/u'iya, before consonants it would appear as -i-, while gal- would then appear as tense prefix (ga-y- = gal-i-: see notes 9, 26, 32, 47). -u- = directive prefix AWAY FROM SPEAKEB. -ya = verb stem to Go.
- i- masc. noun prefix with which -y- in gayu'ya is in agreement. -sk/u'lya = noun stem COYOTE, apparently not capable of analysis; perhaps loan-word from Klickitat spi'lya. Chinook has another stem, -t/d'lapas.
- ⁶ Composed of wi't/a AGAIN and deletic particle -z: cf. da'uya (note 54) and da'uyax THIS. wi't/a is most plausibly explained as stereotyped adverb from wi-, masc. noun prefix (originally independent masc. pronoun? See notes 19 and 33), and -t/a, emphatic particle added to pronouns, too, also (see note 21). According to this analysis wi't/a(x) was originally formed from *wi as ya'xt/a(x) HE too from ya-p-HE. Originally it must have meant THAT (masc.) TOO, but was later generalized in meaning.
- ⁷ Rhetorically lengthened form of nu'll IMMEDIATELY, RIGHT AWAY. When thus lengthened to no'wt, it seems to imply direct, unswerving motion without interference of other action; it may then be rendered as STEAIGHT ON OF ON AND ON.
- As in note 4, except that instead of verb stem -ya we have its shorter form -y- -f- (as in yu'il HE GOES; cf. also note 61). To this is suffixed verb suffix -am Arrive while —ing, go (or come) to do——. Several verb stems have two forms,—one in -a, and one without this -a (e. g., -pa and -p to go out; cf. galu'pa she went out with alps she comes out).
- * gal· tense prefix ga- before vowels. -i 3d per. masc. obj. before reflexive element (reflexive verbs have, morphologically speaking, no subject). -xEl indirect reflexive composed of reflexive element -x- and local verb prefix -l- TO, INTO. -tcmaq verb stem TO HEAR. galtxE'tcmaq means literally TO HIMSELF HEARD. TO HEAR SOME ONE is expressed by -x-tcmaq with prefixed transitive subject and object pronominal elements.
 - 10 Adverb not capable of analysis.
- "" q- indefinite transitive subj. -t- 3d per. pl. obj. tr., referring to idE'lpam. -u- =directive prefix (very many verbs have this "directive" -u- even when no definite idea of direction away from speaker seems to be implied). -lat/amElq-is example of rarely occurring compound verbs. -lat/a-is "diminuive" form of verb stem -lada- to theow down, away (in this case its meaning seems to correspond somewhat more closely to that of its Chinook cognate -lata to PULL BACK); -mElq- is best explained as verb stem -mEq- (or -mq-) to vomit with infixed -l- of frequentative or continuative significance (that -l- is not really part of stem is shown by form itciulat/a'maq he swallowed him down); full back + vomit may be construed as meaning vomit backward, draw to one's self and swallow. -l- tense suffix of present time. Observe peculiar sequence of tense, he heard . . . they swallow them down. Verbs that are dependent on other verbs, chiefly of saying or perception, are always present in tense, no matter what tense is logically implied; cf. below gatcige'lkel . . . it'ax (note 43) he saw it it is.

itc!E'xyan. 18 Qxa'damt¹⁴ gayu'y' is iknî'm na'wit gatcige'lga" Whither it went the canoe straightway he got hold of it Merman. gatciulatla'mElq18 kā'nawi¹⁹ " Nait! "21 dan.20 itc!E'xvan; he always swallowed it down every thing. "Me too Merman: DOM: kwô′pt atenulatla'meleqema," 23 isk!u'lya galixlu'xwa-it.24 Aga he will swallow me down," Coyote he thought. then gayu'y' isklu'lya; gatcigE'lga yag'ail25 ikla'munaq.26 kwô'pt Aga he got hold of it its bigness

13 id. — 3d per. pl. noun prefix, in concord with -t- in preceding verb. -lpam (-E- is inorganic) — noun stem village (wi'lpam village is formally masc. sing. of idE'lpam PEOPLE); -lpam is evidently related to -lp (see note 33).

18 is as in note 5. -tc/Eryan — noun stem MERMAN, PROTECTOR OF FISHERMEN (see Wishram Texts, p. 40, note 2; p. 42, note 2; p. 256, note 2; no etymology suggests itself. Syntactically tc/Eryan is subject implied, but not grammatically referred to, by q- of preceding verb. This clause can hardly be considered as quite correct; properly speaking, tc/E'zyan should go with tctutatte'mElqt.

14 From interrogative stem qua- (or qa-), seen also in qa'zba what-in? — where? qa'ria of what kind? and qa'ngi what-with? — how? -damt — local suffix toward found suffixed to several adverbs (cf. ca'zaladamt toward above, gigwa'ladamt toward below). This -damt is evidently related to local noun suffix -iamt to, from. Qua'damt here introduces indirect question, and may best be translated as no matter where.

"- gayu'ya. Final vowels are regularly elided when following word begins with vowel. For analysis of form, see note 4.

16 i- as in note 5. -knim = noun stem CANOE. This stem can be only secondarily monosyllabic, for otherwise we should have * wiknim (see note 33); its Chinook cognate -kanim shows original dissyllabic form. See also note 37.

17 ga. — tense prefix as in note 4. -tc. — 3d per. masc. tr. subj., referring to following ite!E'fyen as subject. -i. — 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring to ikni'm of preceding clause as object. -gel-— verb prefix of adverbial force, TOWARD (with purpose, intent to reach); it here replaces directive -u- of most transitive verbs. -ga — verb stem TOGET HOLD OF, SEIZE; it is possibly to be identified with verb stem -ga STICK TO, its particular active significance being gained by use of transitive pronominal prefixes and verb prefix -gEl
18 gale-l- as in note 17, -l- here referring to following dan. -u-latia'-mElq as in note 11.

19 ka'nawi all, every is most probably compounded of kana-all tooether (found in such numeral forms as ka'nacimôket all-the-two — both and, with unexplained -m-, in kankmin'nike all there people) and old 3d per. masc. demonstrative pronoun *wi (cf. note 6) now no longer preserved as such (except in such petrified words as wi'l'a and ka'nawi), but specialized, like its corresponding fem. we-, as 3d per. noun prefix (see note 33). These old pronouns *wi and *wa are best explained as substantivised from pronominal elements -i- (masc.) and -a- (fem.) by means of demonstrative element w- (for u-); this latter element is probably identical with -u- in demonstrative stem da'u-this (found also as da-; see note 54), and with ('hinook -ō- in demonstratives near 3d per. (xōLa, xōta, xōta). ka'nawi must originally have meant something like all (of) that (masc.), but, like wi'lla, was later generalized in significance. ka'nawi is here, as often, rhetorically lengthened to ka'nawi to emphasize its meaning of totality.

**Interrogative and indefinite pronoun referring to things, what, anything, something. Though not provided with any sign of gender, it is always construed as masculine, hence -i- in gateiulat mele. Its correlative can (Kathlamet Lan) referring to persons, who, anybody, somebody, is always neuter in gender; HE SWALLOWED EVERYBODY DOWN would be gateiulat a mele ka masculiation.

** Elided from na'#/a (see note 15). Composed of 1st per. sing. pronominal stem na'- (seen also in na'-fka 1) and emphatic suffix -4/a TOO, ALSO (see note 6). All independent pronouns in -ka can be changed to emphatic pronouns by merely replacing -ka by -4/a (e. g., ya'zka HE becomes ya'zka HE TOO). Syntactically na'#/a here anticipates -n- in following verb (see note 23) as 1st per. sing. obj.

z = a'ga (see note 15). This particle is very frequently used before future verb forms in conversation.

"a- tense prefix of future time. -{c-} 3d per. masc. tr. subj. -n- = 1st per. sing. tr. obj. -u-let/e'mElEq- as in note 11 (-E- before -q- is inorganic). -Em- -- connective before future suffix -a; verbs that are
continuative or frequentative in form regularly use this connective -Em- before certain suffixes (such as
future -a, cessative -ick, usitative -nit). -a = tense suffix of future time; in Wishram verbs regularly form
their future by prefixing a- or al- (before vowels) and suffixing -a. It is somewhat difficult to see why this
form should be frequentative; one would rather except alcaulat/a'm Equa.

** gal-i- as in note 9. -x- = reflexive element; literal translation of verb would be (TO) HIMSELF THOUGHT.
-lux(w)- = verb stem to think. -a-u = verb suffix of rather uncertain significance here; it is found in all tenses of verb but present, where it is replaced by -an (izlu' twan HE THINKS).

*ya- - i-ya-. i- - masc. noun prefix, determining gender of noun stem -pail. -ya- - 3d per. masc. possessive pronominal prefix, referring to masculine noun ik/a'munaq. -pail - abstract noun stem Bioness. yagail ik/a'munaq the tree's bigness may, like all other possessive constructions, be construed either attributively (the big tree) or predicatively (the tree is big). Its attributive character is here determined by presence of true verb (gatcipe'lpa) as predicate.

** is as in note 5. -k/a'munaq = noun stem tree, stick, wood. This word is difficult of etymologic analysis, yet can be no simple stem; -k/a- is undoubtedly to be regarded as noun prefix (cf. ik/a'lemet rock, perhaps from verb stem -la to move). -k/a- is most plausibly considered as "diminutive" form of verb stem -ga- to fly, up in air (as first element in compound verbs); cf. !tciuk/wa'la he whetted it with !tci'ula he filed it, and !n.iugwala'da-ult i threw it up on top (of something) with iniula'da-ult itherwit up.

La'x²⁷ gali'xôx.²⁸ Gateige'lga itcle'xyan, gaqiulat!a'meleq.²⁹ in sight he made himself. He got hold of merman, they (indef.) swallowed him down.

gi'gwal³¹ Nā'wit iltcqô'ba³⁰ isklu'lya galixi'maxitam³² wi'lxba. ³³ Straightway in the water below Coyote he arrived falling on the ground Aga kwô'pt gatcugi'kEl34 lgabla'd ide'lxam; lgabla'd³⁶ aknî'm³⁷ he saw them their multitude the people; their multitude the canoes axu'xt38 kwô'ba30 gi'gwal iltcqô'ba. kwô'pt gatcige'lkel40 Aga. below in the water. Now piled together yagô'menil¹¹ qxwôl⁴² isk!u'lya itcle'x van iki'ax.43 kwô'pt Aga his heart hanging Now then Coyote Merman

²⁷ Particle verb. Though verbal in force, it is purely adverbial morphologically, having no grammatical form of its own. In regard to tense and person it is defined by following verb, which serves as its form-giving auxiliary.

[&]quot; gal-i- as in note 9. -z- — reflexive element. -d- (modified from -u- because of preceding and following velar consonants) — directive prefix; ordinarily reflexive -z- replaces directive -u-, but there are several verbs that retain it even when reflexive in form. -z — verb stem to Do, Make. -z-u-z to Do to one's self, make one's self, is regularly used to mean BECOME. For other forms of verb stem -z see notes 43, 53, 64, and 66.

^{**}ga- as in note 4. -q- = indefinite tr. subj. -i = 3d per. masc. tr. obj. -u-lat/a-mzlzq as in note 11.

Forms with indefinite -q- subject are very commonly used in Wishram in lieu of passives.

^{**}il- = 3d per. neut. noun prefix. -d- inorganic consonant, serving as glide between l and c. -cqd- (— -cqa-; a is velarized to d by preceding q) — noun stem water; its shorter form -cq- is seen in lcta'cq. The water of the two (Wishram Texts 190.14). -ba — local noun suffix in, at (see also notes 33, 39, and 60).

²¹ Adverb; -al is probably not part of stem, for it is found also in correlative ca'z-al ABOVE.

E gal- as in note 9. -i = 3d per. masc. intr. subj., referring to preceding i-sk/u'lya. -zima- = verb stem to put down, put on ground, lay down (as in.); lie down (as intr.); probably composed of -r- on ground(?) and -ima- put (cf. ga-ya-t-a'l-ima-ix he put hinself into the water [Wishram Texts 2.5]); whenever indirect object with -k- on is introduced, -z-ima- becomes -za-ima- (e. g., ga-k-i-a-k-za'-ima she laid it down on it [Wishram Texts 2.11]). -zi = quasi-passive suffix; -z-ima-zi- = be laid down, lay one's self down, fall down to ground. -am = verb suffix arrive — ing (cf. note 8).

^{**} wi- = 3d per. masc. noun prefix; masc. noun stems that are non-syllabic or monosyllabic require wi(cf. note 55); those that have more than one syllable have i- (see notes 5, 13, 16, 26); for probable origin of
wi- see note 19. In Chinook wi- has entirely given way to i-, except as archaism in some place-names
and in songs. -ir- = noun stem LAND; seen also in wi'lram villlage, ide'lram People (see note 12);
probably also in wa'lri fishing station and ice' trip staging for fishing. -ba as in note 30.

^{**} ga- as in note 4. -tc- = 3d per. masc. tr. subj. -u- = 3d per. pl. obj., referring to following idE'lram (before verb prefix -gsl-3d per. plural obj. -t- is replaced by -u-, -gsl- then becoming -g(w)t-; in other words, -t- before gsl- is treated analogously to when it comes before -gsl-). -gi = plural form of -gsl-(see note, 40) out from enclosed space (cf. ga-t-a-gs'l-ba it flowed out of Her [Wishram Texts 94.4]); analogously to -gsl- (see note 17) directive -u- is here replaced by -gsl-. -ksl = verb stem to know (cf. l-k-d-u'-ksl = knows them [Wishram Texts 176.10]); -gsl-ksl = to know from out one's (kyes), hence to see to get slott of.

^{*! - 3}d per. neut. noun prefix, defining gender of abstract noun stem -blad. -qa-- 3d per. pl. possessive pronominal prefix, referring to ids'lyam. -blad - noun stem multitude, great number. lyabla'd ids'lyam is construed like ya'qail ik/a'munaq (see note 25).

³⁶ As in note 35, except that -ga- = 3d per. fem. possessive pron. prefix (merely homonymous with -gaof note 35), referring to akni'm.

^{**} a- = 3d per. fem. noun prafix; though many fem. dissyllable stems have wa- (e. g., wala'la POND), it is here replaced by analogy of ikni'm (see note 16), as in related nouns i- and a-, wi- and wa- generally pair off respectively. -knim as in note 16. Logically akni'm canoes is plural, morphologically it is fem., being so referred to in ara'zi (note 38); another example of fem. as plural is wa'mwa MAGGOTS, masc. wa'mwa MAGGOTS.

⁼a-3d per. fem. intr. subj., referring to akni'm. -z- verb prefix on ground, on bottom (?) -u- directive prefix. -at = verb stem to lie, sit, be placed, corresponding in use to Chinook -c. This verb stem allows of no formal modification by means of tense affixes.

[™] Composed of demonstrative stem kw6- (see note 3) and local suffix -ba (see note 33): THAT-IN = THERE.

As in note 34, except that incorporated obj. is -i- = 3d per. masc., referring to yagó'mEnil, and that -gEl- is unmodified.

[&]quot;I ya- -- i-ya- as in note 25, i- defining HEART as masc. in gender, while -ya- refers to itc/E';yan. -- gomenti HEART seems to be verbal in form, -Enti being usitative suffix; yaqo'mEnti may also be used predicatively to mean HE IS ALIVE.

Particle verb, for which iki'ar serves as auxiliary.

[#]i- = 3d per. masc.intr.subj., referring to yapo'mEnii. -kiar To BE is another tenseless verb (cf. note 38). It is best, though somewhat doubtfully, explained as composed of verb prefix -ki-, which shows lack of

gaqiu'lxam^{43a} "Ya'xdau'sb itc!e'xyan yagô'menil." isk!u'lva: they (indef.) told Coyote: "That Merman kwô'pt Lqlô'p430 gatci'ux;43d Lqlô'p43c gali'xôx430 itcle'xyan yagô'menik. cut then he made it; it made itself kwô'pt kā'nawi gatkxeni'yutck44 8ã′q^{u 45} they each floated up out Now all entirely the canoes and

ide'lxam kwô'dau isk!u'lya.

the people and Coyote.

Ace, kwô'nt, cali'kim47 isk'u

Aga kwô'pt gali'kim⁴⁷ isk!u'lya: "Ega⁴⁸ pu⁴⁹ qā'ma⁵⁰ ma'ima⁵¹

Now then he said Coyote: "Perchance would how you alone
itc!E'xyan qxi'dau⁵² amdu'xwa⁵³ idE'lxam? Da'uya⁵⁴ wi'gwa⁵⁵ aga

Merman thus you will do to them the people? This day now

object of ordinarily trans. verb, and verb stem -z to do (cf. Eng. HE DOES WELL, i. e., gets along well);
-c. would then have to be explained as inorganic glide vowel (cf. Chinook i-kë-z he is and Wishram i-ki-z-az he is, has become). For syntactic construction, as subordinated to gateige lkel, see note 11.

- 42 ga- as in note 4. -q- = indef. tr. subj. (cf. note 29). -i- = 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring to isk!wige.
 -u- = directive prefix. -lpam = verb stem to say to with personal object. This verb form is logically passive.
- The Demonstrative pronoun, showing location near 2d person, composed of simple form of independent 3d personal pronoun + demonstrative element $-\tau$ (cf. also ordinary forms of independent 3d personal pronoun $ya'\tau$ -ka and similarly for other genders) + demonstrative stem -dau (= -da + -u), for which see note 54. Syntactically $ya'\tau dau$, here used substantively, agrees in gender with yagtom nnil, to which it refers. There is no expressed predicate in this sentence, yagtom nnil (it is) his heart being so used.
- 40 Particle verb, to which following verbs gatei'uz and gali'zōz, both from verb stem -z to do, serve as auxiliaries. Lq!ōp doubtless has onomatopoetic force.
 - 43d See note 64.
 - 420 As in note 28. CUT IT-MADE-ITSELF IT BECAME CUT.
- "

 "ga- as in note 4. -t- = 3d per. pl. intr. subj., referring to akni'm, ide'lyam, and isk'w'lya as combined plural subject. -k- = regular replacement of directive -u- whenever intr. subj. -t- would theoretically be expected to stand before it. -tsni-(or-tuni-) = verb stem to float, delft. -yu- distributive suffix Each separately (galkteni'lok would mean they floated up in one body). -tck = local verb suffix up to surface, up from position of rest (cf. also gal-i-tle'-lock he moved himself up from sitting position, he arose [Wishram Texts 4.6]; gal-i'-kla-lok he rose (sticking his head) out of water [op. cit., 10.5]); combined with -ba out of interior, -lok appears as -plok from water out to land (galkteni'yuplok they each floated on to land; for change of -ba to -p cf. galage'ba with lage'lyt [Wishram Texts 94.7]). This -lok should be distinguished from -lok of cessative significance, whose function it is to deprive verbs that are continuative or frequentative in form of their continuative force (e.g., yuwi'lal he is dancing, gayuwi'lalemick he was dancing (but is no longer doing so).
- "Adverblal in force. Logically $sa'q^n$ (rhetorically lengthened to $sa'q^n$ to emphasize idea of totality) often seems to be used attributively with nouns (translated as ALL), but grammatically it is best considered as adverblal, even when there is no expressed predicate.
- 46 Composed of demonstrative stems kwô- (see note 3) and dau- (see note 54). Its original significance was evidently THAT (which precedes) and THIS (which follows).
 - 47 gal-i- as in note 32. -kim = verb stem to say (without personal object; cf. note 58).
- 48 Adverb of modal significance, serving to give doubtful coloring to verb.
- 40 Adverb of potential and conditional significance; in formal conditions introduced by cma'nix ir, it often has contrary-to-fact implication. This use of modal particles in lieu of verb modes is characteristic of Chinookan.
- w Evidently contains interrogative stem qa- what, seen also in qza'damt (note 14). -ma can not be explained. This word has been found only in such passages as here, and is very likely felt to be archaic, lqa pu qā'ma occurs as stereotyped myth-phrase in transformer incidents (cf. Wishram Texts 6.13, 38.6, for similar passages).
- si Forms in -aima alone may be formed from simplest forms of personal pronouns (subject intr. incorporated); e. g., na'ima I alone, ma'ima you alone, ya'ima he alone. It is doubtful, however, whether these forms should be considered as intransitive verbs from verb stem -aima. Since personal plurals in -dike (e. g., la'imadike they alone) occur, it seems preferable to consider them as formed by suffixed -ma alone? (cf. qa'ma note 50) from independent pronoun stems in -ai- (as in na'ika, note 57, and na'it'a, note 21); this -ai- is in these forms found also in 3d persons (e. g., la'ima it alone, as contrasted with la'zka and la'zt'a). Chinook na'mka I alone, analyzed by Boas as intr. subj. pronoun + verb stem -dmka, is probably best explained as simple independent pronoun in -a- (na, ma, and corre-

kwô'pt⁵⁶ qxi'dau amdu'xwa idE'lxam. Na'ika⁵⁷ isk!u'lya yamu'lxam.⁵⁸ that far thus you will do to the people. I Coyote I have told you.

Kwa'ic59 da'uyaba∞ wi'lx atgadi'mama61 ide'lxam. Kwô'pt they will arrive coming Soon in this land the people. alugwagi'ma,62 'Qxi'dau gatci'ux64 isk!u'lya €EX63 itcle'xvan.' exercising he did to him supernatural 'Thus Merman.' they will say, Coyote power

Kwô'pt a'ga itc!E'xyan pla'l'65 amxu'xwa."'66

Then now Merman being quiet you will make yourself."

sponding forms for other persons occur not rarely in Wishram) + -m(a) + -ka just, only (cf. lu'nka just three).

- Adverb composed of relative particle qxi- (cf. qxi as relative pronoun in Wishram Texts, 188.1) and demonstrative stem dau- THIS (cf. note 54). qxi'dau thus means literally AS, LIKE THIS.
- ** a- = tense prefix of future time. -m- = 2d per. sing. tr. subj. -d- = 3d per. pl. tr. obj., referring to ids' izam. -u- = directive prefix. -z- = verb stem to do (to). -w- = inorganic consonant induced by -u- preceding k-sound. -a = future suffix.
- **Demonstrative pronoun, showing location near 1st person, composed of demonstrative stem dau(= da-, as in da'ba HERE + -u-, see note 19) and simple form of 3d per independent pronoun in -a (masc.
 ya, fem. a, neut. la, du. cda, pl. da). Forms without -u- (e. g., da'ya) occur, though much less frequently;
 deictic -z may be added without material change in meaning (e. g., da'uyax or da'yax). -dau also occurs
 as second element in demonstrative pronouns showing location near 2d person (e. g., ya'zdau THAT masc.,
 note 43h). da'uya is here masculine because in agreement with masc. noun wi'yua. Chinook seems to
 preserve da- only in isolated adverbs like ta'ks THEN (= da'ka JUST THIS or THAT [cf. Wishram da'uka
 JUST SO]).
- ** wi- masc. noun prefix, with w- because noun stem is monosyllable. -gwa noun stem DAY. da'uya wi'gwa This DAY is regularly used as stereotyped phrase for TO-DAY; dau' aga'taz This SUN is also so used.
- ⁴⁴ Analysis given in note 3. Here kwo'pt, with well-marked stress accent, preserves its literal meaning of THAT FAR, THUS MUCH, 49a kwo'pt being regularly used, outside of narrative, to mean ENOUGH. (hl-nook kpp''t ENOUGH is doubtless related, but ka-can not be directly equated with kwo-, which corresponds rather to Chinook go (see note 3).
- 57 Ordinary form of independent personal pronoun, composed of stems in -ai- (for 1st and 2d persons) or -a-q- (for 3d persons) and suffixed particle -ka JUST, ONLY, found also suffixed to numerals. na'ika is here grammatically unnecessary, but is used to emphasize subject of following verb form.
- w iyamu'lzam. i- tense prefix of immediate past time. -yam- = combination of 1st per. sing. subj. and 2d per. sing. obj. -u- = directive prefix. -lzam = verb stem to say to with expressed personal object.
- Temporal adverb referring to action just past or about to occur, either JUST NOW, RECENTLY, or SOON. Seems to be Klickitat loan-word.
- •• da'uya as in note 54; masc. because in agreement with masc. noun wilt. -ba = local noun suffix in regularly suffixed to demonstrative pronoun preceding noun instead of to noun itself.
- of a- as in note 53. -t- = 3d per. pl. intr. subj., referring to ide'lpam. -ga- = element regularly introduced after 3d per. pl. intr. -t- before -d-f- to come and, before verb stems beginning with k- sounds, after 3d per. pl. intr. -t- (cf. note 62). -d-f- to come consists of -d- = directive prefix Hither, toward after 3d per. pl. intr. -t- (cf. note 62). -d-f- to come consists of -d- = directive prefix Hither, toward after correlative to directive -u-, and -f- = verb stem to Go. -mam- = form of -am- (see notes 8 and 32) used after vowels. -a as in note 53.
- al— tense prefix of future time employed before vowels (al- and a- used analogously to gal- and ga-).

 -u- = 3d per. pl. intr. subj. used, instead of -l-, before verb stems beginning with k- sounds (as here-gim-).

 -gwa- = -ga- as in note 61, -w- being inorganic, due to influence of -u- preceding k- sound (cf. note 53).

 -gim- = verb stem TO SAY; -kim (as in note 47) is used when accent immediately precedes, -gim-when suffix (here-a) is added and accent is pushed forward.

 -a as in note 53. In Chinook -ugwa- appears as -ogo- (gwa regularly becomes go); alugwagi'ma is paralleled in Chinook by ogogoz'ma.
- E Particle verb to use supernatural power, transform, to which following gatei'uz serves as auxiliary. It is one of those very few Wishram words in which glottal catch is found (other words are -tci² OR, ²i'c'ic bluejay, dala²a'; perhaps).
- ** ga- as in note 4. -{c-} 3d per. masc. tr. subj., referring to isk/w'iya. -i- = 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring to isk/w'iya. -i- = 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring to ikc/s'ryan. Observe that subject noun regularly precedes object noun, their order being thus analogous to that of incorporated pronouns with which they stand in apposition. -u- = directive prefix. -z = verb stem to DO (TO).
- = p/a'la. Particle verb, with which following amxu'xwa is used as auxiliary. p/a'l' amxu'xwa QUIET YOU-WILL-BECOME (i. e., you will stop, desist).
- a as in note 53. -m = 2d per. sing. obj. with following reflexive element (see -i- in notes 9 and 28). -x- as in note 28. -4x-z-w-a as in note 53.

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MAIDU

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ROLAND B. DIXON

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MAIDU

By ROLAND B. DIXON

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND DIALECTS

The Maidu (or Pujunan) stock comprises the various dialects of the language spoken by a body of Indians in northeastern California. The region occupied by these Indians is a continuous single area, lying partly in the Sacramento valley and partly in the Sierra Nevada mountains. It may be roughly described as extending from the Cosumnes river in the south to a line drawn from Chico, through Lassen's Butte, to Susanville in the north, and from the Sacramento river eastward to the eastern base of the Sierra. The neighboring languages are, on the north the Achomawi-Atsugewi (Shastan) and Yana, on the west the Wintun (Copehan), on the south the Miwok (Moquelumnan), and on the east the Washo and Paiute (Shoshonean). Of these the Wintun and Shoshonean show the clearest morphological resemblances to the Maidu.

The Maidu language is spoken in three dialects, differing from one another more morphologically than lexically or phonetically, although differences of this sort, of course, occur. In general these morphological differences are in the direction of the morphological type of the languages of the other stocks with which the Maidu are in contact; the northwestern dialect most resembling the Wintun; the northeastern, the Achomawi-Atsugewi; and the southern, the Miwok. The northwestern dialect is spoken in that part of the Sacramento valley occupied by the stock, which lies north of the Yuba river, and also in the foothills adjoining, up to an elevation of about three thousand feet. It shows some minor variations within itself in the way of subdialects, these differences being as a rule, however, very slight. The northeastern dialect is spoken in the region of the high, flat-floored mountain valleys extending from Big Meadows in

the north to Sierra valley in the south. It has fewer variants than the other two dialects. This dialect is the one whose grammar is here given. The southern dialect comprises a number of slightly varying subdialects occupying the remainder of the area covered by the stock. In most respects this southern dialect is closer to the northwestern than to the northeastern.

With the exception of a few general statements in an article on the languages of California, no account of the grammar of the Maidu has ever been given. Its grammar is, however, of interest, in that it may be taken as to some extent typical of a considerable group of central Californian languages, which in many important particulars are quite different from the majority of American Indian languages.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. System of Sounds

The phonetic system of the Maidu is only moderately extensive. It possesses but one series of k-sounds, of which only the k is frequent, and is lacking in velars and lateral (l) sounds. The consonant system includes palatals, alveolars, dento-alveolars, labials, and laterals. The sonants and surds are as a rule not very clearly differentiated, and it is sometimes difficult to determine in a given case which is intended. Surds are more common than sonants in the pairs g-k and d-t, g in particular being quite uncommon. Although in most groups of consonants there is a sonant, surd, and fortis, yet the fortis is often by no means strongly marked, and is difficult to separate from the surd. The glottal catch is but little used. A peculiar feature of the Maidu is the existence of two weak inspirational sonant stops B and D. The exact method of formation of these sounds is not clear. is certain that inspiration proceeds no further than the soft palate; the peculiar quality of the sound being produced by a "smack" formed by a slight vacuum in the mouth. The B and D occur only as a rule before ö, and the difference between them and the ordinary b and d is, in the case of some speakers and in some words, very slight; in other words, or in the same words by other and generally older speakers, the difference is strongly marked. The consonant system of the Maidu may be shown in tabular form as follows:

¹ Roland B. Dixon and Alfred L. Kroeber, The Native Languages of California, in American Anthropologist, n. s., v, 1-26.

			8	onant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Inspirant	Nasal
Palatal				\boldsymbol{g}	${m k}$	k!	\boldsymbol{x}	_	ñ
Alveolar			•	\boldsymbol{d}	t	t!	_	D(Ö)	\boldsymbol{n}
Dento-alveolar				_	ts	_	8, C	-	_
Labial				b	\boldsymbol{p}	p!	_	B(Ö)	m
Lateral	•			l	_	_	_	-	_
Glottal catch				(')					
h, y and w .									

The vowels are quite variable. One of the most characteristic features of the use of vowels is the fondness for the \ddot{o} , \ddot{a} , and \ddot{u} sounds. The vowels are as follows:



§ 3. Phonetic Character of Stems and Sound-Grouping

Stems are with few exceptions monosyllabic and consonantal, and consist as a rule either of (1) consonant, vowel; (2) consonant, vowel, consonant; or (3) vowel, consonant. Words may begin with a vowel, h, y, or w, or with any consonant except x or \tilde{n} . By far the greater number, however, begin with a consonant, most commonly t, k, b or p, with h and w also very common. The most frequent initial vowels are a, a, and a. Whereas initial combinations of two consonants are impossible, such clusters are common in the middle of words. Groups of more than two are, however, unknown. In combinations of two consonants, sonants, except a, are never found as the first member of the group. Except for this restriction, the possible combinations are comparatively unrestricted, the only ones which are avoided being those of two spirants, a nasal and lateral, or those in which a is the second or a the initial member. The following combinations are most frequent:

¹ Verbal stems of the second class ($\S 5$, b), like the words themselves, tend very strongly to begin and end with surds. The larger number also of this class have a, o, or u for their vowel.

All words must end in a vowel, or in m, n, p, t, or very rarely in l. The great majority end in a vowel (most commonly i); and of the consonantal endings, the nasals are by far the most common. The phonetic structure of the Maidu is thus quite simple, and, owing to the prevailingly vocalic character of the language and to the comparative lack of consonant combinations and phonetic changes, the whole structure is unusually transparent, and the component parts of any word are easily recognized.

§ 4. Laws of Euphony

Euphonic laws require sound-changes in some instances. These laws are mainly retroactive, and apply to consonants only in the case of m. Where m is followed by k or w, the m is changed to \tilde{n} ; as,

amam that one (subj.) + -kanand = ama \tilde{n} kan and that one $m\ddot{o}m$ he + wete = $m\ddot{o}\tilde{n}wete$ he alone, he himself

There appears to be more or less of a tendency toward vocalic harmony in the Maidu. It is obscure, however, and never is more than a tendency, the exceptions to the rule being often very numerous. As will be pointed out more fully in § 12, the Maidu possesses a number of stems, which are ordinarily dependent on others, as prefixes, but which may in some instances stand as independent stems by themselves. These semi-independent stems are all composed alike of a consonant in combination with a vowel. The larger proportion of them seem to be grouped in series, with variable vowel; as,

ba-, be-, bo-, bö-, bu- wa-, we-, wi-, wo-, wo-, wu-, etc.

The significations of these are in most instances general, and in some cases very obscure; but it is probable that in each series, the a, o, \bar{o} , and u prefix-stems, at least, are alike in meaning, or closely related. Similar, although less complete, series of wholly independent stems occur; such as,

hap, hop, höp, hup tas, tes, tos, tus, etc.

and here again, in the a, o, ö, and u stems there seems to be often a close correspondence in meaning. Where these or other independent stems are combined with the prefix-stems, there seems to be a tendency to similarity of vowel-sounds; the vowel of the prefix being either the same as that of the stem, or of the same class; as, for instance, bahap-, bohop-, wököt-, yedip-, bapus-, böyol-, etc. This

tendency is most marked in the case of the ö-stems. The o-stems take preferably either o or a prefix-vowels; the a-stems, either a or e; the e-stems, either e or a; the i-stems, either e or a; and the u stems are very variable. In every case, however, except in the case of the ö-stems, any vowel may occur in the prefix, those noted being merely the most frequent. In all cases, i-prefixes are abundant, because the prefix wi- is one so important that it is used with practically every stem, and appears to suffer no phonetic change. In the case of other prefix-stems, whose meaning is more precise, which do not occur in series, and which generally refer to parts of the body as instruments in the action of the verb, no such tendencies toward vocalic harmony are apparent. Traces of a similar tendency toward vocalic harmony are also to be seen in the use of the general verbal suffix -n. This, in the case of o and a stems, has generally o for a connecting vowel; with other stems, however, it has i; as, for example,

yok-on, ok-on, pin-in

In a few instances, progressive euphonic changes occur, as where \ddot{o} after \hat{a} becomes \ddot{u} :

på'küpem instead of på'köpem

or in the change of p to b after n:

öpe'kanbem instead of ope'kanpem

There are also several instances of the insertion of t or i for euphonic reasons; as, for example,

yaiyō'tsopin instead of yayō'tsopin tĕ'tyollebüssin instead of tĕyollebüssin kō'doidi instead of ko'dodi

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE (§§ 5, 6)

§ 5. Composition

Of the different grammatical processes employed in Maidu, composition is by far the most important and widely used. It will be most conveniently considered by dividing it into—

- (1) Nominal composition, and
- (2) Verbal composition.

Nominal Composition

Composition, in the case of neuns, occurs in its simplest form in the formation of compound nouns. Where the initial component ends in a vowel, a connective is usually employed. This connective is always m (changing to \tilde{n} before k or w; see § 4). As a nominal suffix, this m indicates syntactic relationship. With nouns which do not end in a vowel, the compound is formed by the mere juxtaposition of the two words. Composition is further used with nouns to express diminutives, superlatives, collectives, privatives, etc., all of which are indicated by unchangeable suffixes added to the nominal stem. The most important use of composition in the noun is, however, its use in indicating local and instrumental, as well as syntactic relations. These locative and instrumental ideas are expressed by suffixes added to the nominal stem (§ 30). Syntactic relations are also expressed by suffixes, there being a subjective and a possessive case-ending. Finally, composition is employed, although in a very small number of cases, to indicate ideas of number, a few animate nouns taking suffixes which indicate duality or plurality.

Verbal Composition

In verbal composition there are three elements to be considered the stem, the prefix, and the suffix. In Maidu there are two classes of stems. In the first class, which includes all but a few out of the total number, the stem is wholly independent and is always used as a stem, never being subordinated to another stem as prefix or suffix. These stems are predominantly of the consonant-vowel-consonant type; and although they normally seem to be, as just stated, entirely independent, some are at times combined with others to form double stems, the double stem taking the regular prefixes just as if it were simple. The second class, which includes only about a half dozen or so, consists of stems which are sometimes independent and sometimes dependent, being subordinated to other stems as prefixes. the case of these latter stems, we have what might be called co-ordinated composition. The true prefixes, on the other hand, are always subordinate to some stem, and never stand alone or as stems. There are but a small number of these prefixes, and they indicate as a rule the agent or instrument of the action, referring chiefly to parts of

the human body, as hand, foot, head, etc. In other cases, the prefixes point out the shape of the object.

Suffixes express a much wider variety of ideas, and are very much more numerous than prefixes. They indicate direction of motion, modal and temporal ideas, negation, etc., and, like the true prefixes, are (with one possible exception) always strictly subordinate to the stem, and can under no circumstances stand alone.

One feature of composition in Maidu which is very clear is the slight degree of coalescence between the component parts of the compound; prefix, stem, and suffix each keeping its separate individuality. With few exceptions there are no phonetic changes resulting from composition; no contractions, elisions, or assimilations between affix and stem taking place. The most important exceptions are the case of an m coming before a k or w (in which case the m changes to \tilde{n}), and the retention of the euphonic terminal i before the subjective suffix m in nouns whose stem ends in m. A few other exceptions are noted in § 4.

§ 6. Reduplication

Maidu makes use of duplication and reduplication to only a slight extent in expressing grammatic concepts.

Simple duplication is restricted largely to the noun, where it is used, in connection with a suffix, to indicate the distributive. Very few nouns, however, appear to form such distributives. With verbs, it gives an iterative meaning, and the duplication may include both stem and prefix; as,

witöswitösönoitsoia he went about picking here and there

Reduplication is quite frequent in verbs, both reduplication of stem and of prefix or suffix. In all cases the vowel of the reduplicated stem, prefix or suffix, is the same as that of the original, and the reduplication conveys the idea of iteration, or, in the instance of some suffixes, apparently gives the idea of A LITTLE, SLIGHTLY.

The reduplication or duplication is, in the majority of cases, initial, but there seem to be a number of instances of inner or terminal reduplication or duplication; as, for example,

paka'nkanto springs (distributive), from paka'ni spring yaha'ham mai'düm good men (yaha'm good), the reduplication here expressing the plurality of the noun

oki'kitdom getting home one after another (oki'tdom getting home)

In the first two instances neither the noun nor the adjective can be analyzed into components, as may be done in the case of several other apparent instances of terminal reduplication.

§ 7. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES AND FORMS

Nominal and verbal stems are, in all but a few cases, distinct. There are a few nominal stems which also serve as verbal stems, but the number of such instances is small. With few exceptions also, the suffixes in use are confined strictly either to nouns or verbs.

Local relationships and directive ideas are expressed by suffixes, which are different for nouns or verbs. The nominal suffixes express such ideas as in, out of, toward, from, in company with, etc. The verbal forms point out the direction of motion; as, up, down, along, through, etc. Instrumentality and agency are indicated in the noun by suffixes, but in the verb by prefixes. In the latter, the series includes terms designating actions performed by the various parts of the body, by objects of different shapes, or the method of action, as by force or pulling, etc.

The formal relations of the parts of the sentence are expressed by nominal suffixes, in so far as the subject, object, and possessive relations are concerned. Modal and temporal ideas are also expressed by suffixes; the latter in some cases, however, being so loosely connected to the verb that they may at times stand alone or precede the verb entirely.

There are in Maidu no generic classifications of nouns, unless we consider the half-dozen cases known, where a few nouns designating human beings take regular dual or plural suffixes. These are the only instances, however, of any such classification, for none is apparent in the case of the few distributives.

Ideas of plurality are but little developed in the noun. Here a dual and plural, formed regularly, as in the pronoun, is found only for the words woman, child, husband, and dog. Distributives as opposed to plurals also occur with but few words. Indefinite plurals, expressing such ideas as a file of, many, etc., and duals, are, however, common, and are indicated in both cases by suffixes. In the pronoun, ideas of number are abundantly developed, there being a regular dual and plural. As will be seen from § 28, the dual and plural are quite regular in form, and are strictly used. Both the dual and plural

ral are indicated by suffixes. In the verb, plurality, or rather iteration, is expressed by duplication or reduplication. In the pronoun the dual and plural forms are derived in each case from the corresponding singular.

Diminutives, imitatives, inchoatives, desideratives, etc., are all indicated by suffixes, but are in general little used.

The pronoun indicates each of the three persons by a separate formal element, all of which possess both dual and plural forms. An inclusive and exclusive form of the first person plural exists, but the distinction is not commonly made. The third personal pronoun is frequently used as a demonstrative; but there exist regular demonstrative forms as well that are never used in the personal sense.

The demonstrative possesses really but two forms, corresponding to our this and that, and denoting relative distance from the speaker. The demonstrative is thus comparatively undeveloped in so far as regards number of forms and accuracy of the expression of location, and, even in its simple contrast of nearness or remoteness, is not always strictly used.

The Maidu sentence is characterized by the definiteness with which the agent of action, the direction of motion, or the qualification of the action is expressed, and by the extent to which ideas of plurality are strictly carried out in all pronominal sentences. In its formal characters, the chief features of the sentence are its flexibility, openness, and clarity, the independence of the noun and pronoun, and the absence of the process of incorporation, well marked in many Indian languages. The expression of verbal ideas in nominal form is also a rather common feature.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 8-37)

Composition (§§ 8-27)

§ 8. Nominal Composition

As has been stated in § 5, nominal composition is much less developed than verbal composition in Maidu. Its uses, apart from those expressing syntactic relations, are

- (1) In the formation of compound nouns.
- (2) In the formation of diminutives.

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¹ nist'hi hezd'timenmapem, literally, our what-not-shall-do (our nothing shall do), instead of we shall do nothing, can do nothing.

- (3) In the formation of collectives.
- (4) In the formation of privatives.
- (5) In the formation of terms, such as are expressed in English by words like only, MERELY, etc.
- 1. Connectives. In the formation of compound nouns a connective may or may not be used. Where the stem of the primary component ends in a consonant, the connective is very generally omitted; as in—

hös-bini spider-web (hösi buzzard; bini net) ba't-sāwi head-plume (bat [?]sā'wi grass)

In other cases, the euphonic i is retained, as in-

tolī'-waka calf of leg (tolī' leg; wakā' meat)

When a connective is used, this is invariably m (or \tilde{n} , see § 4), and it may be used either with a noun whose stem ends in a vowel, or with one ending in a consonant, but retaining the euphonic i; as,

sü'-m-bukū dog-tail (sü dog; bu'ku tail) hi'nī-m-butū eye-lash (hi'ni eye; butū fur)

Inasmuch as m is the regular nominal suffix of the subjective case, it may be regarded here as expressing a weak syntactic relation between the two components of the compound word.

2. **Diminutives.** These are, on the whole, little used in Maidu. In the dialect here discussed, the formation of the diminutive is by means of the suffix -be; as,

ōbě little stone (ō stone) sử bě little dog (sử dog)

The suffix is added directly to the stem, and is applied indiscriminately apparently to animate or inanimate objects.

3. Collectives. These express such ideas as A PILE OF, A CROWD OF, A LOT OF, and are quite commonly used. The most frequently used is the suffix -nono added directly to the stem; as,

külo'k-nono a lot of women, all the women mai'dü-nono the men as a body

Beside this suffix, there are two others that are frequently used as such, although they may be used alone, and stand before the noun. These other forms are -bomō and -loko; as,

mai'dümbomō all the men, the crowd of men tsā'mloko a bunch of trees, cluster of trees

In the case of both these latter forms the connective m is always used.

4. **Privatives.** These are used only in connection with the suffix -pe(m), the various uses of which will be found discussed in § 22. There are three suffixes indicating privation, and each is added directly to the stem, and is followed by the suffix -pe(m); as,

bu'k-mul-pe(m) tailless $(bu'k\bar{u}$ tail) hi'n-kol-pe(m) eyeless $(hi'n\bar{v}$ eye) pai'- $w\bar{v}$ -pe(m) foot-less (pai, paiyi') foot)

The last of these suffixes, $-w\bar{\imath}\imath$, is simply the stem of the negative $w\bar{\imath}n$ no. The stem -kol- also appears in the word ko'lon none.

5. The suffix -dökö is used to express the idea of ONLY A, MERELY, etc. It is generally added directly to the stem, but occasionally requires the connective m; as,

onō'-dökö merely a head

tsakā'-m-dökö only pitch

Verbal Composition (§§ 9-27)

§ 9. CHARACTERISTICS OF VERBAL COMPOSITION

In verbal composition we have to deal with three component factors—prefixes, stems, and suffixes. As a class, the prefixes are not numerous; whereas the suffixes, at least in comparison, are abundant, there being between fifty and sixty of them in use. Nearly all the prefixes are composed of consonant and vowel, or a single vowel. The suffixes, however, are not so regular.

PREFIXES (§§ 10-14)

§ 10. Groups of Prefixes

Verbal prefixes may in the first place be divided into two types, according as they are or are not arranged in series, as stated in § 4. As pointed out in § 5, prefixes are also of two different types, according as they are wholly subordinated to the stem, or co-ordinate with it, and able sometimes to appear as stems themselves. About half the prefixes are of this latter class, although it is possible that many not as yet noted as of this type may eventually be found to belong to it. In the majority of cases the prefix indicates the agent by which the action is performed. In a limited number of instances, however, the prefix appears to point out the object of the action; as, for example, the prefix $t\check{e}$, which normally indicates actions done with the foot, may in some cases refer to actions done to the foot. Classified

according to their meaning, the prefixes fall into two groups; the smaller and more definite referring to different parts of the body as the agents (or objects) of action, the other and more numerous pointing out the general shape or character of the thing or agent by which the action is performed.

§ 11. Prefixes Referring to Parts of the Body

1. ha(n) actions performed with the shoulder or the back (also used as stem).

ha'n-dak-dau-dom prying off board with shoulder ha-la'p-no-dom dragging along (by rope over shoulder) ha-yō'-sip carry it out on back! ha'-kīn to lay down a load (carried on back)

2. ht- actions performed with the nose or snout.

hī'-tul-sip-dom breaking a pane of glass in window by pressing with nose

3. In- actions performed by sitting on.

i'n-bat-o-dom breaking stick by sitting on i'n-no-ti-moto bend together by sitting on

4. is-, ic- action performed with the foot.

is-dot-sono-tsoia he kicked it over is-wa-wa-koi-tsoia he scraped away with feet ic-dot-o-kö foot-ball

5. ka- actions performed with the flat hand, or sometimes with the flat side of something (also used as stem).

ka'-bak-dau-dom prying off shingle with hand ka'-dak-kin to shut a pocket-knife ka'-dek-to to shove hand through something ka'-not-kit-dom bending down with the hand ka'-moto to place the hands together

6. ki- actions performed with the fingers.

 $k\bar{\imath}'$ -bak-dau-dom picking off scab with finger $k\bar{\imath}'$ -tus-to to break twig in fingers $k\bar{\imath}$ - $u\bar{\imath}$ su-u (with fingers)

7. ō- actions performed with the head (also used as stem).

o-ba't-to-dom breaking a stick with the head o-pö'-pök-dom shaking water out of the hair

ō'-pul-don to root up (as a hog), to dig up with horns

 \bar{o}' -moto to put heads together

ō'-mit-on to look into a house; i. e., stick head down in through smoke hole

- 8. sō- actions done with the arms (also used as stem). sōhu'n-bök-tsoia he jumped at to seize in his arms sō'-wo-dom lifting in arms
- 9. tě-actions performed with or upon the foot (also used as stem).

të'-as-pin to pull toward one with the foot

të'-hul-dom stamping upon

të'-lap-sito to shove something sharp through the foot

të'-pes-ton to step on and mash something soft and wet

të'-sin to step out of; i. e., put the foot out from

In the case of two of these prefixes, there is apparently a very clear relation to nominal stems — \bar{o} - with o'no head, and $h\bar{\imath}$ - with $h\bar{\imath}'ku$ nose. The others show no such connection.

- § 12. Prefixes Indicating the Shape or Portion of the Agent by which the Action is Performed, or the Character of the Action Itself
- 10. ba-, be-, bo-, bb-, bu- actions performed in connection with a rounded or massive thing. This series of prefixes is one of the most puzzling, as they seem on the whole to express but a single idea, yet many of the forms are quite erratic. In this series the influence of vocalic harmony makes itself strongly felt, and there are many instances of sympathetic variation of the vowel in both stem and prefix without change of meaning, as well as cases where the change in vowel of the stem forms a new stem with different meaning. The following examples will make the use of this series of prefixes clear. Only ba- and bo- may stand alone as independent stems.
 - (a) Examples illustrating the regular use of these prefixes:

 ba-da'k-dau-dom knocking a board off wall with a rock or hammer

 ba'-pes-ton to crush something soft and wet with fist

 ba'-pol-don to dig up something rounded, as potato, stone

 ba'-yau-kīn to throw a stone through the floor

 ba'-sin to scrape dirt out of a hole

 be'-dek-kīn to throw a stone downward and pierce something

 be-ke't-sito to throw past; i. e., throw, and not hit

 bō'-dak-dau-dom knocking something out of a tree with a stone

 bo'-kot-dau to cut a snake in two with a heavy rock

 bo'-lok-don to make a snowball

 bo'-kīn to put down something round or bulky

 bö'-töi-don to bounce up, as a ball, rock

 bö-le'k-wo-doi-dom reaching the top of a mountain

 $b\ddot{v}'$ -tul-to-dom breaking a window with a stone $b\ddot{u}'$ -dut-min to force a stone into the ground by stepping on it

(b) Examples illustrating change of vowel in prefix only: ba'-pol-don to dig up something rounded, as potato bo-po'l-don to wash or dig a gopher out of a hole ba'-top-to to break small stick with fist bo'-top-kin to break stick with stone, throwing it downward

(c) Examples illustrating change of vowel in both prefix and stem:

ba'-kap-kin to force a peg into the ground by pressing

bo'-kop-kin to stick needle in floor

bö'-köp-kin to force a stake into the ground

ba'-yal-dau to split or break to pieces with wedge and hammer

bo-yo'l-kin to smash a cup with a stone

bö-yö'l-kin to split or break up fine by a blow

In the first examples in this last group, there seems to be a departure from the otherwise general meaning of something rounded or bulky. As these variations from the general meaning occur, however, only with three stems (k-p, l-p, and k-p) which always seem to carry with them the idea of something long and slender, the prefix in these cases would seem to refer to the massiveness of the whole upper part of the body by which the pressure was exerted, or something of that sort. There are, however, a number of forms like the following, where the meaning of the prefix is obscure:

ba'-ta-don to drive up cattle
ba-tsa'p-sito to pierce sheet of paper with a pencil
bö-töi'-sito to pierce sheet of paper with a pencil

11. ho-, hu- actions performed with the edge of a long thing, generally by a steady, continuous motion (hu- also as stem).

 $h\bar{v}$ - $y\ddot{o}'t$ -dau-dom taking off a fine shaving with knife $h\bar{u}'$ -bak-dau to cut off a piece of bark, sole off shoe $h\bar{u}$ -de'k-to-dom piercing with sharp knife $h\bar{u}$ -no't-kin to bend down by means of a stick used as lever $h\bar{u}$ -tu'l-to to break pane of glass by pressing with a stick

As stem, hu-seems to have a very general meaning.

 $h\bar{u}'$ -mit-dom taking something into the house $h\bar{u}'$ -sito to take a horse across river $h\bar{u}'$ -tso-pin to take something off a high shelf

12. si-, sü- actions performed with the end of a long thing.

 $s\bar{u}'-dak-dau$ to scrape out a basket $s\bar{u}'-dak-dau$ to poke away with a stick $si-k\bar{e}'-yo-dom$ drying meat (cutting it in slices?)

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sü-tā'-no-dom shoving along with a stick si-kes-tsoi-a she cooked.
si'-sup-dom falling, slipping from the hand si-to'k-dom drying meat si-wa'-wai-to-weten having dug it apart si-dak-dau scrape something dry out of a basket si-ka'la-ma-kökan they would bother me
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wa-a'p-dau to scrape off with edge of a knife

13. wa-, we- actions performed with the edge or side of a thing, often by a sudden motion or blow.

wa-ba't-on to break a stick by a blow with the butt of an axe or with a club wa'-das-ton to split with an axe wa'-hap-kin to insert a stick into a bunch of sticks wa'-kat-sito to bat across, knock across, with side of pole we'-kut-to-dom biting in two with teeth we'-pit-in to pinch with thumb and fingers

we'-tsap-dau-dom tearing off with teeth
14. wo-, wö-, wu- actions performed with the end of a long thing, generally by a blow. The preceding prefixes wa- and we- are so close to these that it seems probable they all belong together in one series, as in the case of ba-, be-, bo-, bö-, bu-. Wo-

is used also as a stem.

wō'-bak-dau to pry off shingle with stick
wō'-das-dau to split or pry piece off a log
wō-do't-sito to bat across
wō'-kot-dau to chop off end of log
wō-to'k-dom clapping together (the hands)
wō'-kīn to lay down a stick or long thing (cf. bō'-kīn)
wö'-pō-pōk-dom shaking one's self (cf. o'-pō-pōk-dom)
wö'-tōi-dom bouncing up, as a stick (cf. bō'-tōi-dom)
wū'-su-wala-ka-no to knock over backwards with a club.

15. ya-, ye-, yo-, yö-, yu- actions performed with the end of a long thing, endways, or in a direction parallel to the length of the thing (yo- also as stem).

yā'-ās-dau to strike a thing with end of spear and slide it along; to hit with fist, and move

yā'-bak-dau to knock bark off tree by stroke with arrow or bullet

yā'-dat-kīn to put knife in sheath yā'-moto to pile up boards on end ye-ā's-sito to drag one's self across on a pole yĕ'-dek-ton to shoot through anything, and pierce

yë'-hap-kit-īn to lower a window
yë'-sito to take a boat across a river (?)
yo-do't-sito to knock across with end of stick, as ball with a
billiard cue
yo-ho'p-doi-dom shoving a pole up through a crack
yō-kot-tōn to cut in two with edge of shovel
yō'-nōn to flow, as water in a ditch
yö-töi'-to to drive the fist through a curtain
yū'-lūp-sito to stick a knife or nail into one
yū'-ta-no-dom shoving along with shoulder (considered apparently aspend of body)

This class of prefixes, as a whole, is one of the most obscure features of the language, and can not yet be considered as satisfactorily explained.

§ 13. Prefixes Indicating the General Character of the Action

16. he- actions occurring spontaneously or by accident. Although this prefix would seem to be part of a series (ha-, he-, ho-, hu-), its meaning is apparently not at all related to the others. It is often very obscure. It occurs also as a stem.

hē'-as-dau-dom snow sliding off roof

hē'-dak-dau a shingle or leaf pulled off by some agency unknown he'-kot-sito to break up of itself, to crack, as a glass

he'-poi-dom bending by falling of itself

he'-tsap-dau-dom knocking off hornet's nest with stick (?)

he'-min to brush flour into a hole

he'-dan to comb the hair, brush clothes

17. wi-actions performed by force, very frequently by pulling. This is the most common prefix of all, and seems to have a very general meaning. It occurs with every stem, seems to suffer no phonetic changes, and may also be used as a stem itself. Its uses are so varied that only a few can be given. As in the case of the last prefix, he-, although wi-would form part of the series wa-, we-, wi-, wo-, wö-, wu-, it seems to be really independent, and to have no relations to any of the others in the series.

wī'-ās-pin to pull toward one
wī'-bak-dau-dom wrenching off a board or shingle
wī'-bat-kīn to pull down and break, as a branch of tree
wī'-dek-kīn to tear in strips downward
wī'-hap-sito-dom pulling a rope through a hole
wī'-hus-doi-dom pulling on socks

wi-kot-doi-dom breaking off a piece of something soft, like bread, by upward motion wi-not-kin to pull and bend down wi-pol-dau to pull brick out of wall wi-tā'-tā-moto-pi to hug in arms wi-tö'k-dau to pull off a button wi-yal-kin to pull off a sliver downwards wi-moto to gather together, as a crowd

§ 14. Composition of Prefixes

In a few instances, prefixes of the classes described in §§ 11 and 12 may be used together, although this is rare. An example of such use is the form

wō-wō'-han-o-dom carrying on the shoulder a man extended at length (i. e., head-first)

§ 15. STEMS

In §§ 3 and 4 the phonetic features of stems were pointed out, and their tendency to occur in incomplete series with variable vowel was illustrated. As in the case of the prefixes, the pairs or series appear to have, for the most part, similar meanings, although a considerable proportion differ radically in their significance, as do the prefixes. The less noticeable feature of a variable consonant in the stem was also pointed out. Further discussion of verbal stems will be found in the analysis of the vocabulary (§ 41).

SUFFIXES (§§ 16-26)

Verbal suffixes are, as already stated, numerically far more important than prefixes. Their range of meaning is also much greater, and, unlike the prefixes, they may be compounded one with another to a considerable extent. They do not, moreover, show any tendency toward occurrence in pairs or series, as is characteristically the case with many of the prefixes.

§ 16. Groups of Suffixes

The various suffixes may be divided, according to their meaning, into the following groups:

- (1) Suffixes expressing direction of motion.
- (2) Modal suffixes.
- (3) Temporal suffixes.
- (4) Suffixes indicating relative success or completion of action.

- (5) Suffixes indicating number, iteration, reciprocity.
- (6) Nominalizing suffixes.
- (7) Participial suffixes.
- (8) Suffixes giving general ideas of motion.
- (9) Suffixes indicating negation, Lability.

§ 17. Suffixes Expressing Direction of Motion

Of the different classes of suffixes, that which includes those indicating direction of motion is decidedly the most numerous. The following examples will illustrate the use of these directive suffixes:

1. -da downward, to the end.

wo-dā'-kas I fell (from a tree)
mē'-da-to-tsoia he took down, it is said

2. -dau separation, off from.

 $b\bar{a}'$ -kas-dau to knock a shingle off with a hammer $y\bar{e}'$ -dis-dau-tsoia she slid off, it is said

3. -dik(no) against, up to, alongside of.

lök-diknō-mā'-kas I shall crawl up to sü-ta-di'kno-dom pushing or rolling it up against something

-doi upward.

ka-pwi'lim-doi-no-dom rolling a log up hill o-no'-doi-tsoia he went along up, it is said

5. -ki(t) down, on ground.

hu-ko't-kit-dom cutting to pieces (by bearing down on knife) sō'-wō-kit-tsoia he carried a long thing and laid it down, it is said

6. -koi away, away from.

i'c-dot-koi-dom kicking away something ö-koi'-tsoia he went away, it is said

7. -mi(t) down into a hole, into a house, into a box.

ha's-mit-asi I slid into a hole ö-mi't-dom going into the house

8. -moto together, toward each other.

ka-ta'-moto-dom squeezing between hands ö'-moto-dom coming together, approaching each other ka-tsik-i-moto-bos-weten having completely surrounded on all sides

9. -pai against, at.

hit-pai-dom throwing water at some one hom-pai-to-dom boxing, fighting

10. -pin toward the speaker.

ö-pi'n-tsoia he came toward

hu'n-moi-pi-pin-kit-toi-tsoia they came by degrees back down toward from hunting, it is said

hē'-ap-pin-pin-tsoia she slid toward, little by little, it is said

11. -si(p) out of, out from.

ö-si'p-tsoia they got out (of the boat) has-si'p-asi I slid out (of the house)

12. -sito across, through.

la'p-sito-dom crawling through (a hole in the fence)
ö-sī'to-yĕ-wē'-büs-ma-pem one who shall continually travel back
and forth across

13. -ta on top of, off the ground.

tus- $b\bar{o}$ - $t\bar{a}'$ -dom standing by the smoke hole on the roof $w\bar{o}'$ -ta- $n\bar{u}$ it lies on top of, said only of a long or flat thing $t\bar{o}p$ -ta-tsoia he jumped upon

14. -tso round and round, over and over, over.

la'p-tso-no-ye-dom crawling around something lö'k-tso-pin-wē-bissim they kept crawling over toward speaker

15. -wai apart, asunder, stretching out.

hē'-sas-wai-to-ti-dom causing to fall apart ka-tā'-wai-to-dom flattening out by patting between hands

§18. Modal Suffixes

These suffixes may be divided to good advantage into two subclasses,—those which are modal in the general sense of the term, and those which are temporal.

16. -n infinitive.

bü'sin to be dōn to seize or hold in mouth ö'sip-in to go out

17. -us reflexive.

pě-bo's-us-tsoia he ate himself entirely up yapai'-to-us-dom talking to himself wa's-wēye-us-tsoia he swore at himself nī'-us I myself

18. -ti causative.

wile'-u-kit-ti-koi-tsoia he caused to run away down bu-dut-no-ti-paai-kan he made water to rise wō'no-ti-dom killing (causing to die)

19. -p, -pa, -pada imperative.

ö-nō′-p go!

mē-p give (me)! ö-nō'-pa go! hata'm-pada do ye search for!

20. -ta future imperative.

wō'no-ta it shall die, let it die! tse-ta' let them see! ma-ta'-si let me be!

21. -bo future imperative.

yahā'-bo let it be good! wō'no-kön-kâdo ma-bō' a mortal-world let it be!

22. -pö, -pĕ, -pee exhortative.

ö'-no-pö let us go! bü's-ta-pĕ let us stay! helai'-to-pĕĕ let us gamble!

23. -de interrogative.

oka'-de möyē'm is he hungry? wō'no-ti-ma-ka-de-s shall I kill? suda'ka-de is it sweet?

24. -beně(e) obligation, must.

ö-koi'-bēně mintsē'm ye must go away so'-doi-ben must bring, carry on shoulder ö-noi'-ben-ma-p do not go away!

25. -lut obligation, compulsion, intensive.

 \ddot{o} - $n\ddot{o}'$ -lut-ma-ka-s I must go along ya'k-tse-ti-lut-weten looking exactly like

It is used also with adjectives, as tetē'-luti very large, and with nouns sometimes, as e's-to-luti the very center.

26. -yaha ought, should.

ö-koi'-yaha-ka-ankano you ought to go away (yaha good, although an independent adjective, seems in such cases as this to be fully incorporated as a suffix into the verbal structure)

27. -nats can.

wō'no-men-atse-s I can not die wi-wo'-doi-natse-no can you lift it (a long thing)? wile'-no-natse-n mo'-yĕ can he run?

28. -bö might.

ö'n-no-ti-bö-si I might swallow ya-tai'-bö-nö you might miss (with arrow)

29. -helu may, perhaps (?).

yo-do't-pa-nu-to-helū'-kö-kan he may have tied them up to ok-he'lu-kö-enkesi we all may be hungry

This seems also to be used independently, when it means some, A FEW. It would appear probable from this, that its use in the verb would indicate the plurality of the object, as in the case of woli many, which is used similarly for this purpose. The examples available, however, only indicate its meaning as above.

§19. Temporal Suffixes

30. -ka incompleted action (present).

ö-koi'-ka-si I am going away o'kasi (ok-ka-si) I am hungry wē'ye-don-kö-ka-n he is talking

This suffix is still somewhat uncertain. It is used in the great majority of instances, but is occasionally omitted in direct statements of immediate action; as ö-koi-s I GO, tse-s I SEE. It is probably intimately related to the auxiliary verb ka to be, seen in such forms as ka-s I AM; ka-an-ka-no YOU ARE; ka-ti'-ka-s I CAUSE IT TO BE, I DO, etc.

31. -ma incompleted action (future).

ökoi'-ma-ka-s I shall go away ö-yē'-ma-dom will be going

ko-bē'-bek-ti-men-ma-pem one who shall not cause to cry aloud As indicated in the first example, this suffix is often combined with -ka. Like the latter, it also is extensively used as an independent auxiliary verb; as ma-ma-ka-s I shall be; kul-dom ma-mā'-pem one who shall be mourning; hesā'dom ma-ka-de-s what shall I be, do?

32. -as, -has completed action (past).

ok-ā's-asi I was hungry yok-ā's-has min I struck you adom as ö-koi-ka-s so I went away nik as kai'-kö-kan me she was calling

This may be used, as shown in the last two examples, separately before the verb, which is then in the usual present form. It is not, however, as in -ka and -ma, used as an auxiliary verb.

33. -paai completed action (remote past).

ok-paai'-kan he was hungry long ago ā-paai'-kan he said long ago

34. -tsoi completed action (mythic past, known indirectly).

ökoi'-tsoi-a he went away, it is said wi-dö'k-dau-tsoi-a he tore off, it is said

35. -wea, -ea incompleted action. Used only in direct quotation, as a sort of historical present; also with the idea of the action being customary.

la'p-ti-kinu-wea-s I sit beside tse-wē'ano you see

tö's-bo-kit-eam he stands

36. -weu, -yeu, -eu completed action. Used only in direct quotation.

tse-hē'-ye-weu-kan he looked around

kai-yē'u-ka-si I called

tse-me'n-eu-ka-s I did not see

37. -yak completed action. Generally, but not always used in direct quotations.

doni'-no-men-yak-es I did not hold

ok-ya'k-eno ai'söi you were hungry, I think

homō' ö-koi'-yak-en whither they had gone

38. -biis, -bis continuative.

so'lle-büs-im kept on singing

hi'sse-büs-tset while continuing to weave

tsō'-wē-büs-pe-di into the still burning one

This suffix is identical with the stem of the verb büsin to LIVE, STAY, REMAIN.

§ 20. Suffixes Indicating Relative Success or Completion of Action

39. -bos to do a thing thoroughly, completely, and hence, derivatively, an action done by or to all of a number of persons or things without exception.

tso'-bos-poto-tset while almost wholly burned tui'-bos-no-tsoia she slept soundly, it is said wē'yĕ-bos-weten after having told everything wilĕ'-koi-bos-tsoia they every one ran away

40. -kanim to finish doing, to bring the action to an end. It is related clearly to kani, meaning ALL.

so-ha'n-oñ-kanim he carried him there, i. e., finished the act of carrying

ö-dikno-ñ-kanim he arrived

41. -hēkit inchoative, to just begin.

pī'yĕ-to-hēkit-dom just beginning to bathe

42. -hudoi almost, nearly.

wö-kö't-dau-hudoi-as I almost cut off

tě'-dis-doi-hūdoi-ye-bis-im (her feet) were all the time almost slipping up

43. -hehē only, just.

kūlū-nan-na-möni-hehē' only when nearly dark bö-yök-sip-dom-hehē' only selecting

44. -poto almost, nearly.

batā'-potō'-tset nearly catching up with her

§ 21. Suffixes Indicating Number, Iteration, Reciprocity

45. -to. This suffix, of general and very frequent use, is somewhat puzzling. It is used in some cases to indicate iteration; in others, reciprocal action; at times it seems to point to a plural object. It occurs frequently in combination with other suffixes, particularly the directive suffixes. It is also used as a nominal suffix in connection with the reduplicated distributives. Examples of its use in these various ways will show its variability.

mo'-tōn to drink repeatedly (mon to drink)
yo'k-ō-tōn to strike repeatedly with fist (yo'k-ōn to strike)
yapai'-to-to-dom talking to each other
si'mak-to-dom talking to each other
hē'-sas-wai-to-ti-dom causing to fall apart
tsā'-tsa-to trees
si-kala-to-to-men-wet not bothering each other

§ 22. Nominalizing Suffixes

46. -pe forms nomina actoris, and also indicates place of action.

ho'm-pai-to-pe a fighter (ho'mpaito to fight with the fists)
möng kü'lĕ hē'-doi-pem a runner after that woman, one who
runs after that woman

tus- $w\bar{o}'$ -ye-pe-nan from the standing-place, from where he stood o'k-pem $mai'd\ddot{u}$ hungry man

This use of verbal nouns to take the place of true adjectives is very common in Maidu. Adjectival stems, most intransitive verbal stems, and many transitive verbal stems, form verbal nouns of this sort, which are used in place of regular adjectives. In many instances both forms are in use,—the more strictly adjectival and the verbal noun.

la-la'm-pem tsa, la'-lam-im tsa long stick opi't-pem wolo'm, opi't-im wolo'm full basket

47. - $k\ddot{o}$ indicates the quality of being or having, and seems to be identical with $k\ddot{o}$ -, the stem of the verb to possess.

pě'-kö food (pě to eat)

ti-yū'k-sip-men-köm mai'düm a man who does not come out; i. e., one who has the quality of not coming out

ok-helū'-kö-kasi I may be hungry; i. e., I am one who has the quality of perhaps being hungry

piye'-to-kö bathing place; i. e., having the quality of being appropriate for bathing

This suffix is also much used with nouns, being followed then by pronominal suffixes or participial forms, and indicating possession or ownership.

ha'n-wo-kit-kö-di at the place to which he carries people $h\ddot{o}b\ddot{o}'$ -kö-dom a householder; i. e., one who has the quality of having a house

tetē' si'm-kö-dom big-mouth-having; i. e., being one having the quality of having a large mouth yepō'ni-kö-pem having a chief

48. -ma forms verbal nouns.

han-ö'-koi-s-ma what I carry off niki bi's-ma-s-ma my future abiding-place wō'no-ti-s-ma what I kill

What relation this suffix bears to the regular future suffix -ma is uncertain. The latter is never found following the pronominal suffixes, and yet the nominalizing -ma always seems to carry with it an idea of futurity. It is very rarely used.

§ 23. Participial Suffixes

These are largely used in Maidu, and participial construction is a very common feature. Such expressions as AND TRAVELING, HE ARRIVED, OF RUNNING, HE WENT AWAY, are constantly recurring.

49. -do(m) present participle.

ö-koi'-dom going away mū'-hun-e-pin-i-moto-dom gathering together from hunting tsĕ-do'm seeing

50. -tset(e) when, while.

hesū'pai-ti-tset while, when, dressing (causing to be dressed) okit-(t)set when he arrived hi'sse-büs-tset while she stayed there weaving

51. -möni when, at the time when.

ö-koi'-s-möni when I went away lo'l-möni when crying

52. -wet(e) after having, having (past participle, immediate past).
o'nkoi-tin-wet having caused to conquer
tsedā'-da-weten having breakfasted

 $w\bar{o}'n\bar{o}$ -ti-men-wet not having killed; i. e., not having caused to die ($w\bar{o}'n\bar{o}$ to die; -ti to cause; -men not)

ā'-weten it having been so or thus

The use of this suffix with pronominal and nominal forms will be described in § 31.

53. -wono past participle, more distant past than -wet.

wilë'-koi-wonom having run away
pö'p-koi-wono-pem the one that had burst out
tu's-kit-wono-di at the place where he had stood
he-yu'-kit-wono-kö-tsoia (they were such) as had the quality of
having fallen down of themselves, it is said

54. -yatan past participle, similar in most respects to -wono.

wowō'-kinu-yatan having lain down on the ground bü's-yatan having stayed, having lived, after having remained sol-yatan after having sung

§ 24. Suffixes Giving General Idea of Motion

55. -no general idea of motion.

piye'-to-no-tsoia he went to bathe, it is said (piye'totsoia he bathed)

ö'-no-tsoia he went along, he traveled, it is said hoi'-pai-no-ma-kas I shall go last, behind (hoi'pai behind)

56. -ye general idea of motion.

ö'-yēn to come, come toward lö'k-doi-ye-bis-im kept crawling up

hu'n-mo-koi-to-ye-tsoia they went away to hunt, it is said

Both of these may be used together, giving the meaning of HERE AND THERE, ABOUT.

be-he's-no-ye-dom scratching here and there la'p-no-ye-dom crawling about

§ 25. Suffixes Indicating Negation, Inability

57. -men general negative, not.

ö-koi'-men-wet not having gone ba-pol-doi-men-tsono-dom not being able to dig up tse-me'n-tsoia he did not see, it is said

58. -tsői inability, can not.

wō'nō-ti-tsöi-tsoia he could not kill him, it is said; i. e., could not cause him to die

öpi'n-tsöi-dom not being able to come home sol-tsö'i-dom not being able to sing

§ 26. Composition of Suffixes

Examples of the extent to which these various suffixes can be combined are shown in the following:

wile'-no-ye-tsöi-büss-ma-pem one who shall be unable to be always running about

han-wo-tso-no-wē-bis-dom continuing to carry over wo-hop-mit-hudoi-to-we-bisim kept almost inserting long thing into lap-no-ye-wē-bis-kö-tsoia continued to sit about

§ 27. COMPOSITION OF STEMS

Stems may be combined into compound verbs with considerable freedom. Such compounds may consist of single stems, or of stems with affixes. This method of treatment of prefixes in compounds increases the impression of independence of these elements, which is conveyed by the occurrence of many of them as independent stems.

sō-hu'n-bök-tsoia he jumped at it to seize it in his arms (sō- action done with arms [§ 11 no. 8]; hun- to capture [?]; bök to seize; -tsoia it is said [§ 18 no. 34])

dō'n-wi-kap-pin-tsoia she dragged toward in her mouth (dōn to seize or hold in mouth; wi- action done by force [§ 13 no. 17]; kap to move with friction; -pi[n] [§ 17 no. 10]; -tsoia it is said [§ 18 no. 34])

§ 28. Number

Ideas of number are unequally developed in Maidu. In nouns, the exact expression of number seems to have been felt as a minor need; whereas, in the case of pronominal forms, number is clearly and accurately expressed. In the degree to which the expression of number in nouns is carried, the dialects differ. In the northeastern dialect here presented it is less marked than in the northwestern. Not only are true plurals rare in nouns, but distributives also seem to have been but little used. Where these forms occur, they are formed by reduplication or duplication, with the addition of a suffix (see § 21); as,

sēu'sēuto each, every river (sē'wi river) höbo'boto every house, or camp (höbo' house) ya'manmanto every mountain tsa'tsato every tree (tsa tree)

Distributives appear not to be used in ordinary conversation to any extent, and are rare in the texts. The above are practically all the forms that have been noted.

The existence of a real plural seems to be closely associated with a dual, and all of the few nouns taking plural suffixes take dual forms as well. The use of either is, however, rare. The dual is more common than the plural. The dual is formed by the suffix -tso; as,

ama'm yë'pitsom those two men möpâ'tso my two daughters möing kü'letsoki those two women's . . .

This dual suffix is the same as that used with the third person of the personal pronoun (see § 31). The use of the dual suffix seems to be restricted to a very few terms of relationship and words for human beings only.

Plural forms are equally if not more restricted. In the few examples noted in which the plural is used, the noun takes indifferently -söm or -sem, the suffixes used for the plural of the second person and of the first and third persons of the pronoun, respectively (see § 31). The suffixes are added in all cases directly to the stem.

yë'psöm men, husbands (yë'pi man, husband)
mai'düsem men (mai'dü man)
kü'lesem women (kü'le woman)

As regards nouns, thus, the ideas of number are but little developed; the development, however, is greater in the northwestern than in the northeastern dialect, and it is altogether lacking apparently in the southern dialect. In the first two cases, the degree of development of the expression of number in the noun is parallel to the regularity of the development of its expression in the pronoun.

In pronouns, the feeling for the necessity of exactness seems to have been more strongly felt. On the whole, the forms may be said to be developed regularly, and, as opposed to the fragmentary nature of these ideas in the case of the noun, we have a full series of dual and plural forms in the independent personal pronoun. In the suffixed form of the pronoun, however, this completeness is lost, and distinctions of number are made only in the first person. As will be seen by referring to the paradigm of the subjective independent personal pronoun (§ 31), there is some little confusion in the series, the dual suffix of the second person being identical with that of the plural suffix of the first and third persons. The dual suffixes, again, are varied for the different persons (-sam, -sem, -tsom), although the plural suffixes are more uniform, the first and third persons being alike, with the second quite similar. In com-

parison with this northeastern dialect, the forms in the other dialects are interesting:

Northwestern

				740	TOTA CONCIN	pournern
First person singular					ni	ni
Second person singular					mi	mi
Third person singular	•		•		mōm	möm
First person dual					$nisar{a}m$	nās
Second person dual.					$mim\bar{a}m$	$mar{a}m$
Third person dual .					mõsām	mösām
First person plural .					$oldsymbol{n} is ar{e} m$	nēs
Second person plural					$mimar{e}m$	· mēm
Third person plural.						mösēm

It will be seen that in the northwestern dialect greater regularity prevails, the dual forms for the first and third persons being alike, and that of the second keeping the same vowel. In the plural, however, while the characteristic vowel-change in the first and second persons is preserved, the third takes a wholly new plural suffix. In the southern dialect this irregularity disappears, in spite of the considerable coalescence and contraction which the pronoun in its subjective form has suffered. It seems not improbable that this greater regularity of the dual and plural pronominal forms in the northwestern dialect may be connected with the still greater regularity which prevails in this particular among the Wintun stock, on which the northwestern Maidu border. In Wintun. the pronominal forms are perfectly regular throughout dual and plural. On the other hand, the northeastern dialect, with its smaller degree of regularity, is in contact with the Achomā'wi and Atsuge'wi, dialects of the Shasta, which, on the whole, have a still less regular development of dual and plural, and form a transition to the Shasta proper, which has no dual at all. Variations of this sort are found also in other Californian languages.

As stated above, the suffixed forms of the pronoun are much less clear in their expression of number, dual and plural forms existing for the first person only, as may be seen from the following:

First person singular									-8
First person dual.									-as
First person plural									
Second person singula									
Third person singula	r,	du	al,	an	d j	olu	ral		-n

The method of differentiation is apparently that which lies at the basis of the expression of number in the pronoun; i. e., the vowel-change of a to e to distinguish the plural from the dual. Co-ordinate with the greater regularity of the northwestern dialect in the independent pronoun is its greater regularity in the suffixed form, although this form is much less used than in the northeastern. In the southern dialect suffixed forms of the pronoun are not found. The lack of definite expression of number in the suffixed forms of the pronoun in the dialect here presented necessitates the use of the independent forms of the pronoun, in connection with the verbal form, to distinguish dual from plural; as,

mi'ntsem okmā'nkano ye two will be hungry minsö'm okmā'nkano ye all will be hungry

§ 29. Case

The Maidu differs from many American languages in that it lacks any development of incorporation as a means of expressing syntactic relations. In common with most of the languages of central California, subjective and objective as well as possessive relations are expressed by regular case-endings, suffixed to the noun or independent form of the pronoun, both of which stand separate and independent, outside the verb. That the marking of both subject and object by means of a separate case-suffix is, for purposes of clearness, not a necessity, seems to have been recognized by all these languages. The Maidu is among those which distinguish by a special suffix the subjective, leaving the objective form unchanged. To designate the subjective, the Maidu uses the suffix -m. The following examples will render the use of the subjective as used with nouns sufficiently clear:

sử nĩ has wō'kas I hit the dog (with a stick) (sử dog; nĩ I) sử m has nik dō'kan the dog bit me mai'dừ m a o'kōn the man is hungry nisā'm has mai'dừ wō'nōtiankas we killed the man mī kulū'di önō'bene atso'ia thou must travel at night, she said i'cyōkas min I am kicking you

While all nouns and all independent pronouns, except the first and second persons singular, form the subjective regularly in -m (the objective being the simple stem), the two forms referred to reverse the process, and are, besides, irregular. As shown in the

above examples, the subjective and objective forms of the pronoun in the first and second persons singular are, respectively, $n\bar{\imath}$, nik and $m\bar{\imath}$, min. In the dialect here presented the independent subjective forms of the pronouns above mentioned are somewhat rarely used, the subject being, as a rule, expressed by the suffixed form instead. That the -m used is really a subjective and not an agentive case is shown by the fact of its universal employment with intransitive as well as with transitive verbs.

The possessive relation is shown analogously to the subjective by a case suffix -ki. In this instance there is no irregularity, and all nouns and all forms of the independent pronoun alike take the suffix:

sü'ki bukū' dog's tail
möim mai'dümbomōki ī'tusyo those people's roast
niki höbō' my house
mi'nki sü has wō'nōtias I have killed your dog
nisā'ki kâ'dō our country

The suffix is added always to the objective form of the noun or pronoun (i. e., the simple stem), and, at least in this dialect, is with few exceptions -ki. In the case of the interrogative form WHOSE, however, we find simply -k; as,

homō'nik süm makā'dĕ whose dog is this?11

This possessive suffix may in some cases be added after a previous locative, as in the form

sā'-wono-na-ki from-behind-the-fire's; i. e., belonging to the one who comes from behind the fire

§ 30. Locative and Instrumental Suffixes

In Maidu, locative and instrumental ideas are expressed by regular suffixes, continuing logically the indication of real syntactic relations by the same means. The development of these locative and instrumental suffixes in Maidu is not very great, there being but three locatives, an instrumental, and a comitative. The following examples will illustrate the use of these different forms:

-dt general locative, in, on, at.

mo'mdi in the water betë'itōdi in the olden time

¹In the northwestern dialect the possessive is the same as here; but in the southern form there seems to be a distinct tendency to its partial or complete abandonment. It there frequently becomes reduced to -k, and in the most southerly of all the dialects seems to disappear completely, the subjective form of noun or pronoun being used instead.

BOAS]

höbō'di in the house, at home kau'di on the ground noko'm ni'kdi ka the arrow is in me tu'skitwonōdi at the place where he had stopped ōng kanai'di underneath the rock

-na, -nak illative, to, toward; sometimes reduplicated.

o'lōlokna toward the smoke hole ūnī'na hither (this-toward)
mi'nna toward you
kūlū'nana just before dark, toward night

-nan ablative, from, away from.

höbō'nan ökoi'tsoia he went away from the house tiktetë'nan from a little distance tuswō'yepenan from the place where he stood

-ni instrumental, with, by means of.

sü has tsā'ni wō'kas I hit the dog with a stick
mö'ki ono'mbutū'ini wōma'ktikötsoia she measured with her
hair

-kan comitative, in company with, together with.

ni'ki sükan ökoi'as I went away with my dog

kü'lĕkan ödi'k notsoia he arrived in company with the woman

mi'nkan ökoi'as I went off with you

There is some question as to this being a regular comitative suffix, its identity with the conjunction kan suggesting that the apparent suffix is merely the conjunction closely combined with the noun.

§ 31. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns in Maidu are characterized by their independence. In discussing the ideas of number, the independent forms of the pronoun have already been given; but for purposes of comparison, the subjective, objective, and possessive forms are here given in a single table:

	Subject	Object	Possessive
First person singular .	. $n\bar{\imath}$	nik	ni'ki
First person dual	. nisā'm	$nisar{a}'$	$nisar{a}'ki$
First person plural	. $nis\bar{e}'m$	$nisar{e}'$	nisē'ki
Second person singular.	. $mar{\imath}$	min	mi'nki
Second person dual	. mi'ntse	m mi'ntse	mi'ntsek i
Second person plural	. mi'nsön	n mi'nsö	mi'nsöki
Third person singular	. mö'yem	mö'ye	mö'yeki
Third person dual	. möi'tson	n mö'tso	mö'tsoki
Third person plural	. mö′sem	mö'se	mö'seki

The third person is in reality more a demonstrative than a true personal pronoun; but its use is predominantly that of a personal pronoun, and the corresponding demonstrative $un\bar{\imath}$ this is not used in either the dual or plural forms. As has already been pointed out, these independent forms of the personal pronoun take all the locative and instrumental suffixes, and are in every respect treated as nouns. The personal pronouns also, in their independent form, may take the suffix -wet(e), used chiefly with verbal stems in a participial sense, but here giving forms like

nī'wete I myself, I alone

mö'ñwete he alone

In speaking of the development of ideas of number, the fact was referred to, that there were two forms of the personal pronoun—one independent and one suffixed to the verb. The two series show little in common, except that the first person dual and plural are differentiated in both series by the same vowel-change from a to e. The suffixed forms are always subjective, and are suffixed directly to the verbal stem or to the various modal, directive, temporal, and other suffixes which the verb may have, the pronominal suffixes, with few exceptions, always coming last. In the singular the resulting forms are clear enough without the addition of the independent form of the pronoun; in the dual and plural, however, these are usually added, although here the first person is always sufficiently distinct. When the sense of the sentence renders the person clear, this independent pronoun is frequently omitted. The following indicates the use of the pronouns with the intransitive verb:

nī o'kasi or o'kasi I am hungry
mī oka'nkano or oka'nkano thou art hungry
möyē'm oka'n or oka'n möyē'm he is hungry
nisā'm oka'nkas or oka'nkasi nisā'm we two are hungry
mi'ntsem oka'nkano or oka'nkano mi'ntsem ye two are hungry
mö'tsom oka'n or oka'n mötsom they two are hungry
nise'm oke'nkes or oke'nkesi nisē'm we all are hungry
mi'nsöm oka'nkano or oka'nkano mi'nsöm ye all are hungry
mö'sem oka'n or oka'n mö'sem they all are hungry

As will be seen from the above, the position of the independent pronoun is variable, it being placed either before or after the verb at will. It will also be seen that the suffixed form is by no means as fully developed as is the independent. This condition is instructive, when the forms in use in the other dialects are compared. It then appears that in the northwestern dialect the suffixed form is rare,

with the verbal stem, but is universally added to the auxiliary verb; in the southern dialect the use of the suffixed form of the pronoun disappears. It seems, then, that the northeastern dialect here presented, in the matter of pronominal usage, lies at the extreme, toward the close synthesis of pronoun with verb, the northwestern being less so, and the southern entirely without it. As the northeastern dialect is in close touch with the Achomā'wi, which shows much greater development of the incorporative idea, we may be justified in regarding this greater development of synthesis between the verb and pronoun as in part due to association and contact.

In the transitive verb, precisely the same conditions prevail. The subjective pronoun, in the pronominal conjugation, is suffixed to the verb in the northeastern dialect, the objective standing free and independent.

yō'-kas min I am hitting thee yō-a'nkano möyĕ' thou art hitting him nisā'm min yō-a'nkas we two are hitting thee mö'tsom nik yō'-kan they two are hitting me yō-a'nkano nisā' thou art hitting us two

With a nominal object, the method is the same:

sü wö'nōtikas I am killing the dog

With a nominal subject, the pronominal suffix is always used:

süm has mai'dü dō'-kan the dog bit the man

For emphasis, it is customary to use, in the first and second persons singular of the pronominal conjugation, the independent form in addition to the suffixed; as,

yō'-kas ni min I am hitting you yō-a'nkano mī möyĕ' thou art hitting him

Just as in the intransitive the dialect here presented tends more strongly toward synthesis between pronoun and verb than do any of the other dialects, so in the transitive the same conditions prevail, if anything, more strongly marked, as both the other dialects have the subjective as well as the objective pronoun entirely free and separate from the verb which appears in a participial form.

§ 32. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative is not as highly developed in Maidu as in many other American languages. But two forms are commonly

in use, corresponding to THIS and THAT, and indicating position near or remote from the speaker. For the former, $un\bar{v}$ is used, and for the latter, $am\bar{a}'$. Somewhat rarely a third form, $an\bar{v}'$, is employed to indicate position still more remote. The third personal pronoun is often used in place of a demonstrative, and may take the place of any one of the three. All three demonstratives take all the nominal case and locative suffixes. The use of these demonstratives is shown in the following examples:

uni'm mai'düm yahā'maka this man will be good amā'm süm that dog ani'm mai'düm that (far off) man amā'kan wōnōtitsoia and he killed that one ūnī'nan from here, hence amā'di there, at that place amā'ki sü that person's dog mö'im mai'düm this, that man

§ 33. Relative and Interrogative Pronouns

A relative pronoun seems to be lacking in Maidu, its place being filled by the use of a reflexive suffix with the verb. Such constructions are, however, rare. An example is:

möm mai'düm has kakā'n i'syōtiusdom this man it was causing to kick himself; i. e., he was the man who was kicked

Interrogative pronouns, on the contrary, are common. Which is expressed by $hom\bar{o}'$, and who by $hom\bar{o}'ni$, both taking case and locative suffixes, as do other pronouns. What, why, and how are formed from a different stem, being respectively $hes\bar{a}'$, $hes\bar{a}'$ -, and $hes\bar{a}'ti$. A few examples of the use of these follow:

homō'mdi makā' bū'spem in which (house) do you live?
homō'nim makā' who are you?
homō'nik süm makā'dĕ whose dog is this?
hesi'm makā'dĕ what is it?
hesā'möni kadi'kmenom makā'dĕ why doesn't it rain?
hesā'ti eto'spem . . . how strong . . . ?

§ 34. Adjectives

The adjective in Maidu is strongly nominal in character. In many cases it is a true nomen actoris, formed from a verbal stem, with or without duplication or reduplication, by the addition of the

suffix -pe. Apparently any verbal stem may thus be used in this form to qualify or describe a noun; as,

o'k-pem mai'düm hungry man (literally, hungerer man) eto'spem mai'dum strong man (eto'skasi I am strong) di'pdipem pā'ka smooth board (literally, slider board) lala'mpem tsa long stick

Many adjectives, however, do not admit of the form in -pe, and are formed from the verbal stem by merely adding to them the nominal subjective suffix(?) -m. The majority of these forms are made from verbal stems ending in a vowel. Examples of this type of adjective are:

tetë'm süm large dog tëm süm small dog kē'yim höbō' old house

Most, if not all, of the stems from which the adjectives are formed, are capable of taking the regular pronominal tense and modal suffixes and being used as intransitive verbs; as, $k\bar{e}'yimakas$ I SHALL BE OLD. Some stems, however, appear not to be used, except as forming these nominal forms, as adjectives. Either of the nominal forms of these stems (that in -pe or in -m) takes all regular nominal locative suffixes, and probably also all case-suffixes as well, although these have at present been noted only in the instance of those ending in -pe.

kē' yidi in the old one tetē'ni with the big one

lala'm peki the long one's . . .

In some cases both the -pe and the -m forms are used with the same stem; as,

la'mim tsa, lala'mpem tsa long stick

In these cases, the form in -pe is generally, but not always, reduplicated.

§ 35. Adverbs

Adverbs may be formed from adjectival stems by the suffix -t; as,

yahā'm good wasā'm bad tetē'm large yahā't well, nicely wasa't poorly, evilly tete't much, greatly, very

Other adverbs, such as those of time and distance, etc., seem to be from independent stems.

ti'kte slightly, somewhat, a little hadā' far away be'nek to-morrow $b\bar{e}i$ again $b\bar{e}i'duk$ by and by $l\bar{e}'wo$ a little, partially

§ 36. Connectives

With the exception of kan AND, connectives in Maidu are all formed from the auxiliary verb \bar{a} to BE, by the addition of various temporal, modal, and other suffixes. Very often the resulting form is compounded with kan, which, while it may stand alone, is generally reduced to an enclitic. The more common of these connectives are:

a-dom, ado'ñkan so, and so a-met but a-mendom if not, and if not a-mö'ni, amö'nikan then, and then a-tse't, atse'tkan while, and while a-we'ten, awete'nkan then, thereafter, and then

§ 37. Interjections

There are quite a number of interjections in Maidu, the following being those most commonly in use:

hēi halloo!
sī look! well!
â exclamation of disgust
ettū' stop!
hmm exclamation of disgust

hō well! all right ham an exclamation of rage, practically equivalent to a curse

VOCABULARY (§§ 38-41)

§ 38. Classes of Stems

In analyzing the vocabulary of the Maidu we may divide the stems into three classes:

- (1) Those which admit of no suffixes, or only such as are neither nominal nor verbal.
 - (2) Those which take nominal suffixes.
 - (3) Those which take verbal suffixes.

The first group includes merely a few adverbs, interjections, and a connective. The second comprises nouns, pronouns, and most adjectives. The third takes in all verbs (with a few exceptions), some adjectives, and the remainder of the connectives. This grouping, which, on the whole, seems to be the most feasible, breaks down in so far as it is possible, in some cases, to use participial suffixes with stems normally taking only nominal suffixes, and also from the fact that there are cases where noun and verb are formed from a single stem. The latter cases will be considered

in speaking of the stems of the second group; and as for the former, all that can be said here is that it is the ordinary usage rather than the extraordinary forms which should be given greatest weight.

§ 39. Stems Taking no Suffixes, or Only Such as are neither Nominal nor Verbal

Of stems taking no suffixes at all, there appear to be very few. Interjections include the majority of such stems. A list of these has been given in § 37. Except for these interjections, the only other stem taking no affix is the simple conjunction kan and. This, moreover, although it may, and often does, stand independently, is at times so closely connected with the noun as to be enclitic.

Stems taking suffixes other than those taken by nouns or verbs are few also and are only adverbial:

bēi (bēi'bim, bēi'bö) again, also hū'koi still, yet bei'duk by and by lē'wo a little, partially

A considerable number of adverbs are formed from adjectival stems by the suffix -t; as,

yahā'm good; yahā't well tetē'm large, great; tete't much, greatly

Adverbial ideas, however, such as CAN, MUST, PERHAPS, ALMOST, WHOLLY, ALWAYS, etc., are expressed in Maidu by suffixes added to the verb.

§ 40. Stems Taking Nominal Suffixes Only

These stems may be further subdivided into nominal, pronominal, and adjectival stems.

NOMINAL STEMS

Maidu possesses a large number of true nominal stems showing no relation at all apparently to verbal or other stems. Derivatives formed from verbs exist in considerable numbers; but the greater mass of nouns are derived from purely nominal stems. A few examples of nouns derived from verbal stems may be given before considering the nominal stems proper:

 $h\bar{\imath}$ to smell; $h\bar{\imath}'ku$ nose mai to speak; mai'd \ddot{u} Indian; $b\ddot{o}$ to blow; $b\ddot{o}'wo$ wind mai'ki boy

In other instances noun and verb appear to be formed from the same root; as,

ho'ni heart ho'nwĕ breath - ho'nsiptsoia she breathed ho'nkodom coughing

§§ 39, 40

Nominal stems proper may be divided into three groups:

- (1) Monosyllabic.
- (2) Polysyllabic, duplicated or reduplicated.
- (3) Polysyllabic, without reduplication.
- 1. Monosyllabic stems are not very numerous, but as a class include some of the most common nouns. They may be grouped under several heads:

RELATIONSHIP TERMS	ANIMALS, PLANTS, PARTS OF BODY
son $t\bar{e}$	$\mathrm{dog}\; s \dot{u}$
daughter $p\bar{o}$	hand $mar{a}$
younger sister k!a	flower $yar{o}$
mother nē	bush $d\ddot{o}$
grandson pē	willow $par{a}$
-	feathers <i>yë</i>

MISCELLANEOUS

fire $s\bar{a}$	stone $ar{o}$
salt $b\bar{a}$	$\mathbf{road}\ b\bar{o}$
cloud $y\bar{a}$	raft <i>nö</i>
snow $k\bar{o}$	mortar-stone \bar{a}

2. Duplicated and reduplicated stems are also not very numerous, and refer chiefly to parts of the body and to animals and birds.

DUPLICATED	REDUPLICATED
$\operatorname{crow}ar{a}'ar{a}$	yellow-hammer <i>wolo'loko</i>
$\mathbf{eagle}\;kar{a}'kar{a}$	robin tsi'statatkö
quail $y\bar{u}^h y\bar{u}$	fly emē'lulu
nest $t\bar{u}'t\bar{u}$	shoulder <i>dā'daka</i>
rib <i>tsī'tsi</i>	star <i>lülü'</i>
breast $n\bar{a}'na$	egg pa'kpaka
ankle <i>po'lōpolō</i>	cotton wood wili'lī
grass popo'	smoke hole <i>olo'lokō</i>
yellow pine böbö'	thunder witū'mtūmi
twig tötö	

Onomatopæia seems to be but little in force in Maidu, being not particularly apparent in these duplicated and reduplicated animal and bird names, where, in other languages, it frequently plays a very important part.

3. Polysyllabic unreduplicated stems, in the case of nouns, form probably a majority of the total number of nominal stems. Although a considerable number of polysyllabic nominal stems are quite clearly descriptive, and hence analyzable into simpler stems, a large majority have so far resisted analysis and must be considered stems. The following are examples of such apparently unanalyzable stem-nouns:

PARTS OF THE BODY

head onō'
face mūsū'
eye hi'ni
mouth si'mi
teeth tsā'wa
tongue ĕ'ni
ear bonō'
neck kū'yi
foot pai'yi
nails tsibī'
blood sĕdĕ'
sinew paka'
tail bukū'

back $k\bar{\imath}'w\bar{\imath}$ nipples $min\bar{\imath}'$ arm yi'miarmpit $k\bar{o}w\bar{o}'$ belly $kam\bar{\imath}'$ hip $m\bar{a}'wa$ penis kosi'leg $tol\bar{\imath}'$ liver kula'bone $b\bar{o}'mi$ dung $pit\bar{\imath}'$ fat $h\bar{o}'ti$ skin $pos\bar{a}'la$

MAMMALS

grizzly bear pā'nō brown bear mö'dĕ deer sümī' fox hawī' gopher hemĕ' coyote wē'pa field-mouse yosō' ground-squirrel hī'lō chipmunk wi'sla mole yū'tdūli

BIRDS, FISH, INSECTS

fish makō' salmon māyi'.

grasshopper tö'li angle-worm kayī'

MISCELLANEOUS

woman külé'
baby konō'
house ū'yi
coals hemī'
smoke sukū'
arrow-point bosō'

pack-basket wolō'
snowshoe tsūwā'
meat wakā'
sun pokō'
evening kūlū'
valley koyō'

As examples of nominal stems which are clearly analyzable, but not yet entirely explained, the following may serve:

forehead sün-daka (perhaps from sön-referring in some way to the head, as in sö'ntsetsopindom, HEAD-FIRST; and dā'daka SHOULDER, i. e., head-shoulder)

beard sim-pani (perhaps from sim mouth, and pan-, a stem occurring in pantsoia they made rope)

wrist ma-kulū' (from mā hand and [?])

wild-cat hi'n-tsepi (from hi'ni eye, and [?])

otter mo'm-pano (from mo'mi water, and pā'no grizzly-bear)

rat ō'm-sape (from ō rock, and [?])

jack-rabbit tsi'n-kuti (from tsī robe, and kuti animal) shite-poke wak-si (from the verbal stem wak- to cry)

44877 -Bull. 40, pt 1-10-46

PRONOMINAL STEMS

A full paradigm of the personal and demonstrative pronouns has been given in §§ 31, 32, and these need not therefore again be referred to here. The interrogative pronouns ought, however, to be noticed. These are homō' which, and homōni who. The interrogative pronoun what is hesī', but, besides taking the regular nominal suffixes, it also may take certain verbal or semiverbal suffixes.

ADJECTIVAL STEMS

Adjectives are of two sorts: (1) those formed from independent stems, with or without reduplication; and (2) those formed from verbal stems, generally with the suffix -pe. The first of these classes may be divided according as to whether there is or is not any reduplication.

NO REDUPLICATIO

little tēm small tibī' good yahā' bad wasā' short nū'si old kē'yi

REDUPLICATION

large tetë' long lā'lami

Quite a number of adjectives belonging apparently to this first class have the suffix -pe, although the stem shows no relation to any verbal stem, and seems never to be used as such. These are both reduplicated and unreduplicated, and include all color names. In some cases, two forms exist, one with, and one without, the suffix -pe.

NO REDUPLICATION

healthy eto'spe heavy wöhö'lpe thick koī'lpe short nu'spe

REDUPLICATION .

weak lē'lepe light hehe'kpe thin tōtō'pe wide da'pdape sour tsūtsu'kpe

COLOR NAMES

black sēū'sēūpe green titī'tpe red la'klakpe white da'ldalpe

NUMERALS

The numerals belong to this first class of adjectival stems, and are as follows up to ten:

one sū'ti two pē'ne three sā'pwi four tsö'yi five mā'wika six sai'tsoko seven to'pwi eight pe'ntcöyĕ nine pe'lio ten mā'soko The numeral adverbs are formed by the suffix -nini; as, sū'těnini once, pěnē'nini twice, etc. Distributives are formed by reduplicating the final syllable; as, sū'titi one each, pē'něně two each, etc.

§ 41. Stems Taking Verbal Suffixes

Verbal stems may be divided into two groups, according as to whether they are treated always as stems pure and simple, or are sometimes used in connection with other stems, modifying these and serving as prefixes.

Stems of the first type are predominantly composed of consonant-vowel-consonant. Many occur in pairs or groups, with similar or nearly similar meaning, but with variable vowel; whereas a few pairs show not a variable vowel, but a variable consonant. Besides these tri-literal stems there are a number of bi-literal and uni-literal forms and a few as yet unanalyzable dissyllabic stems. The following list shows the tri-literal stems which have at present been determined, and indicates both the systematic character of these stems and also the pairing or grouping spoken of above. In some cases the meaning of the stem is yet uncertain, owing to the small number of instances in which it occurs. Tri-literal stems, as a rule, take modifying stems or true prefixes before them.

```
-bak- to detach a flat thing; -bek-(?); -b\ddot{o}k-(?)
-bal- to mark, paint
-bas- to sweep(?); -bis- to live, stay; bus(?)
-bat- to break; -bot- to break
-dak- to detach a flat thing; -dek- to make hole
-dam- to give
-dip- to slide
-dis- to slide
-das- to split
-dat-(?); -dot- to overturn; -dut-(?)
-hak- to tear; -huk- to whistle (?)
-hal- to lie, cheat; -hul-(?)
-hap- to move with friction; -hop- to move with friction; -höp- to
  stretch; -hup-(?)
-has- to slide; -hes- to scratch; -his- to make basket; -hös- to
  scare(?) -hus-(?)
-kal-(?); -kel- to perforate; -kol- to bore(?); -köl- to roll; -kul-(?)
-kap- to move with friction (?); -kop- to move with friction (?);
  -köp-(?)
-kes-(?)
-kat- to strike; -ket- to graze; -kot- to divide; -kut- to divide
-lak-(?); -lek-(?); -lok-(?); -lök- to creep; -luk- to creep
```

```
-lol- to cry
-lap- to crawl(!); -lep-(!); -lip- to cry out; -lop- to move with
  friction(?)
-los-(?)
-mak- to know, count, measure
-mal-(?)
-not- to bend
-pok- to strike; -pök- to shake (?)
-pel- to perforate; -pol- dislocate; -pul- dislocate, remove
-pin- to hear
-pes- to crumble
-pat-(?); -pit-(?)
-sal\cdot(?); -sil- to shake
-tul- to break flat thing
-tek- to jump(?); -tsik-(?)
-töm-(?)
-tap to squeeze (i); -top- to break; -top- to jump; tup- to break
-tsap- to tear, rip
-tas- to slap(?); -tes- to strip off; -tos-(?); -tös-(!); -tus- to break
-tsot- to rip off
-usu- to rub
-wak- to cry out
-yak- to crush; -yok- to strike
-yal- to split; -yol- to break; -yul- to rip, split
-yat-(?)
```

Bi-literal and uni-literal stems of this first type are quite numerous, and a partial list is here given. They are distinguished from the triliteral stems as a rule, by the fact that they rarely take any modifying stems or true prefixes before them.

```
mō- to drink
\bar{a}- to say
a- to be (auxiliary verb)
                                            mö- to shoot
ap- to slip, slide
                                            o- (?)
bö- to blow
                                            \ddot{o}- to go, travel
böi- to leach acorns
                                            p\bar{e}- to eat
b\bar{u}- to stink
                                            p\bar{u}- to sew
d\bar{\imath}- to swell
                                            -tau- to twist (?)
d\bar{o}- to bite, seize with teeth
                                            tö- to burn
h\bar{\imath}- to smell (?)
                                            -töi- to divide in strips
höi- to spread apart (?)
                                            tse- to see
kai- to fly
                                            -tsoi- to bend
k!ai- to be called, named
                                            -yau- to break flat thing
kö- to have, possess (!)
                                            yö (?)
köi- (!)
                                            -yu- (?)
m\bar{c}- to take, seize
```

BOAS]

Special mention ought to be made, in speaking of stems of this type, of the connectives. The simple connective AND, indicated by kan, has already been referred to in speaking of the unchangeable stems. All other connectives seem to be formed from the auxiliary verb a to be, by the addition of various verbal suffixes. A list of these connectives, any of which may take the simple connective kan as an additional suffix, follows:

ado'm so, thus amě't but amö'ni then

atse t the whiles, at this time awē'bisim continually awë'te then

Verbal stems which, although dissyllabic, yet appear to be unanalyzable, are not nearly as numerous as the other types. Some of the more common ones follow:

hē'no- to die kölö'- to rotate o'nkoi- to conquer $\bar{o}p\bar{e}'$ - (?) pedā'- to steal, to answer -pwi'li- to roll -tala- to crush -tibil- to wind around wile' to run $w\bar{o}'n\bar{o}$ - to die

Verbal stems of the second type have already been discussed in §§ 11-13, and need not therefore be taken up in detail here again. b, w, and y series seem to be the clearest and least doubtful, and to offer the fewest apparent exceptions. The h series is quite puzzling; the i form (hi-), having no apparent relation to the others in the series in meaning, falling as it does into the class of pure prefixes, indicating parts of the body. The e and u forms (he- and hu-) are also very irregular. Although the characteristic feature of these stems is, that while they are most commonly used to modify another stem as a prefix, they may yet themselves stand as independent stems on occasion, there are one or more in each series which can not so stand independently, it seems. The reasons for this exception are not yet clear.

TEXT

Sö'tim¹ One	neno'mmaidü:	m³ bü'sstso	oia. ³ W	isoʻtpini ⁴ ^{Sig Springs}	he'nantě ⁵ on this side of
ku'mmenim houseless ones	höbo'ködon bark hut ownin			ia. ³ Amā'ñ aid. That one	ikan 4 sõ'ti 10 eand one
påküpem 11 daughter pos- sessing person	neno'mmaid old people		oi'am. ¹³ elated.	Amā'dikan There and	mō'ñ 14 she
küle'm ¹⁵	bü'sstsoia. ³ lived, it is said.	Amāñkan ⁹ That one and	matsoi'ai	m ¹² öpě'l d	kanbeninī' 16 always

¹ sö'tim ONE (-m subjective).

neno'maidüm OLD PEOPLE; ne'no, ne'nope the usual adjective used for referring to animate things, and standing for OLD PERSON if unaccompanied by a noun; -m the connective, euphonic consonant used in forming compound nouns, etc.; mai'dü MAN, INDIAN, perhaps from root mai- TO SPEAK; -m the suffix of the subjective case.

³ bil'ssisoia Lived (from the stem bilss, bis- to Live. To Remain, to continue in one Place); -tsoiverbal suffix indicating completed action, quotative, i. e., the knowledge is not obtained by the experience of the speaker, but comes to him merely by hearsay; -a the usual suffix of the third person, -n (-kan), is rarely used with -tsoi This may be a contraction from -tsoi-an(?).

^{*} wiso'tpini a place known locally as Big Springs, one of the main sources of the North Fork of Feather river, in Big Meadows, Plumas county, California. I am unable to analyze this name satisfactorily.

be northwestern dialect) meaning This; -name the nominal locative suffix meaning FROM; -te probably from -th, the general locative suffix at in, etc.: hence the whole meaning This-FROM-AT, A SPOT BETWEEN THIS AND THE ONE SPOKEN OF.

⁶ ku'mmenim A HOUSELESS PERSON; kum- the name applied to the semi-subterranean, circular, earth-covered lodges; -men the negative or privative suffix; to this is then added a euphonic i, and finally the subjective suffix -m

⁷ höbo'ködom owning a bark hut; höbo' the conical bark huts in which the poorer people lived; hō alone seems to be used as synonymous with dwelling. Any sort of a shelter or house; -kō a suffix very commonly used, indicating the quality of possessing, hence höbo' kō having the Quality of possessing a bark hut; -do the suffix of the present participle; -m the subjective suffix. The whole might be rendered owners of a bark hut.

^{*} mai'sem They. This is apparently a form synonymous with mö'sem or möi'sem. The final m is the subjective suffix.

^{**} amā'ñkan AND THAT ONE; amā' the demonstrative pronoun THAT, referring to the old people, here in the subjective case $am\bar{a}'m$, the m being changed to \bar{n} before k, in accordance with the regular rule (see § 4, -kan AND).

¹⁰ so'ti one. Here in objective case (cf. note 1).

[&]quot; pô/küpem a person having a daughter; pô, po daughter; -kū the same as -kō, the suffix meaning having the Quality of Possessing; -pe the suffix used generally to form the nomen actoris, etc.; -m the subjective suffix.

¹² matsoi'am IT IS RELATED. This frequently appearing form seems to come from a verbal stem ma- TO RELATE, TO TELL; -tsoi- the quotative suffix of completed action; -a- the suffix of the third person, generally used with -tsoi. The use of -m here is as yet not clear.

¹³ amā'dikan and at that place; amā' demonstrative pronoun that; -di the locative suffix at; -ken the conjunction and.

¹⁴ $m\tilde{o}\tilde{n}$ THE, THAT. The independent form of the third personal pronoun. This is used very frequently almost as a demonstrative. Here $m\tilde{o}\tilde{n}$, instead of $m\tilde{o}m$, because of the following k

¹⁶ külč m WOMAN, GIRL (here subjective).

¹⁶ öpë'kanbenini' every time. Always. It is difficult as yet to analyze this completely or satisfactorily; öpë' occurring alone means All; kan seems to be derived from kani, meaning also All, Each, Every; be is the same as -pe (the p changing to b after n); the final suffix -nini appears to have a temporal significance; as also in lê'wonini once in a while (from le'wo some).

kūlū'nanamönihēhē' 17 piyē'tonokom 18 sö'tim 19 kūlū'nanamaā't 20 evening-toward-whenone who went evening-toward one almost bathing

wonō'mentsoia.21 Amā'ñkan 9 tū'itsoia.23 Amā'ñkan 9 nědí ustsoia.23 missed-not, it is said. That one and slept, it is said. That one and pō 26

night

dreamed for herself, it is said.

Nĕdī'wēbissim 24 Dreaming kept on nĕ Dī'dom 28 dreaming

kakā'nim 25 every nĕDī'ustsoia.23 dreamed for her-

self, it is said.

dreaming kept on Ama'ñkan 9 That one and

möpi'kno 27 něpí wēbissim 24 same one piye'tonotsoia.29 bathing went, it is said.

Piye'tonopeñkan 30 One who has gone bathing and

oki'tmenpem 31 ĕ'kdatsoia.32 one not returning

it dawned, it is said.

Amānkan bē'nekto 38 morning in That one and

17 kūlū'nanamönihēhē' When IT Was almost dusk; kūlū' is the usual term for evening, the early part of the night; -nana- a reduplicated form of the locative suffix -na, meaning TOWARD; -möni a temporal suffix with the force of WHEN, AFTER; $\hbar \bar{\epsilon} \hbar \bar{\epsilon}'$, a suffix of somewhat uncertain meaning, usually indicating doubtfulness or approximation.

18 piyë'tonoköm one who went bathing (from piye'-, piyë'to- to swim or bathe); -no is probably merely the verbal suffix of generalized motion, although it may perhaps be a contraction from 6'no- to Go, TO TRAVEL, hence TO GO TO BATHE; -kö the suffix indicating HAVING THE QUALITY OF POSSESSING; -m the subjective suffix, this agreeing in case with the ama'm in ama'nkan.

19 so'tim one. It is not clear whether this refers to the girl or to the evening. It is probably, however, the former, as, if it meant one EVENING, the close connection of the two words would lead to the change

m kūlū'nanamaā't. The first portion of this is identical with the first portion of the word in note 17. The final suffix is, however, a rather puzzling one. It would seem to mean INDEED, THUS, but its use is

" wono'mentsoia DID NOT LOSE, MISS; wono' seems to mean to Lose, to Miss, and must be distinguished carefully from wo'no, which means to DIE. The -tsoi is the usual quotative, completed action, with the suffixed form of the third personal pronoun.

" tū'itsoia SLEPT (from the stem tū'i- TO SLEEP); -tsoia (see above).

²¹ nědí′ustsoia dreamed for Herself, it is said; nědí′ is a dream, nědí′m-maidü is a dreamer, one of the two classes of shamans. The use of the reflexive suffix -us here is not wholly clear. It probably means SHE DREAMED FOR HERSELF. This construction—a participle followed by a verb, or a continuative followed by a verb-is one of the most frequent.

21 nčDi'wčbissim KEPT DREAMING. The reflexive is not used in this case. The suffix -bissim is formed from the verbal stem bis- to REMAIN, to CONTINUE, and is the usual continuative suffix employed, giving the sense of to KEEP ON. It is very generally joined to the verbal stem by -wē, which is of uncertain meaning.

skakā'nim every. A reduplicated form of kani'm each, all.

≈ p6 NIGHT. This term is generally used in reference to the whole period of darkness, or, if restricted, applies more to the middle of the night. po'esto MIDNIGHT.

möpi'kno that same one; mö is the independent form of the third personal pronoun. The suffix -pi'kno seems to be an intensive, and to mean the SAME, the VERY. It is here objective.

™ nčDl'dom DREAMING (here the present participle, formed with -dom).

piye'tonotsoia WENT TO BATHE, IT IS SAID (cf. note 18).

m piye'tonopenkan the one who had gone bathing; piye'tono- cf. note 18; peng the suffix of the nomen actoris, -pem becoming -pen before k; the suffix -kan is the common connective.

a oki'tmenpem one not returning, okit- meaning to return, to arrive at a place. Analyzable, perhaps, into o- (an hypothetical verbal stem connected with \ddot{o} - τo go) and -kit the regular directive suffix meaning DOWN, DOWN TO. We have, in addition, -men the negative, and -pe the suffix of the nomen actoris, with the subjective -m.

c'kdatsoia IT DAWNED. The verbal form ckda- is related closely to cki' DAY.

* bë'nekto in the morning (sometimes merely bë'nek). The suffix -to in use here is obscure. It occurs in a number of similar cases, with apparently a temporal meaning.

stayed it is

said.

makō' 34 fish

halā'pweten 35 carried having

ösi'pindom 36 coming out of toward house.

oki'tsoia.²⁷ Arrived, it is said.

Sitting on ground

Möbē'iköna 🍽 Her father to

bohū'isitotsoia. 39 Awete'nkan 40 bü'sstsoia. 3 Bödoi'kinūdom 41 bū'sstsoia. 3 handed over to. it is said. Amā'm 42

That one

Thus having been and mayā'ken 43

say they

tsai'men 44 by and by

tseme'npe(m)45 one unäcen

oki'tkötsoia. 44 arriving-quali-ty had, it is said.

remained.

it is said.

Pū'ivanan 47 Outside, from

mavā'ken 48 it was

okö'köinpintsoia.48 head lowered down toward, gradually, it is said.

mayā'ken 45 A'nkanim 40 Then it was

²⁴ mako' FISH (here objective).

^{*} hala' pweten HAVING CARRIED. We have here the use of one of the troublesome prefix-stems, he-. Taken by itself, -lap- is a verbal stem signifying to CRAWL ON HANDS AND KNEES, or to sit, KNEES ON GROUND. Combined with ha-, it means to CARRY, perhaps to DRAG, generally by a cord or rope, here CARRYING FISH ON A STRING. The suffix -weten is a temporal suffix meaning AFTER HAVING.

²⁶ ōsi'pindom COMING OUT OF TOWARD THE HOUSE. The verbal stem here is ō-TO GO, TO TRAVEL, to which are added two directive suffixes, -si OUT OF (THE WATER), and -pin TOWARD. In -dom we have the regular present participle.

³⁷ oki'tsoia ARRIVED, CAME BACK. Okti- cf. note 31. While this is sometimes heard oki'ttsoia, as a rule the second t is elided.

a möbčikāna HER FATHER TO. With relationship terms, the simple third personal pronoun is often used in place of the regular possessive case, as here we have mo-instead of möki'. Bëiko father is apparently analyzable into bč'í-, a stem meaning again, another (bč'ím again; bč'íbb another; bč'duki NEW), and the familiar suffix -kö having the quality of possessing. The final suffix -kc is the locative suffix meaning TOWARD, expressing the motion of the gift from the girl to her father.

²⁰ bohū'isilotsoia handed over to, it is said In bo- another of the prefix-stems appears. This usually seems to signify actions done with a bulky or round object. Its application here is obscure, unless the fist is thought of as a bulky thing, in which the string on which the fish are strung is held. The main stem, $-h\bar{u}i$, is uncertain in its meaning, this being the only place where it occurs. In conjunction with bo-, however, it has the meaning given above. The suffix -sito is one of the directive verbal suffixes, meaning ACROSS, OVER.

^{*} awete'nkan and after having been thus. All conjunctions, except kan and, are formed in Maidu from the auxiliary verb a TO BE. Here with the suffix -wete(n) we get the idea of sequence, usually expressed in English by AND THEN. The -kan is, of course, the simple conjunction AND.

⁴¹ bödoi'kinūdom sitting. In this case the initial syllable bö- is in all probability the same prefix-stem which appeared in bohū'isitotsoia, in this case changed in accordance with some obscure vowel-harmony. bö- as a simple verbal stem means, on the other hand, to BLOW, as the wind. The prefix-stem bö- here is used as a stem, taking the suffix -doi, a verbal directive meaning UPWARD, and often appears thus without further addition; as bödoi'tsoia HE SAT. It is not clear how the idea of sitting comes from the elements bōand -doi, unless we assume that the idea is of a round thing (the knees?) sticking up (as one sits on one's haunches). The suffix (or suffixes) -kint is not clear. It is of quite frequent occurrence, but is still uncertain. -dom is the usual present participle.

ama'm THAT ONE (subjective form of the demonstrative).

u maya'ken it was. This frequently-appearing form seems to be derived from the stem ma- to BE, with the suffix -yak-, which indicates past time.

[&]quot; tsai'men AFTER A WHILE. Derived from tsai ANOTHER, and the suffix -men,-not the negative, with which it is identical in form, but a suffix indicating TIME OF, which is used in the names of seasons, etc. (yō'men SUMMER, FLOWER-TIME; ku'mmen WINTER, EARTH-LODGE-TIME, i. e., the period during which the neonle live in the earth-lodges). the people live in the earth-lodges).

⁴⁵ tseme'npe(m) ONE WHO IS NOT SEEN. The verbal stem here is tse- TO SEE, with the negative suffix -men, and the -pe of the nomen actoris. It would seem to mean, therefore, ONE NOT SEEING, but is emphatically declared, in this instance, to be passive. No formal distinction of the passive has yet been noted in Maidu.

[&]quot;oki'tkötsoia had the quality of arriving, it is said (from okit- to arrive, to reach; cf. note 31). The use of the suffix -kö has already been sufficiently explained.

⁴⁷ pui'yanan FROM OUTSIDE; pui'ya means, in general, THE OUTSIDE, WITHOUT THE HOUSE. The suffix -nan is the usual locative, meaning FROM, AWAY FROM.

⁴⁸ okö'köinpintsoia lowered head little by little down toward, it is said. In this instance we have the use of the prefix o- indicating actions done with the head. The verbal stem is -koi-, meaning to LOWER, TO DEFRESS (köitsono- TO SET, as the sun, i. e., to go down over the edge of the world). The reduplication of the stem here indicates that the action took place slowly at intervals. The suffix -pin is directive, meaning TOWARD. The n before the p is probably phonetic.

a'nkanim THEN. This is a connective formed from the stem a- and the suffix -kanim, meaning to FINISH, COMPLETE AN ACTION.

lökö'npinwēbissim 50 lőkő'npinwebissim 50 tsā'nwono 51 t!öihā'dom 52 crawling in kept crawling in kept one side coiling around sāwo'nona 53 opi'tinodom 54 pū'iyam 55 i'nkina 55 opi'tsipdom. 56 Awete'n 57 fire behind filling up filling out. base to towards mavä′ken 48 küle'm 58 i'nkinan ⁵⁸ ono'm 50 sö'ntsedönüdom 60 ît was girl beside, from head projecting tsěko nwebisstsoia.61 Amā'm 43 bü'ssyatan ⁶³ lo'ksiptsoia 43 looking-straight continued. That one staid after crawled out, it it is said. having is said. lö'ksipbo'stsoia. crawled wholly out, Lo'ksipĕbissim 64 tsai'men 44 A'nkanim 49 mö'im 66 Crawling out continued by and by Then he it is said.

into several verbal forms (as hopi't-waitodom filling and bursting; kapi'tdom finching something like a berry and bursting it, and a prefix(?) o- of uncertain meaning, possibly the prefix o- indicating actions done with the head (?). The suffix -ino tollowing is probably -no, the suffix of generalized motion, with a cuphonic i.

 55 pū'iyam inkina to the threshold; pū'iya, meaning really the outside as contrasted with the interior of the house, is often used for the door, that which leads to the outside; -inki means the base, bottom, of a thing; -na is the locative toward.

suffix, -sip, meaning out of, out from. The idea would seem to be that of filling the space so completely as to overflow, as it were.

Mawete'n THEN: cf. note 40.

⁵⁶ küle'm t'nkinan from beside the woman. This should probably be written as two words, although in speech the two nouns are very closely run together. Küle' is the usual term for woman, and -nan the locative meaning from.

ono'm HEAD (the subjective form with the -m).

**sō'ntsedō'nūdom projecting, sticking up. As yet not analyzed satisfactorily. Sō-appears in a number of verbs as a stem whose meaning is doubtful. The n is probably euphonic, while -tse may be the common stem tsē- to sre. The following suffixes appear to be -dōi, meaning upward, and the vague suffix -ni or -nō, usually indicating simple motion (sōwē'doitsoia crawled upward; sōwē'kadoidom standing upright).

"A tackto'nwebiastsoia KEPT LOOKING STEADILY AT, IT IS SAID. The stem here is tac- to see, which, with the suffix -kén (perhaps related to -koi away). has the meaning to look at, to gaze on. The continuative suffix -we'bias gives the idea of steadiness and fixity of gaze.

** bū'ssystan After Having Stayed. The stem būss- has already been referred to. The suffix -yatan is best translated by After Having.

**B'ksiptsoia CRAWLED OUT, IT IS SAID. The stem lök- has already been discussed. The suffix -sip out of has also already been referred to in note 56.

- * lö'ksipebissim KEPT CRAWLING OUT. Here the continuative -webissim is shortened to -ebissim.
- **Bi/ksipbo'stsoia CRAWLED WHOLLY OUT, IT IS SAID. The suffix -bos gives the idea always of thoroughness, completion (see § 20, no. 39).
 - " mō'im HE (in the subjective form).

⁵⁰ lökö'npinwēbissim kept crawling into, toward. The main stem here is lök-to crawl on hands and knees, or on belly (lö'kādi-toia crawled up). This stem is here apparently combined with öno to go, travel (from ō, the simple verb of movement) to form a compound verb, to go crawling. The suffix -pin is the regular directive meaning toward, into (into the house, toward the girl), whereas the -wēbissim is the continuative already explained; cf. note 24.

^{**} isa'nwono ON ONE SIDE OF THE HOUSE; isan- is a stem referring to the side of anything, as isa'na (isan'na) SIDEWAYS. The suffix -wono is somewhat puzzling. There is a verbal suffix apparently identical, indicating the past participle. Here, and again a few words farther on, it occurs in terms indicating the parts of the floor of the house.

²⁴l/5ihā'dom colling around. The verbal stem is here ttöt- meaning to coll, to twist, to turn, as in o'nōiōitōitōm one who is curly-headed (o'nō head). The force of -ha is not known. The final suffix is the present participle -dom.

²³ sawo'nona TOWARD THE PLACE OPPOSITE THE DOOR; sd is the term for FIRE; the area back of the fire, i. e., the other side of the fire from the door, is called sawo'no, and is the place of honor. The final suffix -na is the locative, meaning TO, TOWARD.

[BTLL. 40

mo'mna ⁶⁷ water to	ö'tnotsoia. 68 went into, it is said.		owē'bissim n into continued		
küle'm ¹⁵	bü'sstsoia ³ stayed, it is said	ūnī'di ⁷² this-in	höbâ'di. ⁷ bark-hut-in	Tsai'men 44 By and by	wē'yetsoia. ⁷³ spoke, it is said.
"Čkoi'taj "Let us go	oö ⁷⁴ ākā'na iway said (b			e, it Then	i ⁷⁸ "Hō" ⁷⁹ "All right,"
ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said (the father), it is said.	"That one	be'něk ^{ss} to-morrow	önö'mäka go-shall-l		
ākā'nas ⁷⁵ said (he)	nik" atso me-to," said sl is sa	ne, it Ther		ne'nommai'd	üm² "Hē'ū ⁸⁴ "Yes,
önö'beně ⁸	5 S&ā''' 86 ?''	ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said (he), it is said.	Amō'ni ⁷⁸ Then	tsai'men 44 by and by	bü'ssyatan er stayed after having

⁵⁷ mo'mna to the water; mo'mi is water. The terminal euphonic i is dropped always before locative suffixes such as this: -na toward.

^{*&#}x27;ötnotsoia WENT INTO, IT IS SAID. The stem here, öt-, is apparently a derived stem from the common ö- to go, (May not this be a contraction from ömit- to go down into?) The addition of the suffix -se of generalized motion does not seem to add strength.

^{**}Bö'kmitnowé'bissim KEPT CRAWLING DOWN INTO. We have here the suffix -mit, meaning INTO, DOWN INTO A HOLE, CAVITY, ETC., which, it was suggested, may appear in contracted form in the preceding verb. Again, the addition of the suffix -no seems to add little, although here perhaps emphasizing the continuity of the motion. In -wēbissim we have, of course, the usual continuative.

¹⁰ lö'kmitsoia CRAWLED DOWN INTO, IT IS SAID. Here -mit-tsoia coalesces to -mitsoia.

[&]quot; atse't MEANWHILE. A connective formed from the auxiliary verb a- to be by the temporal suffix -tset, meaning while, at the time when.

 $^{^{12}\}bar{u}n\bar{i}'di$ in this; $un\bar{i}'$ is the demonstrative indicating objects near the speaker; -di is the locative suffix meaning at, in, on.

 $^{^{13}}$ $w\bar{e}'yetsoia$ SPOKE. Of the many verbs of speaking or saying, $w\bar{e}'yen$ is one of the most commonly used. The stem is in reality $w\bar{e}$ -, often reduplicated as $w\bar{e}'w\bar{e}$ -. The suffix -ye is one of those verbal suffixes of so general a meaning that no definite translation can be given for them.

[&]quot;ökoi'tapö let us go away. Here ö- to go is the stem, to which is added the directive suffix -koi away from; a further suffix, -ta, which generally seems to indicate motion upward or along the surface of something; and finally the exhortative suffix -po.

[&]quot;ākā'nas said. The stem a- to say is probably related to the stem ma- of similar meaning. The suffix-kan is the ending of the third person of a verbal form (see § 19, no. 30). The terminal -as is the indication of the perfect tense, here suffixed directly to the verbal form, and not standing independent (see § 19, no. 32).

^{**} niki' (TO) ME. Instead of the more usual form of the objective of the first personal pronoun, nik, what is apparently an emphatic form is here used, distinguished from the possessive ni'ki by a different accent and long terminal i.

[&]quot;ālsoi'a SAID, IT IS SAID. The stem \bar{a} -TO SAY here takes the regular quotative past-tense suffix. Instead of the usual ending of the third person, -a, as here, the form $\bar{a}tsoi'kan$ is sometimes used. As compared with $\bar{a}k\bar{a}'nas$ above, the position of the tense and pronominal suffixes is reversed.

^{**}mamö'ni THEN. Another connective formed from the auxiliary with the suffix -moni, apparently best translated by WHEN; hence WHEN IT WAS SO.

⁷⁹ hō WELL! ALL RIGHT! YES!

^{**} önö'mākasi I shall go. Here, from the stem ö-, the general verb to go, to travel, önö- is formed of which the form given is the first person singular of the future, the -mā being the suffix of the future tense, the -ka a suffix still somewhat obscure (see § 19, no. 30), and the -s(i) the suffix of the first person singular.

⁸¹ önö'tapö LET US GO (a form parallel to ökoi'tapö [see note 74], but formed from önö'-).

⁸² nik (TO) ME. Here the usual form of the objective of the first personal pronoun is used, instead of the emphatic niki' (see note 76).

 $^{^{88}}$ $m\ddot{o}m$ He (THE). The subjective form of the third personal pronoun singular, used here as a demonstrative.

⁸⁴ hē'ū YES!

so öno'bene ought to go. The suffix -ben or -bene conveys the idea of must, ought.

[&]amp; saā' (?) I am unable to explain this.

tū'itsois.87 Amā'm 42 bē'nekto 33 momī' 88 hěnō'tsoia.89 Amā'm 42 slept, it is said. That one morning in water went to get, it is said. That one mö'i 66 mökī'90 ye'pi 91 tsětsoi'a. 92 Amö'ni 78 makō'34 pī'luti93 mē'tsoia.94 saw, it is said. husband Then fish him her many-very gave, it is said. momī' 88 Amo'ni 78 tsā'nan % hĕdoi'wet 96 tsā'nan 95 makō' 34 sō'doion one side carried up Then water on other fish carried having side tsoia.97 momī'88 sō'kitsoia.99 makō′ ³⁴ Oki'tweten 98 A'nkanim 49 up in arms, it is said. Arrived after water set down, it is Then fish having mid ha'psitotsoia.100 Amö'ni 78 mē'datotsoia. 101 Amā'm 43 bē'někto 33 passed across Then took, it is said. That one morning in (through), it is said. tsedā'bosim 102 kani'm 108 Atse't 71 bü'sstsoia. ³ lökö'npintsoia. 104 break fasted remained, it is Meanwhile crawled in toward, it completely said. is said. A'nkanim 49 möka'ndi 105 t!öi'kitsoia.108 Sāwo'nonaki 107 opi'tinodom 54 Then same place at coiled up, it is Farther side's filling up said.

" tā'itsoia SLEPT (from the stem tā'i- to SLEEP). This presumably refers to the girl only, although of course it might mean all the persons in the hut.

- * momi' WATER. The objective retains the euphonic i (see note 67).
- ** hēnô'tsoia WENT TO GET. As it stands, this is obscure. It seems possible, however, that it was misheard for hanô'tsoia, especially in view of the occurrence of the form hēdoi't two lines beyond, which has the same meaning as the more usual hadoi't. It is also possible that hē-is really correct, and is the equivalent of ha-, in accordance with the system of vowel-shifts in prefix-stems. In either event, the analysis is not easy, as ha-seems to mean ACTIONS PERFORMED WITH THE BACK OR SHOULDER. With -no, the suffix of motion, it seems to be specialized to mean GOING FOR THE PURPOSE OF CARRYING (ON THE SHOULDER?). The more general use of hē-as a prefix-stem is to indicate actions that occur spontaneously.
- m möki' HER. This is the regular possessive form of the third personal pronoun in the singular, with the suffix -ki (cf. note 66).
 - 91 y&'pi HUSBAND (objective).
 - 2 tsětsoi'a SAW, IT IS SAID. The stem here is tsě-, the usual form for to SEE.
- ** pi'luti very many; pi alone means many, much; -luti is an intensive suffix equivalent to the English very
- " mē'tsoia gave. To give, to hand to, to take, is expressed by the stem mē-.
- ** isd'nan on one side (literally, from one side isdn-nan), on the other side. Tsd'nan . . . isd'nan on this side . . . on that side.
- *hèdoi'wel HAVING CARRIED UP (from water). The more usual form is hadoi'- TO CARRY UP, generally on shoulder (see note 89). The suffix -wet here apparently gives the idea of sequence, in that, after having taken up in one hand or on one side the water, she then took up the load of fish in the other.
- ** sō'doisoia Carried up in arms. The prefix-stem sō- generally indicates that the action is done with the arms; as sō'doidom Carrying wood up; sōhā'nōyewē'oissim kept lifting him about. The -doi shows that the motion was up from the water toward the house.
 - moki'tweten after having arrived (at the house). See notes 31, 35.
- ** so'kitsoia set down, it is said. Here again the prefix-stem so-appears, this time with the suffix -kit, meaning downward, i.e., action with arms downward, laying down whatever is being carried.
- 100 har psitotsoia passed across, it is said. The stem here is hap-, meaning to seize, to grip, to hold pirmly; with the suffix -sito across, through, it comes to mean to hand over to some one, across or through an opening, fire, etc.
- 181 më'datotsoia took, it is said. The stem here is mē-, apparently meaning both to give and to take(?). The use of -da here is not clear entirely. It often means motion downward, and may here mean he took down, as the girl passed the fish to him through the smoke hole or doorway. The suffix -to is probably here indicative of a plural object; namely, the many fish (see § 21, no. 45).

100 tedd bosim wholly breakfasted; tsedd is to breakfast. The suffix bos has already been alluded to as meaning wholly, completely. In the present instance an adjectival form seems to have been made. It is subjective as referring to they.

108 kani'm ALL (subjective).

M lökö'npintsoia CRAWLED IN TOWARD (he) (see note 50).

möka'ndi at the same spot; möka'ni is always given the meaning of the same.

*** !!öi*kitsoia COILED UP ON GROUND, IT IS SAID. The stem !!öi- meaning to COIL, to TWIST, has already been discussed (see note 52); here, with the suffix -kit down, on the ground, it is clearer than before with -ka.

"sdwo'nonaki FARTHER SIDE'S. As explained before (note 53), sdwo'no is the term applied to the portion of the house opposite the door. With this we have here the locative suffix -na, meaning TOWARD, and the possessive suffix -ki. This use of the possessive is curious, and it would seem that some word like SFACE, AREA, ought to be understood.

pū'iyanaki doorward	opi'tsipts filled comple it is said.	etely,	wete'nkan 40 Then and	bē'iböm ¹	mo'iñ 111 she (the)
külē'm 15	i'nkinan 112 beside-from	tsĕkō'ı	nwēbisstsoia raight continually it is said.		wete'nkan 40 Then and
ti'ktena bi	i'ssdom ¹¹³ bü's staying stay	sweten 114 ving after	lö'ksiptsoi crawled out, it said.		sipěbissim ⁸⁴ ng out kept on
lö'ksipbo's crawled whol it is said	ly out,		anim ⁴⁹ nen		Ō'nutsoia. ¹¹⁵ ed up, it is said.
	anteñkâ'doidi 1		a'nantena ¹¹⁷ It from toward		o'doitsoia. ¹¹⁸ off up, it is said.
Amö'nikar Then and		külĕ'm ¹⁵	wē'yetsoia spoke, it is said	. ⁷³ "Sū ¹²⁰ l. "Well!	öno'si" 121 going-I"
ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said (she), it is said.	Amō'nikan 119 Then and	mö'im ⁶⁶ he (the)		"Hē'ū" ⁸⁴ "Yes"	ātsoi'a. 77 said (he), it is said.
"Stop!			nake-I''	itsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said (he), it is said.	A'nkanim 49 then
basā'kö 125 staff	yā'titsoia. made, it is said.		kaniñkan ¹²⁷ Then and	pīwī' 12 roots (magic)	8 kan 129 and

¹⁰⁸ pū'iyanaki DOORWARD. A similar construction to that in note 107. For pū'iya, see note 55.

In ama naniena that place from toward; ama the demonstrative that, with the locative -nan from, meaning this side of that place, i. e., between there and here; the same suffix -ic, as in the preceding word; and finally the locative (exactly the reverse of -nan) -na toward, i. e., the snake crawled off toward some spot between here and Honey lake.

118 öno'doitsoia WENT OFF UP, IT IS SAID; öno- to travel, to Go; doi the directive UPWARD (north is apparently always UP to these Maidu).

¹⁰⁹ opi'tsiptsoia filled up completely, it is said (see note 54).

¹¹⁰ bč'ibom again (from the stem bč'i- meaning again, another, and the suffix -bo of unknown meaning).

¹¹¹ $m\ddot{o}'$ $i\ddot{n}$ SHE (THAT ONE). Subjective of the third personal pronoun singular, here used as demonstrative. Phonetic change of -m to $-\ddot{n}$ before k.

¹¹² i'nkinan FROM BESIDE; inki, meaning BASE, with the locative suffix -nan, meaning FROM.

¹²² ti'ktena bü'ssdom STAYING A LITTLE WHILE; tiktë alone has the meaning of SLIGHTLY, SOMEWHAT, A LITTLE; ti'ktëna has a temporal meaning, A LITTLE WHILE (is this -na the locative?); the verbal stem is büss- to STAY, to REMAIN, and has here the present-participle suffix.

¹¹⁶ bü'ssweten after staying (from the same stem büss-, with the common suffix -weten, meaning after, after having).

¹¹⁵ lö'kdö'nutsoia CRAWLED UP, IT IS SAID. The directive suffix -dōn here also has the general suffix of motion -no (-nū).

¹¹⁶ Hanö'leknanteñko'doidi in the Honey lake region. It is not clear yet whether Hanō'lek is merely the Indian pronunciation of the English name, or a real Indian name itself, of which the English name is a corruption. The suffix -nan is the usual locative from, apparently meaning files side from, i. e., between here and Honey lake. The -te is a suffix of uncertain meaning, apparently nominalizing the locative form preceding it. The -na is from -na before k, and is the connective. Kd'do, kodo, is the usual term for place, Country, world, and frequently takes a euphonic t before the locative -di at, in.

¹¹⁹ amδ'nikan AND THEN.

¹³⁰ sū WELL! (an exclamation).

¹²¹ ōnō'si I AM GOING (from the stem ōno- to GO, to travel). Here the suffix of the first person singular is suffixed directly to verbal stem, without the -ka which is generally used (see § 19, no. 30).

¹²² neno'm OLD MAN. Here apparently refers to one or other of the parents; from context later, this seems to be father. See note 2.

¹²² eltü' stop a moment! Wait!

¹³⁴ min for you. The objective form of the independent second personal pronoun.

¹² basa'kö a cane, staff. This appears to be from a stem bas-, which seems to mean WIDE SPREADING, SPREADING APART, from which, with the suffix -kö, we have that which has the quality of Possessing WIDE SPREAD, i. e., a staff, with which one spreads out one's support. Here objective.

¹²⁸ yd'tisi I am making. The stem yd- means to create, to make (Ko'doydpem the Earth-Maker, Creator), and, with the causative-ti, seems to mean about the same, to prepare, to make. Here, again, we have the suffix of the first personal pronoun singular, without the usual suffix preceding, he.

¹² a'nkaninkan AND THEN.

¹² piwi' ROOTS (objective).

¹²⁰ kan AND.

basā'kömostsū'i staff (cane) end-o		widā'tpaitsoia. 131 tied-to, it is said.	"This	ödi'knodom 183 arriving
	5'sdadom ¹³ tanding up	tsěhē'hētsono looking-over (int having		wödö'minodom 137 throwing-into
wödö'mkitmaā'ı throw-down-you-s		sāmō'estodi" 139 fireplace-centre- into"	ātsoi'a. 77 said (he), it is said.	'Sikā'latset 140 'Bother-while (if)
min 124 ö'höni 1 you something mysterious with	you	opo'ktibös" 148 headache cause I may.		i'lamen' 143 ama' 42 her not' that
āā'nkano" 144 say-you"	ātsoia 77 said (he), it is said.	Amö'nikan ¹¹ Then and	9 ''Hē'i "Yes"	
Awete'nkan 40 Then and	öno'doitse went off up, i said.			

¹²⁰ basā'kōmostsū'mdi on the end of the staff. Basā'kō staff; -m the connective; ostsū'mi the end, point. The locative -di has the force of at, on.

¹²¹ wida'tpailsoia TIED TO, IT IS SAID. The prefix-stem wi-, indicating actions done by force, generally by pulling, is here combined with the stem -dat-, which, in its more common form, -dot-, is of frequent occurrence. It has a meaning alone of TO KNOCK, apparently, but with wi- has the meaning TO TIE. The suffix -pai means AGAINST, UPON, i. e., to tie or affix to, on.

¹³² ūnī' THIS (objective), the demonstrative pronoun.

¹²³ ödi'knodom arriving, when you arrive (from ö- to go, and dikno against, up against; hence to reach, to arrive); present participle suffix -dom.

¹²⁴ o'lolokdi AT THE SMOKE HOLE. From o'loloko is the smoke hole of the earth-covered lodge. The terminal euphonic vowel (here o instead of the more usual i, probably depending on vowel-harmony) is dropped before the locative -di.

¹²⁵ to stand meaning up (present participle). From tos- a stem meaning to stand; the suffix -da indicates motion upward or position aloft; hence standing up by the smoke hole.

¹²⁶ tsèhè'hètsonòweten after having looked over into. From tsè-, the stem of the verb to see, here with a suffix, -hèhè, which is obscure. The suffix -tsono, however, is a common one, meaning over edge of, off over down; hence to look over the edge of the smoke hole into the house. The -weten is the common suffix indicating after having.

us wödö'minodom throwing down into. The prefix-stem wö- here refers to the staff, as a long thing; wödö'm meaning to throw or drop a long thing. The stem döm- is obscure. The directive suffix -mi, meaning down into a hole, hollow, etc., follows, with the -no of general motion, and the participial (present) suffix -dom.

¹²⁸ wödö'mkitmaa'nkano you shall throw down. The same stem as above; wödöm here takes the suffix -kit, meaning downward, to the ground. The future suffix -ma follows, with the regular ending of the second person coming last (see § 28).

¹³⁹ sāmō'cstodi in the center of the fireplace; sā is the term for fire; sāmō' the fireplace, apparently sā-m-ō fire-stone; -csto, often used independently, means the center or middle of anything, here with the locative -di.

¹⁰ sikā'latset while, at the time when he bothers; sikā'la- has the meaning of to bother, to trouble, to hurt, its analysis is not yet clear; si- is a prefix of uncertain meaning (si'kes- to cook, siket- to seize, etc.). The stem -kal- is also troublesome. The temporal suffix -tset here really gives the idea of whenever, if.

^{10 5&#}x27;Aōni with something mysterious, bad (magically); 5'Aō is anything which is evil in its effects, or by magical means works harm to a person. The instrumental suffix -ni requires no explanation.

¹⁴² opo'ktibōs 1 MIGHT MAKE HEADACHE; opo'k is A HEADACHE (probably from o-, the prefix referring to the head; and -pok-, meaning to strike); opo'kti- to cause a Headache. The suffix -bō corresponds to our English MIGHT, the -s being the suffix of the first person, without, in this case again, the -ka. This -ka is, however, never used, I believe, after -bō.

¹² sikd'lamen DON'T BOTHER, HURT (sikd'l-, cf. note 140). The negative -men is often used thus to indicate negative imperative.

¹⁴⁴ aa'nkano you say (from a- to say, with the regular ending of the second person).

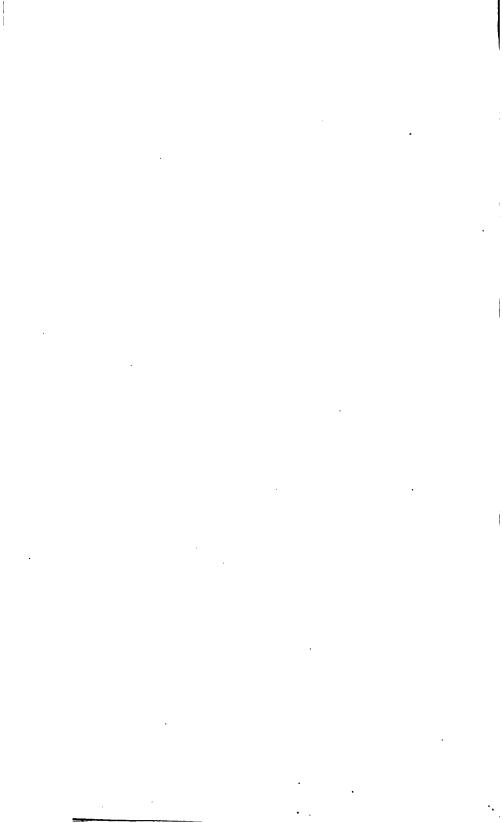
[Translation]

There was an old couple. They lived just this side of Big Springs, and, having no earth-lodge, lived in a bark hut. These old people had one daughter, who lived with them. Every evening, just at dusk, she always went bathing, and never missed a single night. night she slept and dreamed of something; dreamed the same thing every night. Then one night she went bathing, but did not return. In the morning she came back, however, coming out of the water toward the house, carrying fish. She handed the fish to her father and then sat down. By and by a great snake came up unseen, lowered his head through the smoke hole, and crawled in. crawling in and coiling around, till he filled all the space between the area back of the fire and the door on one side of the house; then, sticking his head up beside the girl, he looked steadily at her. After a while he began to crawl out, and, crawling entirely out, went down into the water and disappeared. Meanwhile the girl stayed in the house still. After a while she spoke, saying, "That person said to me, 'Let us go away.'" Then her father said, "All right."—"He said, 'I shall go to-morrow, let us go away to-morrow,'" said the girl. Then the old man replied, "Yes; you ought to go." Then they slept. In the morning the girl went to get water. She saw her husband the snake. He gave her a great quantity of fish. Then, carrying fish on one side and the water on the other, she came back to the house. When she arrived, she set the water down and passed the fish through the smoke hole to her father, who took them. That morning, after they had finished breakfast, the snake came again and coiled up in the same place as before. He looked straight at the girl, and then crawled out and went off toward the country between here and Honey lake. Then the girl spoke and said, "Well, I am going now." Then the old man said, "Yes." Then he added, "Stop a moment! I will make a cane for you." Then he made the cane and fastened magical roots to the end of it. "When you arrive at the snake's house, stand by the smoke hole and look over into the house and throw this staff into the center of the fire," he said. "'If you trouble me, I might make your head ache with something mysterious. Don't trouble me.' That is what you must say," he said. Then the girl answered, "All right." Then she went off up north, after the snake,

ALGONQUIAN (FOX)

ВY

WILLIAM JONES (REVISED BY TRUMAN MICHELSON)



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ALGONQUIAN

(FOX)

By WILLIAM JONES

(Revised by Truman Michelson)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The following sketch of the grammar of the Fox was written by Dr. William Jones in 1904. Shortly after the completion of the manuscript Doctor Jones was appointed by the Carnegie Institution of Washington to conduct investigations among the Ojibwa of Canada and the United States, and it was his intention to revise the Fox grammar on the basis of the knowledge of the Ojibwa dialect which he had acquired.

Unfortunately Doctor Jones's investigations among the Ojibwa were discontinued before he was able to complete the scientific results of his field-studies, and he accepted an appointment to visit the Philippine Islands for the Field Museum of Natural History, of Chicago. The duties which he had taken over made it impossible for him to continue at the time his studies on the Algonquian dialects, and finally he fell a victim to his devotion to his work.

Thus it happened that the sketch of the Fox grammar was not worked out in such detail as Doctor Jones expected. Meanwhile Doctor Jones's collection of Fox texts were published by the American Ethnological Society, and Doctor Truman Michelson undertook the task of revising the essential features of the grammar by a comparison of Doctor Jones's statements with the material contained in the volume of texts.

On the whole, it has seemed best to retain the general arrangement of the material given by Doctor Jones, and Doctor Michelson has confined himself to adding notes and discussions of doubtful points wherever it seemed necessary. All the references to the printed series of texts, the detailed analyses of examples, and the analysis of the text printed at the end of the sketch, have been added by Doctor Michelson. Longer insertions appear signed with his initials.

FRANZ BOAS.

§ 1. THE DIALECT OF THE FOX

The Fox speak a dialect of the central group of Algonquian Indians. By "central group" is meant the Algonquian tribes that live or have lived about the Great Lakes, particularly in the adjoining regions west and south, and now embraced by the territory of the states of Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. The group contains many dialects, some of which are the Ojibwa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Menominee, Kickapoo, Sauk and Fox.

The dialects present great similarity in the absolute forms of many words; but marked differences are noticed in the spoken language. Some of the differences are so wide as to make many of the dialects mutually unintelligible. This lack of mutual comprehension is due in some measure to variations of intonation and idiom, and in a certain degree to slight differences of phonetics and grammatical forms.

The extent of diversity among the dialects varies; for instance, Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi are so closely related that a member of any one of the three experiences only slight difficulty in acquiring a fluent use of the other's dialect. The transition from Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi to Menominee is wider, and it is further still to Kickapoo and to Sauk and Fox.

Some of the dialects, like the Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi, are disintegrating. The breaking-up is not uniform throughout a dialect: it is faster in the regions where civilized influences predominate or play a controlling force; while the purer forms are maintained in the places where ideas of the old-time life and associations have a chance to live and survive. The dialect of the Mexican band of Kickapoo is holding its own with great vigor; but not quite the same can be said for Menominee or Sauk. Sauk and Fox are the same speech with feeble differences of intonation and idiom. Kickapoo is closely akin to both, but is a little way removed from them by slight differences of vocabulary, intonation, and idiom. The dialect taken up here is the Fox, which is spoken with as much purity as Kickapoo.

The number of the Foxes is nearly four hundred, and they live on Iowa River at a place in Tama county, Iowa. They call themselves $Meskwa''k\bar{\imath}'\lambda'g'$ Red-Earth People, and are known to the Ojibwa and others of the north as $UtAg\bar{a}m\bar{\imath}'g$ People of the Other Shore. Among their totems is an influential one called the Fox. It is told in tradition that members of this totem were the first in the tribe to meet the French; that the strangers asked who they were, and the reply was, $W\bar{a}'g\bar{o}'\lambda'g'$ People of the Fox Clan: so thereafter the French knew the whole tribe as Les Renards, and later the English called them Foxes, a name which has clung to them ever since.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-12)

§ 2. General Characteristics

There is a preponderance of forward sounds, and a lack of sharp distinction between k, t, p, and their parallels g, d, b. The first set leave no doubt as to their being unvoiced sounds: their acoustic effect is a direct result of their organic formation. The same is not true with the second set. They form for voiced articulation, but their acoustic effect is plainly that of surds: when the sonant effect is caught by the ear, it is of the feeblest sort. Sometimes l is substituted for n in careless speech. Vowels are not always distinct, especially when final. There is weak distinction between w and y, both as vowel and as consonant.

Externally the language gives an impression of indolence. The lips are listless and passive. The widening, protrusion, and rounding of lips are excessively weak. In speech the expiration of breath is uncertain; for instance, words often begin with some show of effort, then decrease in force, and finally die away in a lifeless breath. Such is one of the tendencies that helps to make all final vowels inaudible: consequently modulation of the voice is not always clear and sharp.

The same indistinctness and lack of clearness is carried out in continued discourse, in fact it is even increased. Enunciation is blurred, and sounds are elusive, yet it is possible to indicate something of the nature of length, force, and pitch of sounds.

§ 3. Sounds

Consonants

The system of consonants is represented by the following table:1

							Stop	Spirant and affricative	Nasal	Lateral
Glottal					•		8	•	_	-
Post-palat	al						k, g	_	· –	_
Palatal							'k	_	_	-
Alveolar							_	c, s	_	l
Dental							t, 't, d	ts, tc	\boldsymbol{n}	_
Labial.							p, p, b	_	m	_
	h, 'hw, y									

- a soft glottal stop resembling a feeble whispered cough. It occurs before initial vowels: "a'tcī' lacrosse stick."
- ['intervocalic is presumably a spirant with glottal stricture.—T. M.] denotes a whispered continuant before the articulation of k, t, and p.
- 'denotes a whispered continuant before the articulation of k, t, and p. [The closure is so gradual that the corresponding spirant is heard faintly before the stop, so that the combination is the reverse of the fricative. Thus $\ddot{a}'py\bar{a}tc^i$ when he came is to be pronounced nearly as $\ddot{a}fpy\bar{a}tc^i$ with bilabial f.—T. M.] It occurs also before h.
- h an aspirate sound almost like h in hall, hail, hull. It is soft breath with feeble friction passing the vocal chords, and continuing on through the narrowed glottis: nahi' hey! listen!
- 'h an aspirate of the same origin as h, but without an inner arrest.

 The tongue is drawn back and raised high, making the airpassage narrow; it has a sudden release at the moment almost of seeming closure: ma'hwä'wa wolf.
- hw a bilabial, aspirate glide, starting at first like h, and ending with the air-passage wider and the ridge of the tongue slightly lowered: $pa'n_{A}hw\ddot{a}'w^{a}$ he missed hitting him.
- k like the k-sound in caw, crawl. The stoppage makes and bursts without delay on the forward part of the soft palate: kaho' hist!

It should be pointed out that in the Fox Texts d and t, g and k, b and p, often interchange. This is due to the peculiar nature of b, d, g. Dr. Jones has simply tried to record the sounds as he heard them when taking down the stories. Wherever such fluctuation occurs, the actual sound pronounced was undoubtedly b, d, g. As an example we may give wdpA wdbA to Look At.—T. M.

- ' g a k-sound articulated in the same position as k. But the closure is dull and sustained, with a pause between the stop and break, leaving an acoustic effect of almost a medial sonant: $\bar{a}'gw^i$ no.
 - 'k an outer k-sound like the one in keen, keep, key. The articulation is farther front than for k or g. The spiritus asper is for a hiss of breath that escapes before complete closure: i'kwä'wa woman.
- c like the voiceless sh in she, shame, mash. The sibilant is made with friction between the tongue and upper alveolar. The opening is narrow, and the tip of the tongue is near the lower teeth: cäski only.
 - s a hissing surd articulated with the tip of the tongue against the lower teeth. The air-passage is narrow and without stop: wâ'sesī'a bull-head.
 - tc like ch in chill, cheap, church. The articulation is with the ridge of the tongue behind the upper alveolar, while the blade is near the lower alveolar: tcī'stcā'e or tcistcā'e heavens and earth!
 - t a pure dental surd articulated with the point of the tongue against the upper teeth and with sudden stress: tete'pisä'wa he whirls round.
 - d a dental articulated in the same place as t, but delayed and with less stress. It leaves the impression of almost a voiced stop: $me'd\bar{a}sw^{i} \text{ ten.}$
 - 't a dental surd differing from t only in the fact that an audible hiss is expelled just previous to a full stop: $me''t\ddot{a}^i$ bow.
 - l a lateral liquid sometimes heard in careless speech. It often replaces the nasal n after u, a, and the dull a. The point of the tongue articulates softly with the upper alveolar, the friction being so slight that the sound has much the nature of a vowel. It is like l in warble: $w\hat{a}'bigul\bar{u}^{a}$ for $w\hat{a}bigun\bar{u}^{a}$ mouse.
 - n not quite like the n in English, the articulation being with the point of the tongue at the base of the upper teeth: $n\bar{\imath}'n^a$ I.
 - , m a bilabial nasal consonant like m in English: $m_A'n^a$ this.
 - p a surd like the sharp tenuis p in English; it is made with complete closure, and the stop usually breaks with a slight puff of breath: $pyd'w^a$ he comes.

- b a bilabial stop with almost the value of a sonant; it differs from p in being dull and having less stress. The lips close and are momentarily sustained, as if for a sonant, but break the stop with a breath: wâ'ban' morning light.
- 'p like p, but with the difference of having first to expel a puff of breath before coming to complete closure: ä' 'pyātc' when he came.
- y like the voiced spirant y in you, yes. It is uttered without stress: $w\ddot{a}'tc\bar{\imath}y\ddot{a}'ni$ whence I came.
- w bilabial liquid like the English w in war, water: $w\bar{a}w\bar{a}'gew\bar{a}'g^i$ at their dwelling-place.

Vowel8

- \bar{u} like the vowel-sound in words like loon, yule, you, and clue. It is long and slightly rounded; the ridge of the tongue is high and back, and the lips and teeth have a thin opening: $\bar{u}'wiy\ddot{a}'^a$ somebody.
- u like the u-sound in full and book. The vowel is short, open, and faintly rounded. It is the short of \bar{u} : $py\ddot{u}'tus\ddot{u}'w^a$ he comes walking.
- \bar{o} like o in words like no, slope, rose. The vowel is long and slightly less rounded than \bar{u} ; the ridge of the tongue is not so high and not so far back as for \bar{u} : $\bar{a}'m\bar{o}w'$ honey.
- (o like o in fellow and hotel. It is the short sound of ō: nōtā'gosi'wa he is heard.
 - a like the short vowel-sound in words like not, plot, what. The vowel suffers further shortening in final syllables; it is uttered with the ridge of the tongue drawn back; the lips are passive: na'husä'wa he can walk.
 - A like the vowel-sound in sun, hut; it is short, dull, unrounded, and made with the ridge of the tongue slightly lifted along the front and back: mA'n' this.
 - as in the broad vowel-sound of words like all, wall, law, awe. The ridge of the tongue is low, and pulled back almost to the uvula; the lips make a faint attempt to round: wâ'bamōn' mirror.
 - ā like a in father, alms. The tongue lies low, back, and passive; the lips open listlessly and only slightly apart: māhan' these.

 $\hat{\cdot}$

- ä longer than the a in sham, alley. The ä in German Bär is probably more nearly akin. It is broad, and made with the tongue well forward; the opening of the lips is slightly wider than for ā; the quantity is in fact so long as to be diphthongal. The first part of the sound is sustained with prolonged emphasis, while the second is blurred and falling. The character of this second sound depends upon the next mould of the voice-passage: mā'näwa there is much of it.
- ē like the a-sound in tale, ale, late. It is made with the ridge of the tongue near the forward part of the palate; the lips open out enough to separate at the corners, but the rift there is not clear and sharp: nahē's hark!
- e like the vowel-sound in men, led, let. It is a shorter sound of \tilde{e} : $pe'm^i$ oil, grease.
- $\bar{\imath}$ with much the character of the diphthong in words like see, sea, tea, key. It is the most forward of all the vowels; the opening of the lips is lifeless: $n\bar{\imath}'n^a$ I.
- i like the i in sit, miss, fit. It is the short of ī; it is even shorter as a final vowel: äi'cimi'tc' just as he told me.

§ 4. Sound-Clusters

Consonantic Clusters

The language is not fond of consonant-clusters. In the list that follows are shown about all of the various combinations. Most of them are with w and y, and so are not types of pure clusters of consonants:

Consonant Combinations

kw kwi'yena' exactly

gw ā'gw' no

*kw i'*kw*äw^a* woman

hw keci''kahw \ddot{a} ' w^a he stabs him

'hw ma''hwäwa wolf

sw me'dāswi ten

cw me'cwäa rabbit

tw a'twi' ouch

mw a'mwäwa he eats him

nw nō'tenw' wind

 $pw \quad pw\bar{a}'w^i \text{ not}$

'pw u''pwāga'n' pipe

bw a'bwātciga'n' roasting-spit

ky kekyä'nena'mwa he holds it

 $gy \quad u'gy\ddot{a}n^i$ his mother

'*ky a'* 'ky*än'* lands

cy me''tegumicyä'n' oaks

 $my \quad my\ddot{a}'w^i \text{ road}$

ny nyä'wi four

py py $\ddot{a}'w^a$ he comes

' $py = \ddot{a}'$ ' $py\bar{a}tc'$ when he comes

The following true consonantic clusters occur:

sk cä'sk' only

ck ma'cicki'w' grass

stc tcistcä'e my stars!

Diphthongs

Not more than two vowels combine to form a diphthong. Stress is stronger on the leading member, and movement of the voice is downward from the first to the second vowel.

ai like the diphthong in my, I; aiyänī'a opossum

Ai like the diphthong in turn with the r slurred; a's Ai skin

ēi like the diphthong in day, play; nahēi' now then!

âi' like the diphthong in soil, boy; mâ'inähwa'w'a he went at him

au like the diphthong in shout, bout; hau halloo!

 $\bar{o}u$ like the diphthong in foe, toe; $py\bar{a}n\bar{o}'u$ come here!

§ 5. Quantity

Vowels vary in length, and in the analysis of sounds they have their phonetic symbols indicating quantity. A vowel with the macron (-) over it is long, as \bar{o} , \bar{u} , \bar{a} , and $\bar{\imath}$, and a vowel without the sign is short. Some vowels are so short that they indicate nothing more than a faint puff of breath. The short, weak quantity is the normal quantity of the final vowel, and for that reason is in superior letter, as a , i . Rhetorical emphasis can render almost any vowel long—so long that the vowel-sound usually develops into a diphthong, as $\bar{a}gw\bar{e}'i$ why, no, of course! (from $\bar{a}'gw^i$ no).

Change of quantity is often due to position. Long vowels are likely to suffer loss of quantity at the beginning of long combinations: $n\bar{a}''k^a$ AGAIN becomes na'ka in the phrase $na'katc\bar{a}megut\bar{a}t_A'gi$ AGAIN

IT CERTAINLY SEEMED AS IF. Long vowels also shorten when placed before a stressed syllable: a''kig' on the ground becomes $a'kig\ddot{a}'hi$ - $n\bar{a}bi'tc'$ when he looked down at the ground.

Diphthongs undergo change of quantity. The accent of a diphthong slides downward from the first vowel, and the loss when it comes is in the breaking-off of the second member: $a'sa^i$ buckskin, $ne'tas\bar{a}'m^i$ my buckskin.

Consonants show evidence of quantity also. In general, the quantity is short; but the length of time between the stop and break in g, d, and b, is noticeable, so much so that the effect of a double sound is felt. As a matter of fact, g stands for a double sound. The first part is an articulation for an inner k, and in gliding forward comes to the place for g where the stoppage breaks. Assimilation tends to reduce the double to a single sound. Nasal sonant m and n sound double before accented $\bar{\imath}$: $m\bar{\imath}'m\bar{\imath}w^a$ pigeon, $n\bar{\imath}'na$ i.

A syllable consists (1) of a single vowel-sound, \ddot{a} ; (2) of two or more vowels joined together into a diphthong, 'wai' what?; and (3) of a vowel-sound in combination with a single consonant or a cluster of consonants, the vocalic sound always following the consonant: $n\ddot{\imath}'tci$ MY KIND. Two or more vowels coming together, no two of which are in union as a diphthong, are broken by an interval between: $\ddot{a}hi'ova\dot{a}'tci$ so they said.

§ 6. Stress

Force is but another name for stress, and indicates energy. It is not possible to lay down definite rules for the determination of stress in every instance, and it is not always clear why some syllables are emphasized at the expense of others. Generally, in words of two syllables, stress-accent falls on the first, $k\bar{\imath}'n^a$ thou; for words of three syllables, stress falls on the antepenult, $kw\bar{\imath}'yen^a$ sufficiently. Beyond words of three syllables, only the semblance of a rule can be suggested. The chief stress comes on the first or second of the initial syllables, and the secondary stress on the penult; the syllables between follow either an even level, or more often a perceptible rise and fall alternating feebly up to the penult. In accordance with its rising nature the principal stress can be considered as acute ('), and in the same manner the fall of the secondary stress can be termed as grave ('). The sonorous tone of the voice on the penult is marked,

due perhaps to the extreme brevity of the final, inarticulate vowel. The feature of the sonorous penult is apparent in extended combinations like phrases and sentences, especially when movement is swift at the start, and, gradually slowing up on the way, brings up at the sylhable next to the last with a sustained respite which ends with a sudden break into the final vowel. The arrival on the penult creates one or two effects according as the syllable is long or short. If the quantity is long, the vowel is sung with falling voice; if short, the vowel is brought out with almost the emphasis of a primary stress-accent.

This makes a fairly normal order for stress in a single group standing alone; but it suffers interference in the spoken language where the measure of a syllable for special stress often becomes purely relative. The stress on one syllable brings out a certain particular meaning, and on another gains an effect of a different sort. Stressing the stem of wâ'baminu look at me exaggerates the idea of look; stressing the penult -mi'-, the syllable of the object pronoun, centers the attention on that person; and stressing the final member -nu' thou makes the second personal subject pronoun the object of chief concern.

Special stress often splits a vocalic sound into two vowels of the same or a different kind. This is common in the case of pronouns, in words of introductive import, in vocatives of spirited address, and in cries calling at a distance: i'īn' for ī'n' that; nahēi' for nahi' hark; nenīwetigē'i for ne'nīweti'g' oh, ye men! pyāgō'u for pyā'g' come ye.

§ 7. Pitch

This Algonquian dialect does not fall wholly in the category of a stressed language. Pitch is ever present in a level, rising, or falling tone. The effect of pitch is strong in the long vowels of the penult. Temperament and emotion bring out its psychological feature. For instance, pride creates a rising tone, and a feeling of remorse lets it fall. In the sober moments of a sacred story the flow of words glides along in a musical tone; the intonation at times is so level as to become a tiresome monotone; again it is a succession of rises and falls, now ascending, now descending, and with almost the effect of song. In general, the intonation of ordinary speech is on a middle scale. The tone of men is lower than that of women and children.

Sound-Changes (§§ 8-12)

§ 8. Accretion

In the course of word-formation, phonetic elements are taken on that have the impress of mere accretions. The additions are the result of various causes: some are due to reduplication; some to accent; and others act as glides between vowels, and as connectives between unrelated portions of a word-group. Instances of the accretion of some of these phonetic elements are next to be shown.

Syllabic Accretion

A syllable, usually in the initial position, is sometimes repeated by another which precedes and maintains the same vowel-sound. The repetition is in fact a reduplication:

ī'ni wäyätu'geme'g" and so in truth it may have been, for *ī'ni* yätu'geme'g"

It is not always clear whether some accretions are but glides passing from one sound to another, or only additions to aid in maintaining stress-accent on a particular syllable. The syllable hu is a frequent accretion in dependent words, and occurs immediately after the temporal article \ddot{a} :

ähugu'`kahigäwā`tc¹ when they made a bridge is the conjunctive for ku'`kahigäwa`g¹ they made a bridge

ähuke'piskwātawähōniwe'tc' which they used as a flap over the entry-way [cf. 354.22] is a subordinate form of ke'piskwātawä'hōnamō'g' they used it for a flap over the entrance

[I am convinced that hu is not a glide nor an addition to maintain the stress-accent on a particular syllable, but is to be divided into h-u, in which h is a glide, but u a morphological element. In proof of this I submit the following: There is an initial stem $w\bar{\imath}gi$ to dwell ($w\bar{\imath}ge$ also; cf. $k\bar{\imath}we$ beside $k\bar{\imath}wi$ [§16]). Thus $w\bar{\imath}giw^a$ he dwells $220.22(-w^a$ §28). Observe that we have $w\bar{\imath}huw\bar{\imath}gew\bar{\imath}tc^i$ where they were to live 56.5 (future conjunctive, §29) beside $\ddot{a}huw\bar{\imath}gew\bar{\imath}tc$ where they lived 56.23 (for $-w\bar{\imath}tc^i$; a orist conjunctive, §29); $\ddot{a}huw\bar{\imath}giw\bar{\imath}tc^i$ where they lived 94.21; $\ddot{a}huw\bar{\imath}giv\bar{\jmath}tgiw$ where we (excl.) were living 216.1 (aor. conj. §29); $\ddot{a}huw\bar{\imath}gitc$ where helived 42.20 (§29); $\ddot{a}huw\bar{\imath}ginitc^i$ where he was staying 182.8 (§34). That is to say, hu is

found after $w\bar{\imath}$ - as well as \ddot{a} -. Now, it should be observed that we have hu after \ddot{a} - in some stems regularly; in others it never occurs. As k is unquestionably used as a glide, we are at once tempted to regard the u as a morphological element. But a direct proof is $w\bar{a}w\bar{u}ginitcin^i$ HE who dwelled there 80.9, 12, 20; 82.10, 22; 84.10, 21; 86.2, 20. This form is a participial (§ 33), showing the characteristic change of u to $w\ddot{a}$ (§ 11). Hence the $w\ddot{a}$ points to an initial u, which can not be a glide, as nothing precedes; and h is absent. Now, this u is found in $\ddot{a}'k\bar{\imath}wi^{i}w\bar{\imath}gew\bar{\imath}tc^i$ when they went to live somewhere 66.15 (\ddot{a} — $w\bar{\imath}tc^i$, § 29; $k\bar{\imath}wi$ is an extended form of $k\bar{\imath}$, an initial stem denoting indefinite motion, § 16; 'k for k regularly after \ddot{a}).—T. M.]

Other additions, like h, w, y, are clearly glides:

ä'hutcī'tc' whence he came, the independent form of which is u'tcīwa he came from some place ä'hunāpāmi'tc' when she took a husband, a temporal form for unā'pāmi'wa she took a husband o'wīwa'n' his wife (from owī-ani) owī''tāwa'n' his brother-in-law (from owi''tā-ani) ketāsi'yūtā'wa he crawls up hill (from ketāsi-ūtāwa) kī'yāwā'wa he is jealous (from kī-āwāwa)

Consonantic Accretion

A frequent type of accretion is w or y with k, forming a cluster:

tca''kwiwinä'wa he is short-horned (from tcagi-winäwa)
tca''kwāpyä'wi it is short (from tcagi-āpyäwi)
sāsī'gā'kyä'wa he scattered it (this is just the same in meaning
as sāsīgā'käwa)

Intervocalic Consonants

The most common accretion is t.¹ It falls in between two vowels, each of which is part of a different member in a word-group.

Examples:

Between i and e: $a''kwitepy\ddot{a}'g'$ top of the water Between e and a: $netA'^ap_An\ddot{a}'n'$ I laugh Between a and \bar{o} : $\bar{a}'wAt\bar{o}'w^a$ he carries it away Between \bar{a} and u: $py\ddot{a}'tus\ddot{a}'w^a$ he came walking Between \bar{o} and \bar{a} : $p\bar{i}'t\bar{o}t\ddot{a}'w^a$ he crawls in

¹ t serves as a connective in an inanimate relation, and will be mentioned again.

[In so far as -ōtä- is a secondary stem of the second order (§ 19), the -t- can not be an intervocalic inserted phonetically. The same applies to the s in -isä- cited below.—T. M.]

When the vowel of the second member is i, then t usually becomes tc:

Between $\bar{\imath}$ and i: $p\bar{\imath}'tcis\ddot{a}'w^a$ it (bird) flew in

Between \ddot{a} and \dot{i} : $kep \Delta' t cig \Delta' n^i$ cork, stopper Between \ddot{a} and \dot{i} : $kug w \ddot{a}' t cis \ddot{a}' w^a$ it (bird) tries to fly

Between \bar{a} and i: $kiw\bar{a}'tcit\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}'w^a$ he is lonely

Sometimes n has the value of an intervocalic consonant. It often occurs immediately after the temporal particle \ddot{a} :

tcāgānā'towātci'g' PEOPLE OF ALL LANGUAGES, a participial with the elements of $tc\bar{a}'g'$ ALL, \ddot{a} having the force of the relative pronoun who, and $\ddot{a}'tow\ddot{a}w_{A}'g'$ THEY SPEAK A LANGUAGE.

 $\ddot{a}n\bar{a}p_{ALA}g^{i}$ when he saw them 206.18 as contrasted with $\ddot{a}t\ddot{a}p\bar{a}-p_{ALA}g$ he had a feeble view of it in the distance 206.16

[Is $\bar{a}p_{A}$ - to see related with $w\hat{a}p_{A}$ - to see, to look at ?—T. M.]

änā pawātc HE DREAMED 206 TITLE; 210.17 (ä— tc [§ 29]) contrasted with īnä ā pawātc THEN HE HAD A DREAM 212.3; ä ā 'pawātc she had a dream 216.1

Sometimes n occurs between vowels much after the fashion of t:

Between \bar{a} and e: $my\bar{a}'$ ne $g\ddot{a}'w^a$ he dances poorly

Between ä and e: upyä'nesiwa he is slow

Between \bar{a} and \bar{a} : $my\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ ' $paw\bar{a}t^a$ he that dreamed an ill omen TITLE 210; 212, 17, 20; 214.1, 10 ($my\bar{a}+\bar{a}$ ' $paw\bar{a}$ - TO DREAM; participial [§ 33])

See, also, 212.4, 5, 7, 9, 10; 214.20

Between i and a: \ddot{a} peminawatenagⁱ then he went carrying it in his hand 194.12 (\ddot{a} — ag^i [§ 29]; pemi-awa- ($\bar{a}wa$) [§ 16]; -t-[§ 21]; -e-[§ 8]; -n-[§ 21])

Between *i* and *ä*: *ke'tcinäpyäyāwātc* when they drew nigh 152.2 (*ke'tci*- intensity; *pyä*- motion hither; *yā*- to go; *ä*—*wātc'* [§ 29]; -' lost by contraction [§ 10])

Between i and \bar{a} : \ddot{a} : $icin\bar{a}$ pamegutc as he was thus seen 76.6 (-tc for -tcⁱ [§ 10]; \ddot{a} —tcⁱ [§ 29]; ici- Thus; \bar{a} pa- same as \bar{a} pa TO SEE; -m-[§ 21]; -e-[§ 8]); petegin \bar{a} pi'kanⁱ thou shalt (not) look behind at me 382.9 (petegi BEHIND; -i'kanⁱ [§ 30])

[Is \ddot{a} 'panā $pam\bar{a}w\bar{a}tc$ they lost sight of him 180.19 for \ddot{a} 'pananā $pam\bar{a}w\bar{a}tc^i$ (§ 12)? The analysis would be $\ddot{a}-\bar{a}w\bar{a}tc^i$ (§ 29); pana- (§ 16) to miss, to fail to; $\bar{a}pa$ - to see; -m- (§ 29). Similarly

d'panāpatāmātisuyan' you have been deprived of the sight of your bodily self 382.7 (ä—yan' [§ 29]; -tisu- [§39]).—T. M.]

While these consonants seem to be inserted for purely phonetic reasons, others, that appear in similar positions, seem to have a definite meaning, at least in some cases.

[Though I also think that in a few cases intervocalic consonants are inserted for purely phonetic reasons, yet I am convinced that in bulk we have to deal with a morphological element. Take, for example, $py\ddot{a}tcis\ddot{a}w^a$ HE CAME IN FLIGHT. Here -tc- and -s- are regarded as intervocalics. Such is not the case. It stands for $py\ddot{a}tci+-is\ddot{a}-+w^a$, as is shown by $py\ddot{a}tcine'kaw\ddot{a}w^a$ HE COMES DRIVING THEM HOME (§ 16). The secondary stem -ne'ka- follows (§ 19) $py\ddot{a}tci$ -. A vowel is elided before another (§ 10); hence the final -i of $py\ddot{a}tci$ - is lost before $-is\ddot{a}$ - (§ 19). Similarly -te- seems to be added to $py\ddot{a}$ -. Note, too, \ddot{a} ' $p\bar{t}tig\ddot{a}tc'$ when he entered the LODGE, compared with $p\bar{t}tcis\ddot{a}wag^i$ they came running in ($p\bar{t}t$ -: $p\bar{t}tc$ -: $p\bar{t}t$ - $py\ddot{a}t$ -: $py\ddot{a}t$ -. In short, $p\bar{t}tc$ - stands for $p\bar{t}tci$ -). I can not go into this further at present.—T. M.]

It looks as if s plays the same rôle as t, tc, and n, but on a smaller scale. Instances of its use are:

Between e and i: $As\bar{a}'wesi'w^a$ he is yellow

Between i and ä: pyä'tcisä wa he came in flight (isä [§ 19])

Between a and ō: ne'masō'wa he is standing up

Between u and ä: pyä'tusä'wa he came walking (usä [§ 19])

In these examples s has an intimate relation with the notion of animate being. It will be referred to later.

The consonant m is sometimes an intervocalic element:

 $n_A n\bar{a}hi'ci$ mä' w^a he carefully lays him away $p_A'ne$ m' Amw^a he dropped it

Other functions of m will be mentioned farther on.

[It would seem that me is substituted for m when a consonant-cluster would otherwise be formed that is foreign to the language. (For such clusters as are found, see § 4.) Contrast kewûpame'ne I LOOK AT THEE, with newû'pamāwa I LOOK AT HIM; äwûpamāte HE THEN LOOKED AT HER 298.20; note also newûpamegwa HE LOOKED AT ME 368.19; contrast wûpame'ku LOOK YE AT HIM 242.19 with wûpaminu LOOK THOU AT ME 322.3. Other examples for me are kepyätciwûpamene I HAVE COME TO VISIT YOU 242.11; äwāpawāpamegutci was she watched all the while 174.17; pūnime'ku cease disturbing him (literally, cease talking with him [see § 21]) 370.18.

There is some evidence to show that a similar device was used in conjunction with t and n, but at present I have not sufficient examples to show this conclusively.

On further investigation it appears that the device of inserting a vowel to prevent consonant-clusters foreign to the Fox runs throughout the language. The vowel is usually e, but always a before h and hw. There is an initial stem nes to kill; compare änesātc! then HE KILLED HIM (ä—ātci § 29). Contrast this with änesegutci then he WAS SLAIN (-gu- sign of the passive [§ 41]); nesegwā 190.3 HE HAS BEEN SLAIN (independent mode, aorist, passive [§ 28]; -wā lengthened for -wa); näseguta HE WHO HAD BEEN SLAIN 190.8 (passive participial; -gu- as above; $-t^a$ [§ 33]; change of stem-vowel of nes [§§ 11, 33]). Other illustrations are kusegwa HE WAS FEARED 56.14 (-8- [§ 21]), contrasted with kusäwa HE FEARED HIM (-äwa [§ 28]), ku'tamwa HE FEARS IT ('t [§ 21]; - amw^a [§28]); \ddot{a} to kenātc then he wakened her 104.18 (for -tcⁱ; -n- [§ 21]; per contra ä'tō'kītcⁱ then he woke up 168.11); ä'tāgenātc he touched him 158.5; mī'kemegutcin' he by WHOM SHE WAS WOOED 142.6 (passive participial; mī'k- [§ 16]; -m-[§ 21]; -gu- [§ 41]; -tcini [§ 33]); mī'kemäwa HE WOOES HER (-äwa [§ 28]); \(\alpha m\bar{i}' kem\bar{a}tc^i\) WHEN HE WOOED HER 148.6 (\(\alpha - \bar{a}tc^i\) [§29]); $k\bar{o}gen\ddot{a}w^a$ HE WASHES HIM ($k\bar{o}g$ - [§ 16]; $-\ddot{a}w^a$ [§ 28]; contrast $k\bar{o}g\bar{v}w^a$ HE MIRES). For a as the inserted vowel observe pītahwäwa HE BURIES HIM $(p\bar{u}t-[\S16]; -hw[\S21]; -\ddot{a}w^a [\S28]); k_{A}skah_{A}mw^a$ HE ACCOMPLISHES AN ACT $(k_{A}sk-[\S16]; -h-[\S21]; -a_{A}mw^a [\S28]); \ddot{a}'p\bar{u}tahw\bar{u}w\bar{u}tc$ THEN THEY BURIED HIM 160.2 $(\ddot{a}-\bar{a}w\bar{a}tc^i [\S29]; -i$ elided).—T. M.]

§ 9. Variation of Consonants

Some consonants interchange one with another. The process is marked among those with forward articulation. s and c interchange in:

 $me'se'kw\ddot{a}'w^a$ she has long hair $me'c\bar{a}w^i$ it is large $M\ddot{a}se's\bar{b}\bar{o}'w^i$ large river (name for the Mississippi) $me'c\bar{c}m\dot{i}'n^a$ large fruit (word for apple)

't and c interchange:

me'tahwä'wa he shot and hit him me'cwäwa he shot and hit him

't and s interchange:

ne''tamawä'wa he killed him for another ne'säwa he killed him

[For the interchange of sonant and surd stops see § 3.—T. M.]

§ 10. Contraction and Assimilation

Contraction is a frequent factor in sound-change. Instances will first be shown in the case of compounds where the process works between independent words. The final vowel of a word coalesces with the initial vowel of the next, with results like the following:

- $a + \bar{a}$ becomes \bar{a} : $n\bar{i}'n\bar{a}c\bar{i}'it^a$ I in turn (for $n\bar{i}'n^a$ $\bar{a}'cit^a$)
- $a + \ddot{a}$ becomes \ddot{a} : $n\ddot{a}''k\ddot{a}'py\ddot{a}'tc'$ again he came (for $n\ddot{a}''k^a\ddot{a}''py\bar{a}tc'$)
- '+a becomes a: pyä'wagayō'' they came to this place (for pyä'-wagi ayō''); nä'gawa'kī'w it is a sandy place (for nä'gaw a''kīw')
- i+ä becomes ä: ite'pähā'tci he goes there (for i'tepi ä'hātci); nepā'-nāte'qi they go to fetch water (for ne'pi ä'nāte'qi)
- i+i becomes $i: k_A'ciw^a$? what does he say? (for $k_A'c^i$ i' w^a ?); $i'nipiy\bar{o}$ ' w^e so it was told of yore (for $i'n^i$ i p^i i' $y\bar{o}w^e$)
- i+A becomes A: nā'wasku'te in the center of the fire (for nā'w' a'skut'); āgwa'mātci'ni he did not eat it (for āgw' amwātci'ni)
- i+ā becomes ā: äē'gāpe'e and often (for äē'gi ā'pe'e); wätcā'gwi nenā'n the reason why I did not tell thee (for wä'tci āgwi'nenā'n)
- i+u becomes u: negutu'`kāte`gi on one of his feet (for ne'gut' u'`kāte`gi); tcī'gepyägu`tci away from the edge of the water (for tcī'gepyä`gl u'tci)

The two vowels in contact may assimilate into a diphthong:

a + a becomes ai: ne'ci'kaiyo''i alone here (for $ne'ci'k^a$ $a'y\bar{o}'i$)

The result of the assimilation of two vowels may produce a sound different from either:

- e+a becomes ä: pyä'nutawitä'y" if he should come to me here
 (for pyä'nutawi'te a'yō'i)
- i+a becomes ä: ma'taci'kitcä'y" he might overtake me here (for ma'taci'ki'tc' a'yō'i)

Contraction between contiguous words is usually in the nature of the first sound suffering loss either by absorption or substitution. In much the same way does contraction act between members that make up a word-group. But in an attempt to illustrate the process there is an element of uncertainty, which lies in the difficulty of accounting for the absolute form of each component; for many members of a composition seldom have an independent use outside of the group. They occur in composition only, and in such way as to adjust themselves for easy euphony, and in doing so often conceal

either an initial or a final part. Nevertheless, hypothetical equivalents are offered as attempts at showing what the pure original forms probably were. Hyphens between the parts mark the places where probable changes take their rise:

- i+e becomes e: $pe'meg\ddot{a}'w^a$ he dances past (from $pemi-eg\ddot{a}w^a$)
- i+ä becomes ä: ma'netōwäge'ni sacred garment (from manetōwiägeni); cō'skwäge'ni smooth cloth (from cōskwi-ägeni)
- i + a becomes a: $pema'hog\bar{o}'w^a$ he swims past (from $pemi-ahog\bar{o}w^a$); $t_A'qwah\bar{o}t\bar{o}'w^a$ he is trapping (from $taqwi-ah\bar{o}t\bar{o}w^a$)
- i+â becomes â: maci'skiwâ pō'w' tea, i. e., herb fluid (from ma'ci-skiwi-âpōw'); wīcku' pâpō'w' wine, i. e., sweet fluid (from wīcku-pi-âpōw')
- i+ā becomes ā: '\(a'nem\bar{a}sk\bar{a}'w^i\) it fell the other way (from \(anemi-\bar{a}sk\bar{a}w^i\))
- $i + \bar{o}$ becomes \bar{o} : $pe'm\bar{o}t_A mw^a$ she passes by with a burden on her back (from $pemi-\bar{o}t_A mw^a$)
- i+u becomes u: $pe'mus\ddot{a}'w^a$ he walks past (from $pemi-us\ddot{a}w^a$)
- $i + \bar{u}$ becomes \bar{u} : $pe'm\bar{u}t\ddot{a}'w^a$ he crawls past (from $pemi-\bar{u}t\ddot{a}w^a$)

[On the other hand, we find $pemipah\bar{o}w^a$ he passes by on the run (from $pemi-pah\bar{o}w^a$).—T. M.]

Assimilation occurs between sounds not contiguous:

 $k\bar{\imath}$ cwi $n\bar{\imath}$ 'cwi $h\ddot{a}$ ' w^a after he had two (for $k\bar{\imath}$ ci $n\bar{\imath}$ 'cwi $h\ddot{a}$ ' w^a)

§ 11. Dissimilation

Vowels often undergo dissimilation. A very common change is o or u to $w\ddot{a}$. The process takes place in the formation of participles from words having o or u as initial vowels:

u'tcīwa he came thence; wä'tcīta he who came thence u'tō'ki'mi his land; wä'tō'kimī'ta he who owns land u'gwisa'ni his or her son; wä'gwisi'ta one who has a son u''kātci his foot; wä''kātcī'a one that has feet (name for a bake oven)

u'wīwī'ni his horn; wä'wīwīnä'i one with small horn

The vowel u becomes $w\ddot{a}$ when preceded by a consonant:

ku'sigā'w^a she plays at dice; kwä'sigā't^a she who plays at dice nu'wīw^a he goes outside; nwä'wīwāpe'c he always goes outside

The vowel u can also become $w\bar{a}$:

u $w\bar{\imath}'gew\bar{a}'w^i$ their dwelling-place; w $\bar{\imath}w\bar{\imath}'gew\bar{a}'g^i$ at their dwelling-place

[It should be observed that \ddot{a} appears as \bar{a} under certain conditions. I can not determine at present whether this is a phonetic process or whether there is a morphological significance. As an example I give $py\ddot{a}w^a$ HE comes; compare with this $\ddot{a}'py\ddot{a}tc^i$ when HE came; $\ddot{a}'py\ddot{a}w\dot{a}tc^i$ when they came; $py\ddot{a}nu'$ come thou! $py\ddot{a}g\ddot{o}'^a$ come ye!—T. M.]

§ 12. Elision

Elision plays an important part in sound-change. It occurs at final and initial places and at points inside a word-group. The places where the process happens, and the influences bringing it about, are shown in the examples to follow.

In some cases a vowel drops out and a vocalic consonant as a glide takes its place, the change giving rise to a cluster made up of a consonant and a semi-vowel:

i drops out: ä'wäpwägesi'tci then she began to wail (from äwäpi-wägesitci); ä''kyāwä'tci and he grew jealous (from ä'kī-yāwätci)

o drops out: \(\alpha\varphi\) \(\dispression^{\alpha}\varphi\) \(\din^{\alpha}\varphi\) \(\dispression^{\alpha}\varphi\) \(\dispres

Words sometimes suffer loss of initial vowel:

skotä'g' in the fire (for a'skotä'g')
tōcko'tämwā'g' at their fire (for utōcko'tämwā'g')
kwi'gägō'' nothing (for ā'gwigägō'')
nā'gwātc' then he started away (for ä'nāgwā'tc')

The loss often includes both initial consonant and vowel:

cwā'īiga eight (for ne'cwāci'ga) a'ka'nigīce'gwi all day long (for ne'kanigīce'gwi)

The second member of a consonant-cluster frequently drops out:

ä'pā'winäwā'tc' when he did not see him (for ä'pwā'winäwā'tc')
pe'muta'mwa he shot at it (for pe'mwuta'mwa)

The elision of n takes place before some formative elements:

ä'pa'gici'gi when it (a bird) alighted (a subordinate form of pa'gici'nwa it [a bird] alighted)

nanā'hicimā'wa he laid him away carefully; nanā'hici'nwa he fixed a place to lie down

To slur over a syllable frequently brings about the loss of the syllable. In the instance below, the stressed, preserved syllable moves into the place made vacant, and becomes like the vowel that dropped out:

 $A'c^i$ take her along (for $a'wAc^i$)

ä'wäpata'hogu'tc' then he started off carrying her on his back (for ä'wäpawata'hogu'tc')

The second part of a stem often suffers loss from the effect of having been slurred over:

kīwai'yatcī'tc' after he had gone (for kīciwa'iyatcī'tc')

 $k\bar{\imath}'ke'k\ddot{a}'nem\bar{a}'tc'$ after he had learned who he was (for $k\bar{\imath}'cike'k\ddot{a}'-nem\bar{a}'tc'$)

ä'pwā'näwā'te' when he did not see him (for ä'pwā'winäwā'te')

ä'pwā'camā'tc' when he did not feed him (for ä'pwā'wicamā'tc')

To slur over part of a pronominal ending causes loss of sound there:

uwī-'nemō''i his sisters-in-law (for uwīne'mōha''i)

Removal of the grave accent one place forward causes elision of final vowel:

ne'ka'nitepe''k' all night long (for ne'ka'nite'pe'kī'w')

Suffixes help to bring about other changes in the pronominal endings. A frequent suffix causing change is -gi: in some instances it denotes location, in others it is the sign for the animate plural. The suffix conveys other notions, and wherever it occurs some change usually happens to the terminal pronoun. One is the complete loss of the possessive ending ni before the suffix with the force of a locative. At the same time the vowel immediately in front of the suffix becomes modified:

 $\bar{o}'sAn^i$ his father; $\bar{o}'seg^i$ at his father's (lodge) $u''k\bar{a}tA'n^i$ his foot; $u''k\bar{a}te'g^i$ at or on his foot

Another change before -gi is that of a pronoun into an o or u with the quantity sometimes short, but more often long. The change is usual if the pronoun follows a sibilant or k-sound:

u'wāna'gw' hole; uwā'nagō'g' at the hole
ma''ka'kw' box; ma''ka'ku'g' at or in the box
me'tegw' tree; me''tegu'g' at the tree
kī'cesw* sun; kī'cesō'g' at the sun, suns
ne'nusw* buffalo; ne'nusō'g' buffaloes

The suffix -gi affects inanimate nouns ending in the diphthong ai. The first vocalic member lengthens into \bar{a} , and the second drops out:

u'piskwai bladder; u'piskwā'gi on or at the bladder uta'wawgai ear; uta'wagā'gi at or in the ear

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The change of the pronominal ending into an o or u occurs in a similar manner before n^i , a suffix sign of the inanimate plural:

u'wāna'gwi hole; uwā'nagō'ni holes ma''ka'kwi box; ma''ka'kō'ni boxes me''tegwi tree; me''tegō'ni trees

A k_7 sound stands before the terminal wa of some animate nouns. To shift an \bar{o} into the place of the w is a device for creating a diminutive:

 $m_A''kw^a$ bear; $m_A''k\bar{o}^a$ cub

A'caskwa muskrat; A'caskō'a a little muskrat

ce'gāgwa skunk; ce'gāgō'a should be the proper diminutive, but it happens to be the word for onion, while kitten skunk is cegā'gōhā'a, a sort of double diminutive.

The substitution of o or u for w occurs with great frequency:

 $p\ddot{a}'gw\bar{a}w^i$ it is shallow; $p\ddot{a}'g\bar{o}ne'g^i$ the place of shallow water (the name for St Louis)

nīcwi''kwäwa'g' two women; nīcō''kwäwä'wa he has two wives me'ckw' blood; me'ckusi'wa he is red

wī'pegwā'w' it is blue; wīpe'gusi'wa he is blue

§ 13. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The principal process used for grammatical purposes is composition of stems. The stems are almost throughout of such character that they require intimate correlation with other stems, which is brought about by a complete coalescence of the group of component elements. These form a firm word-unit. Excepting a number of particles, the word-unit in Algonquian is so clearly defined that there can be no doubt as to the limits of sentence and word. Phonetic influences between the component elements are not marked.

The unit of composition is always the stem, and the word, even in its simplest form, possesses always a number of formative elements which disappear in new compositions. Examples of this process are the following:

 $pe'n\ddot{a}m\bar{u}`w^a$ he imitated the turkey-call (from $pen\ddot{a}wa-m\bar{u}wa$) $ma'`hw\ddot{a}m\bar{u}`w^a$ he imitated the cry of the wolf (from $ma`hw\ddot{a}wa-m\bar{u}wa$)

kīutū'gimā'mipe'na thou wilt be our chief (ugimāwa chief)
natunä'hwätu'go he may have sought for him (independent
mode natu'nähwäwa he seeks for him)

pyā'gwän' he must have come (independent mode pyä'wa he came)

Most of the elements that enter into composition are so nearly of the same order, that we can not properly speak of prefixes or suffixes. Those groups that may be considered in a more specific sense as grammatical formatives, such as pronouns, elements indicating the animate and inanimate groups, are largely suffixed to groups of co-ordinate stems.

Another process extensively used by the Algonquian is reduplication, which is particularly characteristic of the verb. It occurs with a variety of meanings.

Modification of the stem-vowel plays also an important part and occurs in the verbal modes.

§ 14. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The extended use of composition of verbal stems is particularly characteristic of the Algonquian languages. These stems follow one another in definite order. A certain differentiation of the ideas expressed by initial stems and by those following them, which may be designated as secondary stems, may be observed, although it seems difficult to define these groups of ideas with exactness.

It seems that, on the whole, initial stems predominate in the expression of subjective activities, and that they more definitely perform the function of verbs; while, on the other hand, secondary stems are more intimately concerned with the objective relations. It is true that both initial and secondary stems sometimes refer to similar notions, like movement and space; but it is possible to observe a distinction in the nature of the reference. A great many initial stems define movement with reference to a particular direction; as, hither, thither, roundabout. Secondary stems, on the other hand, indicate movement; as, slow, swift, or as changing to rest. Secondary stems denoting space seem to lack extension in the sense they convey; as, top, cavity, line, and terms indicating parts of the body. Initial stems refer to space in a wide general sense; as, distance, dimension, immensity, totality.

Every stem is stamped with the quality of abstract meaning: the notion of some stems is so vague and so volatile, as they stand in detached form, as to seem almost void of tangible sense. Some stems

can be analyzed into elements that have at most the feeblest kind of sense; it is only as they stand in compound form that they take on a special meaning. It is not altogether clear how these stems, so vague and subtle as they stand alone, came to convey the sensuous notions that they do when thrown together into a group; how, for example, an initial stem introduces a general notion, and forms a group complete in statement but incomplete in sense, as when in composition it terminates with only a pronominal ending. Yet such a group can be of sufficiently frequent use as to become an idiom; in that case it takes on an added sense, which is due not so much perhaps to the inherent meaning of the combined stem and pronoun as to an acquired association with a particular activity. The psychological peculiarity of the process is more marked in the wider developments, as when initial and secondary stems combine for the larger groups. components seem to stand toward each other in the position of qualifiers, the sense of one qualifying the sense of another with an effect of directing the meaning toward a particular direction. But, whatever be the influence at work, the result is a specialization of meaning, not only of the single member in the group, but of all the members as they stand together with reference to one another. The stems seem charged with a latent meaning which becomes evident only when they appear in certain relations: out of those relations they stand like empty symbols. It is important to emphasize the fact that the order of stems in a group is psychologically fixed. Some stems precede and others follow, not with a freedom of position and not in a haphazard manner, but with a consecutive sequence that is maintained from beginning to end with firm stability.

The following examples illustrate these principles of composition. A general summary of the process can thus be put in illustration:

 $p\bar{o}ni$ is an initial stem signifying no more, no longer: its original sense comes out best by adding the terminal animate pronoun, and making $p\bar{o}'n\bar{\imath}wa$. The group means that one has previously been engaged in an activity, and has now come into a state of cessation, making altogether a rather vague statement, as it stands unrelated to anything else. But travel has made a figure of speech of it, and so it has come to be the particular idiom for one camps, one goes into camp. So much for the simpler form of a combination.

An initial stem, p_Ag_- , has the general sense of STRIKING AGAINST SOMETHING; $-\bar{a}'kw_-$ is a secondary stem denoting RESISTANCE,

and so $p_A g \bar{a}'' k w$ - is to strike against a resistance. The stem -tun- is a mobile secondary stem denoting the special notion of place about a cavity, and has become a special term indicating the place about the mouth; and so $p_A g \bar{a}'' k w i t u' n \bar{a}$ - is to strike against a resistance at a point on the mouth.

Again, -cin- is a secondary co-ordinative stem, and refers to change from motion to rest, but leaves the character and the duration of the change to be inferred from the implications of the stems that precede; furthermore, it indicates that the performer is animate, and serves as a link between the terminal pronoun and what precedes; and so pagā'kwit-u'ndci'nwa is a definite statement meaning that one strikes against a resistance and is brought for a time at least to a condition of rest. Hebumps himself on the mouth and hebumps his mouth would be two ways of putting the same thing in English.

A rigid classification of the objective world into things animate and things inanimate underlies the whole structure of the language. Thus the terminal -a indicates an object possessing the combined qualities of life and motion, and the terminal -i designates an object without those attributes. Thus:

pyä'wa he comes; pyä'miga'twi it comes

i'neni'wa man, he is a man; i'neni'wi bravery, it has the quality of manhood

△'nemō"a dog; a''ki earth

Every verb and noun must fall in one or the other class. Forms ending in -a are termed animate, and those ending in -i inanimate. The distinction between the two opposing groups is not rigidly maintained, for often an object regularly inanimate is personified as having life, and so takes on an animate form. But permanent forms of lifeless objects having an animate ending can not always be explained by personification. The breaking-down of the contrast is best seen in the names of plants; logically they fall into the inanimate class, but many are used as animate forms, like $a'd\bar{a}mi'n^a \cos n$, $a's\bar{a}m\bar{a}'w^a \cos n$, $a'c\bar{a}mi'n^a apple.$

The idea of plurality is expressed both in the noun and in the verb. Subjective and objective relation of the noun are distinguished by separate endings. A vocative and a locative case are also expressed.

In the pronoun the three persons of speaker, person addressed, and person spoken of, are distinguished, the last of these being divided into an animate and an inanimate form. Exclusive and inclusive plural

are expressed by distinct forms, the second of which is related to the second person. In the third person a variety of forms occur by means of which the introduction of a new subject, and identity of subject and of possessor of object (Latin suus and ejus), are distinguished.

The pronouns, subject and object, as they appear in transitive verbs, are expressed by single forms, which it is difficult to relate to the singular pronominal forms of the intransitive verb.

While tense is very slightly developed, the pronominal forms of different modes seem to be derived from entirely different sources in declarative, subjunctive, and potential forms of sentences. The discussion of these forms presents one of the most striking features of the Algonquian languages.

In the participial forms, the verbal stem is modified by change of its vowel.

Ideas of repetition, duration, distribution, are expressed by means of reduplication.

A number of formative affixes convey certain notions of manner, as—

-tuge in pyä'tuge HE PROBABLY CAME, which conveys the notion of doubt or uncertainty; while -āpe'e in pyä'wāpe'e HE IS IN THE HABIT OF COMING, expresses the frequency or repetition of an act

Formatives are also instrumental, not merely in the formation of nouns, but in giving to the nouns they form the quality of distinctive designation. Thus:

-mina in $A'd\bar{a}$ -mi'na corn denotes fruit, grain, berry; and -gani in $p\bar{a}'skesig_s$ n^i gun (literally, exploder) is expressive of tool, implement, instrument

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 15-54)

Composition (§§ 15-24)

Verbal Composition (§§ 15-21)

§ 15. TYPES OF STEMS

The verbs and nouns of the Fox language are almost throughout composed of a number of stems, the syntactic value of the complex being determined by a number of prefixes and suffixes. Setting aside these, the component parts occur rarely, if at all, independently; and only some of those that appear in initial position in the verb are capable of independent use. In this respect they appear as more independent than the following component elements. On the other hand, the latter are so numerous that it seems rather artificial to designate them as suffixes of elements of the first group. There is so much freedom in the principles of composition; the significance of the component elements is such that they limit one another; and their number is so nearly equal,—that I have preferred to call them co-ordinate stems rather than stems and suffixes.

Accordingly I designate the component parts of words as-

- 1. Initial stems.
- 2. Secondary stems of the first order.
- 3. Secondary stems of the second order.
- 4. Co-ordinative stems.
- 5. Instrumental particles.

§ 16. INITIAL STEMS

Initial stems are capable at times of standing alone, with the office of adverbs. Some instances are—

 $u'tc^i$ whence $i'c^i$ hence t_Agw^i together

Furthermore, an initial stem can enter into composition with only a formative, and express an independent statement, though not always with exact sense:

u'tcīwa one has come from some place

Two or more initial stems follow in a definite order:

wä'pusä'wa he begins to walk (wäpi- to begin[initial stem]; -usäto walk [secondary stem])

wä'pipyä'tusä'wa he begins to approach on the walk (pyä- movement hither [initial stem between wäpi- and -usä-; -t- § 8])

wä'pipyätcitete'pusä'wa he begins to approach walking in a circle (tetep-movement in a circle [new initial stem]); initial stem conveying the notion of movement in a circle

The consecutive order of initial stems with reference to a secondary stem depends much on the sort of notions they convey. An initial stem takes its place next to a secondary stem because the notion it implies is of such a nature as to combine easily with the notion of a secondary stem to form an added sense of something more definite and restricted. It is as if both initial and secondary stems were modifiers of each other. An initial stem coming before another initial stem in combination with a secondary stem stands toward the group in much the same relation as if the group were a simple secondary stem. The place of an initial stem is at the point where the idea it expresses falls in most appropriately with the mental process of restricting and making more definite the sense of the whole group.

[Before proceeding to the examples of initial stems, it seems to me important to point out that a large proportion of them terminate in i. Thus awi- to be; āpi- to untie; agwi- to cover; anemi- yon way; api- to sit; cawi- to do; hanemi- to continue to; kaski- ability; kīci- completion; kīwi- (an extended form of kī) movement in an indefinite direction; mā'kwi- futuere; mātci- to move; māwi- to go to; meci- largeness; nagi- to halt; pemi- movement past; pyätci- (an extended form of pyä) movement hither; etc. It is therefore likely that this i is a morphological element. But it would require a comparison with other Algonquian languages to determine its precise value. It may be added that -ī also occurs with the function of -i, and that the two sometimes interchange. Apparently this -i always drops out before vowels.—T. M.]

Following is a selection of examples of initial stems which are quite numerous and express ideas of great variety:

aski- early, soon, first.

ä a skime pug when it had first snowed 70.10 (ä-temporal augment; me-initial stem common with words for snow, ice, cold; me pu- to snow; -g for -gi suffix with a location sense; -i lost before initial vowel of following word)

ähaskā $nwig^i$ while the snow was first on 70.10 (ä- as above; h glide; -i of aski- lost before vowel; -ānw- secondary stem, denoting STATE, CONDITION; -gi as above)

 $c\bar{a}$ - freedom of movement, passage without friction or impediment.

cā'pawäwa he cries out sending his voice through space cāpu'niga'ni a needle (literally, an instrument for piercing through with ease)

cosk- is used in several ways. In a special sense it denotes horizontality, straightness.

cō'skā'kusä'wa he walks erect [-usä §19]

cōskā'pyäci'nwa he lies at full length (-cin- secondary connective stem [§ 20]; -wa [§ 28]) cō'skāpyä'wi is it straight (-wi § 28)

Another sense, closely related to STRAIGHTNESS, is that of SMOOTHNESS, LACK OF FRICTION, EASE OF MOVEMENT.

cō'skwāw' it is smooth, slippery cō'skwici'nwa he slips and falls cō'skonā'wa he slips hold of him äcōskonātc he slips hold of him 182.11

hanemi to continue to.

ähanemipyänātcⁱ he continued to fetch them home 38.6 (ä- as above; pyä- initial stem meaning movement hither; -n- intervocalic, instrumental [see § 21]; -ā- objective pronominal element; -tcⁱ 3d person singular subject; the form is an aorist transitive conjunctive [see § 29])

ähaneminesātcⁱ he continued to kill 38.5 (ä- as above; -nesinitial stem то кил; -ā- objective pronoun; tcⁱ 3d person singular subject)

wihanemicimesänetamuwātc they will continue to derive benefit from them 376.10 (wi —amuwātc [§ 29])

ähanemūmeguwātci they kept riding 192.7

ähanemāmuwātci they continued to fly for their lives (- \bar{a} - [§ 19]; -m- [§ 21, 37]; -u- [§ 40]; ä— $w\bar{a}tc^i$ [§ 29])

ähanemi'a'gōsīpahōmi'ga'k' he continued to climb up hurriedly 96.19

ähanemitetepetcäsānitcⁱ he continued to whirl over and over 288.14 (tetepe-[for tetepi-] allied with tetep- BELOW; -tc-[§8]; -äsā- from -äsä- [= -isä §19]; -nitcⁱ [§34])

pācähanemine kwä taminite gradually the sound grew faint 348.22 ähanemiwäpusäwäte then they continued to start off on a walk 108.8 (ä- as above; wäpi- initial stem, meaning to begin, loses terminal i before vowel; -usä- secondary stem of second order, meaning locomotion by land with reference to foot and leg [§19]; -wāte 3d person plural animate subject; the form is an aorist intransitive conjunctive [see § 29])

k.ink(i)- implies potency, ability, efficiency, and gets the meaning of success, TRIUMPH, MASTERY.

ka'skīhä'wa he succeeds in buying him (-äwa [§ 28])

ka'skimenō'wa he is able to drink

ka'skinī'mäna'mwa he can lift it (-amwa [§ 28])

ka'skimä'wa he succeeds in persuading him (-m-[§ 21.6]; -äwa transitive independent mode, 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person animate object [see § 28])

ka'skinäwä'w^a he can see him (-näw- to see, cf. änäwātcⁱ then [the man] saw 174.13; ä'pwāwinäwugutcⁱ but he was not seen 158.1; änäwāwātcāpⁱ they would see habitually 182.14)

ä'pwāwikaskimadanetc' on account of not being able to overtake him 168.12

ä' pōnikāske' tawāwātc' they could no longer hear their calls 192.6

 $k\bar{a}s(\bar{\imath})$ - denotes the idea of obliteration, erasure, wiping.

kā'sīha'mwa he erases it (-h- instrumental [§ 21]; -amwa transitive acrist, independent mode, 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person inanimate object [§ 28])

kāsī'qwähōwa he wipes his own face kāsī'qāci'nwa he wipes his own foot

kī- indicates the general notion of indefinite movement round about, here and there.

kīweskäwagāpe'e they are always off on a journey 272.14 (for kīwe- see § 17 end; -wag- for -wag' 3d person plural animate. intransitive aorist, independent mode [§ 28]; -āpe'e frequency of an act [§ 14 end])

kī'wisä'wa it (a bird) flies round about (-isä- [§ 19])

kī'witcimä'wa he swims round about (-tcim- [§ 19])

kī'weskä'wa he goes a-journeying somewhere

kī' $w\bar{a}m\bar{o}$ ' w^a he sought safety here and there (- \bar{a} - [§ 19]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; - \bar{o} - [§40]; - w^a [§ 28])

kīwā'bamā'wa he went about looking at one and then another (wâba same as wâpa in kīmāwiwâpatāpena LET US GO AND LOOK AT IT 284.8 [māwi- below; kī—āpena, § 28]; ä'kīcitcāgiwâpamātc' and after looking for all [his ducks] 286.16 [kīci- p. 766; tcāgi p. 771; ä—ātci § 29; -m- § 21.6])

 $k\bar{\iota}'c(i)$ - expresses the completion, the fulfillment, of an act.

 $k\bar{i}'c\bar{a}w\bar{i}'w^a$ he has finished (a task, an undertaking)

kī'cetā'w' it is done cooking (tā-secondary connective stem, inanimate, signifying HEAT [§ 20]; -w' [§ 28])

 $k\bar{i}'ci't\bar{o}'w^a$ he has finished making it

kī'cipyä'wa he has already arrived (pyä-[§16])

kī'cinepōhi'wa he has since died

kīciketci pe'tawäwātci after they had built a great fire 158.21 (-wātci [§29])

kīcikīgänutc after the feast is done 156.6

kīcitcāgi pyā'nitc after their arrival 90.13 (tcāgi all; pyā- to come; -nitc' [§ 34])

kīcitcāqiketemināgutci after he had been blessed by them 184.4 (-qu- [§ 41])

kīcinyā o gunipwāwīsenitci four days had passed since he had eaten 182.3 (for nyā o cf. nyāwi 4 [§ 50]; pwā for pyāwi not [§12]; -wīseni EAT; -tci [§29])

ä'kīcitāgatamōwātc' after they have touched and tasted it 184.17 (ä—amōwātc' same as ä—amowātci [§29])

kīcipyätōmātc' after she had fetched home her burden 162.16 (pyä- initial stem movement hither; -t-[§ 8]; -m-[§§ 21, 37]; -ō- secondary stem expressing conveyance; -ā- pronominal animate object; -tc' 3d person singular animate [§ 29])

kog- refers to an activity with a fluid, most often with water, in which instance is derived the idea of washing.

kōge'nigä'wa she is at work washing clothes (-gä- [§ 20])

kōgi'netcä'wa he washes his own hands

kōgenä'wa he washes him

kogige'näno'wa he washes his own forehead

 $k\bar{o}'g\bar{\imath}w^a$ he mires (in the mud)

 \ddot{a} 'k \ddot{o} gen \ddot{a} tc when he bathed her 300.15 (-n- instrumental; cf. also § 8; \ddot{a} — \ddot{a} tc^t [§ 29])

 $n\bar{a}^ik\bar{a}k\bar{o}gen_Ag^i$ she also washed it 178.21 (for $n\bar{a}k^a$ $\bar{a}k\bar{o}gen_Ag^i$; $\bar{a}-Ag^i$ [§ 29])

kīwīgātcikōgenāwa you are to clean it (the dog) well with water 178.15 (kī—āwa [§ 28])

māwi- to go to.

kīmāwicīcā'pena let us go and hunt 90.9 (cīcā initial stem to hunt; kī—pena we inclusive, future independent mode, intransitive, used as a mild imperative [see §§ 28, 35.8])

kīmāwinepāpena let us go and spend the night 90.10

ämāwinepāwātci they went to a place where they spent the night 30.5 (ä—wātci [§ 29])

ämāwi'ketahwātc' she went to dig for them 152.19 (-hw-[\S 37]; ä—ātc'[\S 29])

ämāwiga'kenaminitc' they started off to peel bark 150.15 (-nitc' [§ 34])

ämāwiketcītci he went to look over the bank 182.9

ämāwiwâpʌmātc he went to have a look 182.7 (ä- temporal particle; wâpʌ- same as wâbʌ cited under kī-; -m- [§ 21]; -ātc for -ātc¹ transitive aorist conjunctive, 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person animate object [§ 29])

ämāwinanātci he ran to catch him 182.11 (na- presumably the same as nā- [§ 21.8]; -n- [see § 21])

me- snow, ice, cold.

ä a skime pug when it had first snowed 70.10 (explained under aski-)

mi'k- conveys the sense of occupation, employment in the performance of some activity.

mī'ke'tcäwî'wa he works, is busy

mi''keta'mwa he is occupied with a piece of work (-t-[§ 21]; -amwa [§ 28])

mī'keme''kwäwä'wa he goes a-wooing ('kwä [§ 18]; -w- [§ 37]) mī'ke'tcihä'wa he is engaged in an attempt to heal him mī'kwä'nemä'wa she dotes upon it—her child

nAg(i)- denotes the change from an activity to a rest, and is best translated by words like HALT, STOP, PAUSE.

na'gīwa he stops moving

nagici'nwa he halts on the journey (-cin-[§ 20])

na'gipahō'wa he stops running (-pahō- secondary stem meaning вари мотюм [§ 19]; -wa intransitive sorist, independent mode, 3d person animate subject [§ 28])

tcāgänagigāpāwātci they all came to a halt 50.24 (for tcāgi [ALL] ä-; -gāpā- [\$ 19]; ä—wātci [\$ 29])

änagiwātc they stood 50.7 (aorist intransitive conjunctive [§ 29])

 $n\bar{a}gA$ - to follow after.

äpītcināganātci when he went in following after it 70.13 (pīt-initial stem meaning movement into an enclosure; pītci a collateral form [see below]; -n- intervocalic instrumental; -ā-pronominal object; -tci 3d person singular animate subject)

änāgatagi and he followed it (ä- as before; -t- intervocalic element indicating that the object is inanimate, here simply that the verb is transitive; -agi 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person singular inanimate object [§ 29])

pas(i) - implies the notion of swift, lively contact.

pa'sitī'yä'hwä'wa she spanks him

pa'sī'gwä'hwä'wa he slaps him in the face

pa'sigu'mä'hwä'wa he barely grazes his nose (-gum- [§ 17]) pasimyä'sō'wa it (an animate subject) fries (-sū- [§ 20])

pa'setä'w' it is hot (-tä- [§ 20]; -w' [§ 28])

pe'ku'i- density, thickness.

ä'pe'kwisasaka'ki when it was thick with growth 70.12

pem(i)- expresses the notion of movement by, past, alongside.

pe'me'kä'wa he passes by 278.1 (-'kä- [§ 20])

pe'megä'wa he dances by 280.5 (-egä- secondary stem of second order, meaning MOVEMENT OF ONE IN DANCING [§ 19]; -wa 3d person singular animate, independent mode)

pe'mināgä'wa he passes by a-singing

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     pe'mipahō'wa he passes by on the run (-pahō- secondary stem of
       second order, denoting SPEED [§ 19])
     pe'mūtä'wa he crawls past (-ūtä-, -ōtä- to crawl [§ 19])
     ä'pemitepikīckahugunite they went swimming by side by side
        184.3 (-hugu- same as -hogō- [§ 19]; -nitc<sup>i</sup> [§ 34])
     pemisäwa it [the swan] went flying past 80.7 (-isä- secondary stem
       of second order, expressing velocity and associated with
       MOTION THROUGH THE AIR [§ 19])
  It comes to have the force of an inchoative.
     pe'musä'wa he started off on a walk (-usä- secondary stem to
        WALK [§ 19])
     pe'mwägesi'wa she began to wail
     ä'pemiwäpusätci then he started to begin to walk 194.19 (ä- and
       -tc' explained before; -wäp- for -wäpi- inception [§ 16]; -usä-
       secondary stem of second order, TO WALK [§ 19])
pyä- signifies movement hitherward.
     pyä'wa he comes
     pyä'taci'wa he fetches home game
     pyäte''kwäwä'wa he brings home a wife (-'kwä- woman [§ 18];
       -w-[\S 37])
     pyä'tāskä'w' it falls this way
     pyä'tcine''kawä'wa he comes driving them home (for pyätci- cf.
       p\bar{\imath}tci- under p\bar{\imath}t-; -ne'ka- [§ 19]; -\ddot{a}w^a [§ 28])
     pyä'twäwä'miga'twi it comes a-roaring (pyät- collateral with
       py\ddot{a}-; w\ddot{a}w\ddot{a} [§ 20]; \ddot{a}mig_{A}tw^{i} [§ 20]; -w^{i} [§ 28])
     pyänäwa he has brought home 58.5 (-n- intervocalic; -ä- 3d
       person singular animate object; -wa as before)
     \ddot{a}'py\bar{a}tc^i when he had come 68.25 (\ddot{a}—tc^i [§ 29])
     p\bar{i}'t\bar{a}se'nw^i it blows inside (-\bar{a}- [§ 19]; -sen- [§ 20]; -w^i [§ 28])
     pī'tciwenä'wa he leads him within
     p\bar{i}'ta'hw\ddot{a}'w^a he buries him (-hw-[\S 21]; -\ddot{a}w^a [\S 28])
     pī'tiqä'wa he enters
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 $p\bar{\imath}(t)$ - conveys the sense of movement into an enclosure.

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ä'pītci'kawänitc they trailed (a bear into woods) 70.12
ä pitigätc as he entered 326.10 (-gä- [§ 20]; ä—tc [=tc' § 29])
ä pītiganāte then he took her inside 42.20 [-ga- variant of gä;
  -n- instrumental [§ 21]; ä—ātci [§ 29])
pītcisäwaq there came running into 142.10 (-isä- as in pemisäwa;
  -wag for -wag! 3d person plural animate, intransitive inde-
  pendent mode [§ 28])
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pon(t)- also expresses the notion of cessation, but with more of the idea of the negative temporal element no more, no longer.
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pō'negä'wa he is no longer dancing (-egä- as before, p. 768)
pōne'nāgä'wa he has ceased singing
pōne'senyä'wa he has done eating
pō'nepyä'wa he is no longer a drunkard
pō'nimä'wa he has stopped talking to him (-m-[§ 21])
ä'pōninūtawāwātc they stopped hearing the sound 152.1
āgwīpōnī'kāguwātcin' never shall they be left alone 186.2 (āgwī-
n' not [§ 29]; -gu-[§ 41]; -wātci [§ 29])
ä'pōnīwātc' they halted 164.13, 192.9
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- sāg(i)- implies the notion of exposure, manifestation, visibility. sā'gise'nw' it sticks out (-sen-[§ 20]; -w' [§ 28])
 - sā'gitepäci'nwa he lies covered all over except at the head (-cin-[§ 20]; tepä head; -wa [§ 28])
 - sā'giwind'gāpā'wa but for the tips of his horns, he stands shut off from view. [As winä- is a secondary stem of the first order [§ 18] used to designate A HORN, and -gāpā- is a secondary stem of the second order [§ 19] expressing PERPENDICULARITY, the literal translation would seem to be HE STANDS WITH HIS HORNS EXPOSED.—T. M.]
 - sā'gitepä' $hog\bar{o}$ ' w^a he floats with the head only out of the water $(-hog\bar{o}-[\S 19])$
 - sā'gi $kum\ddot{a}$ 'w^a he exposes his nose to view (-kum- same as -gum- [§ 18])
- sAg(i)- has a transitive force with the meaning of SEIZING HOLD.
 - sagecänä'w^a he holds him by the ear (-cä- ear [§ 18]; -n- instrumental [§ 21])
 - sagine''känä'wa he leads him by the hand (-ne'ka- [§ 19]; -n- [§21]).
 - sagi'pwä'wa he bites hold of him (-pw- [§ 21])
 - sagāne''kwänä'wa he grabs hold of him by the hair (-'kwä- head [§ 18])
 - \ddot{a} ' pe'kwisasaka'k' when it was thick with growth 70.12; (\ddot{a} —'k' [§ 29])
 - äsagine'känātc he then held her by the hand 134.13 (-n-[§ 21]; ä—ātc [= -ātc' § 29]; -ne'kä- as in äsāgine'käskātc' 214.10) äsagikānātc' she grabbed hold of one by the leg 292.2
- tä(wi)- has to do with the sensation of physical pain.

tä'wi $te'p\ddot{v}\ddot{c}i'nw^a$ he fell and hurt his head ($tep\ddot{a}$ - head; -cin- [§ 20]; - w^a [§ 28])

tä'wi $t_{A}n_{A}'sit\ddot{a}g\bar{a}p\bar{a}$ ' w^{a} it hurts his feet to stand ($-g\bar{a}p\bar{a}$ - [§ 19]) tä'we' $kw\ddot{a}$ ' w^{a} his head aches (-' $kw\ddot{a}$ - head [§ 18])

tcāgi all, entirely.

tcāgi $keten_Ag^i$ she took off all 224.1 (n- [§ 21]; \ddot{a} -left out [§ 12]; \ddot{a} — $_Ag^i$ [§ 29])

kīcitcāgipyānitc after all had arrived 90.13 (kīci- and pyä- initial stems [§ 16]; -nitc for -nitc' 3d person plural, animate [§34])

īnä'tcāgipyānitc' thus all had arrived 172.20 (īnä- thus)

kīcitcāgiketemināgutci after he had been blessed by all 184.5 (kīci completion; gu [§ 41]; ä-omitted; -tci [§ 29])

ä'tcāgesutci then he was burnt all up 30.3 ($s\bar{u}$ - secondary stem meaning HEAT, animate [§ 20])

ä'tcāgihāwātc' they slew them all 8.16, 10.2 (-h-[\S 21]; ä—āwātc' [\S 29])

tetep- movement in a circle.

ätetepetcäsa'tōtc he started himself a-rolling 288.13

tetepusän^u walk around in a circle 376.12 (see 158.1) (-usä- secondary stem of second order, meaning to walk [§ 19]; -n^u 2d person singular imperative, intransitive [§ 31])

äwäpitetepusätci he began to walk around in a circle 256.9 (wäpisee next stem)

wdp(i) - signifies the idea of commencement, inception, inchaation.

wäpi $na'hus\ddot{a}$ ' w^a he is beginning to know how to walk (nah to know) wäpi $ke'miy\ddot{a}$ ' w^a the rain is beginning to fall

wa'piwi'seni'wa he is starting to eat (compare nīwīseni do let me eat 184.10)

äwäpā'kwamatag' he became sick 156.9

wīwāpimatcaiyāwicimegowātci they shall begin to have to put up with their insolence 184.18 (wī—wātci [§ 29])

äwäpusätci he started off on a walk 126.3, 23; 278.8; 280.2 (-usä- [§ 19]; ä—tci [§ 29])

utci- whence, away from.

wätcikesiyāgīcisäwā whence the cold came, then he speeds to 70.14 (change of vowel u to wä on account of participial form; analyzed in note 21, p. 869).

utciwäpi from this time on 34.14 (literally, beginning whence; wäpi- see preceding stem)

wī- expresses the sense of accompaniment, association, companionship.

wi'dämä'wa he accompanies him (-d- for -t-; see below) wi'tcäwä'wa he goes along, too

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wi'pumä'wa he sleeps with him
wi'pumä'wa he eats with him (pu-[§ 21]; -m-[§§ 21,37]; -äwa [§ 28])
wi'kumä'wa he invites him to the feast
witämātcini him whom he accompanied 70.14 (see text at end)
wi'puminu eat thou with me 266.19 (pu- act done with mouth
[§ 21]; -m- indicates animate object [§§ 21,37]; -inu imperative,
2d person singular subject, 1st person singular object [§ 31])
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pep- winter, snow, cold.

ä'pepōg' in the winter-time 150.5 (ä'pepōg 70.10; 136.3 is the same form with elision of final vowel before initial vowel [see text at end; also §§ 12, 42])

As the small number of initial stems given by Dr. Jones seems to me to be rather out of proportion to their importance, I take the liberty of inserting here a hundred odd new examples taken from his Fox Texts, arranged in the order of the English alphabet. For this purpose $a, \bar{a}, A, \bar{a}, d$, follow each other in this order. I would remind the reader that there is considerable fluctuation in these vowels, especially between a and A; \bar{a} and A. The variation of a and \bar{a} is slight; that of \bar{a} and \bar{a} does not seem to occur. The sound pronounced was undoubtedly the same in any given fluctuation; Dr. Jones simply has recorded the sounds as he heard them at a given time. Examples follow:

a'tetcä- distant.

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ä a te tc ik\bar{\imath}wesk\bar{a}tc he went on a distant journey 74.5 (ä—tc [§ 29]; k\bar{\imath}we- [§ 17], allied to k\bar{\imath}wi- [see under k\bar{\imath}- above]; -sk- [§ 21]; -\bar{a}- [§ 19])
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a'tetcä $h\bar{a}tc^i$ she went far away 38.1 (\ddot{a} - dropped [§ 12]; \ddot{a} — tc^i [§ 29]; $h\bar{a}$ - from $h\ddot{a}$ - an initial stem meaning to 60)

A'te'tcäwīgiwātc' they lived far away 160.14 (ä- dropped [§ 12]; wīgi is an initial stem, TO DWELL)

awi- to be.

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awinitc<sup>i</sup> they were 50.18 (\ddot{a}- lost [§ 12]; -ni- [§ 34]; hence -tc<sup>i</sup> [§ 29] may be used for a plural) äwitcig<sup>i</sup> they who were 358.8 (participial; -tcig<sup>i</sup> [§ 33]) äwiyān<sup>i</sup> where I am 366.2 (for \ddot{a}-\ddot{a}wiyān<sup>i</sup>; \ddot{a}—yān<sup>i</sup> [§ 29])
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āmī- to move.

 $n\bar{a}'k\ddot{a}h\bar{a}m\bar{i}w\bar{a}tc'$ again they moved on 166.12 (for $n\bar{a}k^a\ddot{a}$ - [§ 10]; -h- a glide [§ 8]; \ddot{a} — $w\bar{a}tc'$ [§ 29])

^{&#}x27;From here to p. 793, addition by T. Michelson.

$\bar{\boldsymbol{a}}\boldsymbol{p}\boldsymbol{i}$ to untie.

āpinahamwa she unties it 162.2 (-amwa [§ 28])

āpinahamwāpe'e she always unties it 162.3 (for -amwa \bar{a} - [§ 10]; $-\bar{a}pe'e$ [§ 14])

ähāpihag then he untied it 334.16 (for ä—agi [§ 29]; -i lost before an initial vowel [§ 10]; -h- first time a glide [§ 8]; second time instrumental [§ 21])

See also 160.19; 170.4; 172.10, 14; 290.22, 25; 292.5

āwA- to carry away.

āwanäwagⁱ they were carrying them away 198.5 (-n- [\S 21]; - $\ddot{a}wag^{i}$ [\S 28])

ähāwanetci then they were carried away 26.3 (ä—etci [§ 41]; -h- a glide [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

äwäpi ā watōwāte they set to work carrying it 212.21 (ä—wāte [§ 29]; -i lost by contraction [§ 10]; wäpi- an initial stem, to BEGIN; -tō- [§ 37])

 $w\bar{\imath}hawat\bar{\imath}y\bar{a}n^e$ I would have taken it with me 230.12 (for $w\bar{\imath}$ -with the subjunctive see my note [§ 29]; -h- [§ 8]; $-t\bar{\imath}$ - [§ 37]; $-y\bar{a}n^e$ [§ 29])

ähawanāte she took him 38.2 (for ä—āteⁱ [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -n-[§ 21])

See also 162.15; 164.7, 8, 9; 166.1; 224.18; 230.12; 246.24; 348.9, etc.

Agōsī- to climb.

 $w\bar{i}h_{A}g\bar{o}s\bar{i}y\bar{a}n^{i}$ I shall have to do the climbing 90.19 ($w\bar{i}-y\bar{a}n^{i}$ [§ 29]; -h- [§ 8])

 $\ddot{a}h$ Agosītc he climbed up 94.16 (for \ddot{a} —tc' [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -h-[§ 8])

See also 96.19; 274.24

AcAm- to give to eat.

Acami give it to him to eat 252.1 (-i [\S 31])

ä.A. camegutc then he was given food to eat 70.2 (for ä— tc^i [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -e-[§ 8]; -gu-[§ 41]) See also 14.19; 106.1; 256.12

Agwi- to cover.

Agwihe'ku cover him up 294.18 (-h-[§ 21]; -e-[§ 8]; -'ku [§ 31]) wīhagwitcin' for him to cover himself with 294.21 (evidently a participial; see § 34 near the end; -h- is a glide [§ 8]; vī- is irregular, as is its use with the subjunctive; see my note to § 29)

Amw- to eat.

Amwitä he that eats me 272.19; 274.3, 7, 12 (for -ita [§ 33])

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ä Amwātci then he ate him 274.15 (ä—ātci [§ 29])
wīhAmwagetci we (excl.) shall eat him 58.11 (wī—agetci [§ 29];
-h-[§ 8])
hād-mwi'h-mi don't eat me 96.4 (for hātā + + i i'h-mi [§ 30])
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 $k\bar{a}d$ Amwi' k_An^i don't eat me 96.4 (for $k\bar{a}t^a$ $_A$ -; -i' k_An^i [§ 30]) See also 26.10; 58.24; 96.10, 11, 17; 166.3; 266.20; 274.5; 330.22

Anemi- yon way.

Anemicīcāgu go ahead and hunt for game 294.8 (cīcā- from cīcāto hunt for game; -gu [§ 31])

ähanema pitci there he sat down 352.24 (ä—tci [§ 29]; anem- for anemi- [§ 10]; api- is an initial stem, to sit; -h- [§ 8])

Api- to sit.

 $w\bar{t}hapitc^{i}$ he shall sit 16.18 ($w\bar{t}-tc^{i}$ [§ 29]; -h- [§ 8])

nemenwap¹ I am content to sit down 370.12 (ne- [§ 28]; menwis an initial stem denoting PLEASURE)

hapite^e let him be seated 370.11 (h- is glide [§ 8] after a final vowel; -te^e [§ 31])

ätcītabitcⁱ he sat down 172.15 (ä—tcⁱ [§ 29]; for confusion of b and p see § 3)

See also 370.7, 8, 9; 316.16

Askwi- to save.

à'A'skwinesātc' he saved them from killing 8.12 (ä—ātc' [§ 29]; nesis an initial stem, to kill)

askun $Am\bar{a}n^i$ I saved it (for \ddot{a} : $Askun Am\bar{a}n^i$; \ddot{a} — $Am\bar{a}n^i$ [§ 29]; -u-for -wi-[§ 12]; -n-[§ 21])

cāgw- to be unwilling.

äcāgwänemutci he was unwilling 24.22 (ä—tci [§ 29]; -äne- [§ 19]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; -u- [§ 40])

cāgwänemō w^a she was unwilling 170.1 (-ō- [§ 40]; - w^a [§ 28]) See also 14.4; 34.10; 144.11

cawi- to do.

cawi w^a he is doing 288.15 (- w^a [§ 28])

äcawinitci he was doing 322.1 (ä—nitci [§ 34])

äcawigwänⁱ what he did 342.4, 5, 8, 10 (ä—gwänⁱ [§ 32]; my translation is literal)

See also 16.16; 24.20; 66.7; 76.5, 7; 250.7, 9; 280.8, 11; 356.16

cīcā- to hunt for game.

pyätcicīcā w^a he comes hitherward hunting for game 92.7 (pyätcis an extended form of pyä-, an initial stem denoting motion hitherward; $-w^a$ [§ 28])

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cīcāgu go seek for game 296.2 (cīcā- for cīcā-, as pyā-gu come ye
         for py\ddot{a}-; -g^{u} [§ 31])
      c\bar{c}at^a he that was hunting for game 38.8 (-t^a [§ 33])
           See also 38.14; 78.15
cim to tell.
      \ddot{a}cimeguw\bar{a}tc' what they were told 356.14 (\ddot{a}—w\bar{a}tc' [§ 29]; -e-[§ 8];
         -gu-[\S 41]
      äcimegutc' what he was told 358.22 (ä—tc' [§ 29])
hä to go.
      w\bar{t}h\ddot{a}w_{A}g^{i} they shall go 338.10 (w\bar{t}- [§ 28]; -w_{A}g^{i} [§ 28])
      k\bar{i}h^a thou wilt go 284.21 (k\bar{i}- [§ 28])
      w\bar{t}h\ddot{a}mig_Atw^i it will start 224.4 (w\bar{t}-w^i [§ 28]; -mig_At- [§ 20])
      k\bar{\imath}h\bar{a}pw^a you will go 20.20 (k\bar{\imath}-pw^a [§ 28]; -\bar{a}- for -\ddot{a}-, as in
        k\bar{\imath}'pyāpwa you will come 20.16)
           See also 22.18; 122.11, 18; 170.20; 338.9, 10, 13; 356.15, 17
hawi- to dwell, to be (not the copula).
      hawiw^a she is 108.6 (-w^a [§ 28])
      \ddot{a} hawite she remained 10.14 (\ddot{a}—te [§ 29])
      \ddot{a}hawitc^{i} he was 10.18
      hawik<sup>u</sup> remain ye 48.23 (-k^u for -g^u [§ 3]; -g^u [§ 31])
           See also 12.19; 22.20, 21; 68.9
hi- to speak (to).
      hiw^a he says 26.12, 14 (-w^a [§ 28])
      \ddot{a}hitc' he said 26.19, 20, 21 (\ddot{a}—tc' [§ 29])
      \ddot{a}hinetc' he was told 26.11 (\ddot{a}—etc' [§ 41]; -n- [§ 21])
      \ddot{a}hin\bar{a}tc^{i} he said to them 10.6 (\ddot{a}—\bar{a}tc^{i} [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21])
           See also 8.7, 11, 14, 18; 10:22; 14.6; 16.4; 96.8; 110.9; 216.6;
              218.2
i- to say.
      kaciw^a what does he say 242.15 (for kac^i iw^a [§ 10]; -w^a [§ 28])
ici- thus.
      wī i cināgusinitci she wished to look thus 104.4 (wī—nitci [§ 29];
         -n\bar{a}qu- [§ 18]; -si- [§ 20])
      ä·i·citähätci thus she thought in her heart 102.1 (ä—tci [§ 29]; ic-
         for ici- [§ 10]; -itä- [§ 18]; -hä- [§ 20])
kātu- sorrow.
      \ddot{a} kātusigān<sup>i</sup> I felt grieved 158.8 (\ddot{a}—y\bar{a}n^i [§ 29]; -si- [§ 20])
kāw 1- to crunch.
      ä'kākāwatag he crunched it 124.9 (for ä—agi [§ 29] by contrac-
         tion [§ 10]; -k\bar{a}- reduplication [§ 25]; -t- [§ 21])
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\bar{o}n\ddot{a}'k\bar{a}kawamegwitc' then it [the possessed object, i. e., his head] crunched and ate him up 96.8 (for \bar{o}n^i \ddot{a}- [\S 10]; \ddot{a}—tc^i [\S 29]; -k\bar{a}- [\S 25]; -m- [\S 21]; -e [\S 8]; -gwi- [\S 34])
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ä'kā'kāwatamowātc' then they crunched them (the bones) up 296.5 (ä—amowātc' [§ 29]; -t- [§ 21]; -kā- [§ 25]) See also 124.4, 15; 294.10

$k_A n$ to speak.

kanawin^u speak thou 180.4 (-wi- [§ 20]; -n^u [§ 31]) ä'kanōnetcⁱ he was addressed 8.5 (ä—etcⁱ [§ 41]) See also 174.11, 13; 176.2, 20, 23; 180.6, 7, 11

ke'k- to know, find out.

wike känemātc he desired to find out concerning her 46.9 (for $wi-atc^i$ [§§ 10, 29]; -äne- [§ 19]; -m- [§ 21])

āgwi ke'känemagin I did not know concerning him 160.8 (āgwi not; -agi [§ 29]; -n for -ni [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; ä-omitted [§ 29])

ähanemike kahwāte he continued to find them out 298.15 (literal translation; for ä—āteⁱ [§§ 10, 29]; -a- [§ 8]; -hw- [§ 21]; hanemi- an initial stem meaning to continue to)

See also 166.8, 9; 298.15; 326.20, 21; 328.1, 6, 7, 7, 8, 13, 15; 342.3, 7, 10, 15, 16; etc.

kep to enclose.

ä'kepetunänānitc' she would close his mouth with her hand 324.9 (ä—ānitc' [§ 34]; -e- [§ 8]; -tun- [§ 18]; -ä as -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]) ä'kepōgwāt $_{A}g$ after he had closed it by stitching it with cord 288.13, 18 (for ä— $_{A}g^{i}$ [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -t- [§ 21]) See also 138.12; 142.7; 290.9; 332.10

ke'tci- intensity.

ä'ke'tcipenutc he went at top speed 168.5 (for ä—tci [§§ 10, 29]; penu- is an initial stem, то до)

ä'ke'tcimaiyōtc' she then began to wail with sore distress 170.20 (ä—tc' [§ 29]; maiyō- is an initial stem meaning to wail)

See also 186.8; 188.17; 200.5; 284.19; 310.22; 314.11

$k\bar{\imath}ck(i)$ - to cut off.

 \ddot{a} 'kīckīckecācwātcāpe' from them he would cut off both ears 8.13 (for -tc' ā pe' [§ 10]; \ddot{a} —ātc' [§ 29]; -ā pe' [§ 14]; -kīc- [§ 25]; -e- [§ 8]; -cä- [§ 18]; -cw- [§ 21])

nākäkīckigumäcwātcāpe'e and he would cut off their noses 8.13 (for nāka ä-[§ 10]; nāka again, and; -gum-[§ 18]; -ä-same as -e-[§ 8]; the rest as above)

See also 8.17, 18; 10.4, 5

kīm- to feel gently.

ä'kīmenāte then he let his hand steal softly over her 322.21 (for ä—āte' [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

 $w\bar{\imath}k\bar{\imath}men\bar{a}t^e$ wishing to pass his hand gently over her, he began to feel her 326.5 ($-\bar{a}t^e$ [§ 29]; for the use of $w\bar{\imath}$ - with the subjunctive see my note to §29)

kīni- to sharpen.

wīkīnihāwa he shall sharpen it (a moose-antler in a sacred bundle; hence animate) 106.15 (a future form of a transitive 3d person subject with 3d person object; wī—äwa see my note [§ 28]; -h- [§ 21])

 $k\bar{\imath}$ 'kīni $h\bar{a}w^a$ you shall sharpen him (it) 108.2 ($k\bar{\imath}$ — $\bar{a}w^a$ [§ 28]; -h-[§ 21])

ä'kīnihātc' then he sharpened him 108.3 (ä—ātc' [§ 29]) wāsikīnikumäyāg' made sharp at the point 356.13 (-kum- same as -gum- [§ 18])

ktp- to fall.

 \ddot{a} 'kīp $is\bar{a}nitc^i$ then they fell through the air 332.4, 5 (\ddot{a} — $nitc^i$ [§ 34]; $-is\bar{a}$ - from $-is\ddot{a}$ - [§ 19])

kīsk- to cut up.

ä'kīskecutc' then he was cut up 166.3 (ä—utc' [§ 41]; -e- [§ 8]; -c- [§ 21])

kīskecamwa he cut it off (amwa [§ 28])

kīwa- to turn back.

kīwä $t\bar{a}w\bar{e}^i$ let us go back 72.3 (- $t\bar{a}w\bar{e}^i$ [§ 6] for - $t\bar{a}we$ [§ 31])

ä'kīwātci then he turned back 94.4 (ä—tci [§ 29])

ä'pemikīwätc so he started to turn back 210.1 (for ä—tci by contraction [§ 10]; pemi-[§ 16])

kīwä $n\bar{u}$ go back 208.15 (prolongation of -nu [§ 31]) See also 166.9, 22

ku- to fear.

kusegw^a he was feared 56.14 (-s- [\S 21]; -e- [\S 8]; -gw^a [\S 41]) ku't_Amw^a he feared it 214.20 (-t- [\S 21]; -Amw^a [\S 28]) See also 120.8; 190.21; 214.1; 284.20

kut- to feel of.

 \ddot{a} 'kuten $\bar{a}tc^{i}$ then he felt of her 46.9 (\ddot{a} — $\bar{a}tc^{i}$ [§ 29]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

maiyō-, maiyu- to weep.

maiyamaiyōhä w^a it was common for him to make them cry 16.9 (maiya-[\S 25]; -h-[\S 21]; -ä w^a [\S 28])

 $\ddot{a}w\ddot{a}pi$ maiyu tc^i then he began to weep 330.14 ($\ddot{a}-tc^i$ [§ 29]; $w\ddot{a}pi$ -[§ 16])

See also 12.13; 110.16

mā'kwi- futuere.

ämā'kwitci then he went into her 322.21

See also 56.17; 312.18, 24; 322.23; 324.7, 8, 16, 17

mā nä- multitude.

mānäwagi many 40.1

äwäpimānä $w\bar{a}tc^i$ they began to be numerous 52.9 (ä— $w\bar{a}tc^i$ [§ 29]; $w\ddot{a}pi$ - to begin [§ 16])

See also 52.1; 54.1, 18

mātu-, māto- to plead.

 $\ddot{a}m_A$ mātomeguwātc then they began to be entreated 152.10 (for $\ddot{a}-w$ ā tc^i [§§ 12, 29]; m_A -[§ 25]; -m-[§ 21]; -e-[§ 8]; -gu-[§ 41]) $\ddot{a}m_A$ mātomegutc then he began to be plead with 162.12 (for $\ddot{a}-tc^i$ [§§ 10, 29]

ämamātumegutc he was entreated 184.10

ma-futuere.

nepyätcimanāw^a I have come to have sexual intercourse with her 44.24 (ne—āw^a [§ 28]; pyätci- an extended form of pyä- motion hitherward [§ 16])

ähanemimanātc^t then he went first into one and then into another 56.14 (ä -ātc^t[§ 29]; hanemi- to continue to [§ 16]; -n-[§ 21]) ämanegutc^t then she had sexual intercourse with 160.20 (really a passive; ä—tc^t [§ 29]; -n-[§ 21]; -e-[§ 8]; -gu-[§ 41])

mAdA, mAtA- to overtake.

 \ddot{a} madanegutcⁱ as he was overtaken 168.5 (\ddot{a} — tc^i [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])

äpyätcimatanetci they came and overtook him 196.4 (literally, HE WAS OVERTAKEN; ä—etci [§ 41]; pyätci- an extended form of pyä- motion hither [§ 16]; -n- [§ 21])

ätacimatanetci as many as there were, were overtaken 12.3 (taciis an initial stem meaning as Many as)

mec- to capture.

 $w\bar{\imath}kaski$ mecenātcⁱ he would be able to capture him 24.6 ($w\bar{\imath}$ —ātcⁱ [§ 29]; kaski-same as kAski-ABILITY [§ 16]; -e-[§ 8]; -n-[§ 21])

macenemetc'i they that had been taken 12.12 (participial [§ 33]; hence the change in the vowel stem [§ 11])

 \ddot{a} mecenetcⁱ then he was captured 14.9 (\ddot{a} —etcⁱ[§ 41]; -e-[§ 8]; -n-[§ 21])

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mecenenagutc e let us be captured 14.5
See also 14.7: 20.18: 182.11
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meci- large.

mecime'tegw' a large tree 162.6

ämeciketenänitci how large she was at the vulva 46.10; 322.21 (ä—nitci [§ 34])

mecu- to strike with a missile.

ämecugutci when he was struck by a missile (ä—tci [§ 29]; -gu-[§ 41])

mäcugwinitci it hit him (-gwini- [§ 34])

The construction at 94.18 is difficult.

megu- together.

ähanemimegusõgisowāte they continued on their way bound together 26.4 (for ä—wāteⁱ [§ 29] in accordance with § 10; hanemi- to continue to [§ 16]; sōgi- is an initial stem, TO BIND; -so-[§ 40])

me'k- to find out.

äme 'k $aw\bar{a}tc^i$ ' then she found him 160.15 (ä— $\bar{a}tc^i$ [§ 29]; -a- [8 ¶]; -w- [§ 21])

neme kawāwag I have found them 94.13 (for ne—āwagi [§ 28] by contraction [§ 10])

äme'kawutc he was found 146.11 (for ä—utci [§ 41])

äme'kameg it was found 146.13 (for ä—amegi [§ 41])

See also 122.7, 13, 20; 334.10

me'kw- to remember.

me'kwänemi'kani thou shalt think of me 188.8 (-äne- [§ 18]; -m- [§ 21]; -i'kani [§ 30])

äme'kwänemātc then he remembered him 328.18 (for ä—ātc⁴ [§ 29])

See also 76.19; 138.7; 352.12

menw- to take pleasure in.

menwänetamägwe you may prefer it 32.15 (-äne-[§ 18]; -t-[§ 21]; -amägwe [§ 29])

nemenw 4 pi I like to sit 370.10 (ne- [§ 28]; 4 pi- to sit)

nemenwäneta I prefer it 136.3, 4 (ne-a [§ 28]; -t- [§ 21])

mänwänetaga he that preferred it 136.5

mänwänet Aga he that preferred it 138.2' (participial; hence the change of the stem-vowel [§ 12]; -Aga [§ 33])

mänwänemātcinⁱ she whom he loved 148.7 (participial; -m-[§ 21]; -ātcinⁱ [§ 33])

See also 66.17; 136.13; 138.3; 176.12; 336.4

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mes- to derive real benefit.
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wīmesänetamägw^e ye shall derive real benefit from it 32.12 (wī—amägw^e [§ 29]; -äne- [§ 19]; -t- [§ 21])

metawii- to sulk.

 $\bar{\imath}n\ddot{a}$ metawä $w\bar{a}tc^i$ then they sulked 30.9 (for $\bar{\imath}n^i\ddot{a}$ - [§ 10]; \ddot{a} — $w\bar{a}tc^i$ [§ 29])

mätawātcigi they that sulk at him 30.12 (participial; hence the vowel-change [§ 12]; -ātcigi [§ 33])

See also TITLE 30; and 30.10

metā- to take pleasure in.

nemetātänet^a I am pleased with it 324.16 (ne—^a [§ 28]; -t- [§ 8]; -äne- [§ 18]; -t- [§ 21])

metātänetamanini don't you take delight in it 324.15 (-amani [§ 29]; -ni [§ 29])

mī- to give.

minen $Ag\bar{a}^a$ I would give to thee 58.23 (-n-[§ 21]; -e-[§ 8]; -n $Ag\bar{a}^a$ [§ 30])

 $k\bar{\imath}m\bar{\imath}neguw\bar{a}w^a$ he shall give you 32.13 ($k\bar{\imath}$ — $guw\bar{a}w^a$ [§ 28]; -n-[§ 21]; -e-[§ 8])

minegutcinⁱ they (inan.) that were given to him 24.28 (-gu-[§ 41]; -tcinⁱ [§ 34])

See also 24.23; 222.19, 20, 25

$m\bar{\imath}c$ - to give.

mīciyägägu'a you might give to him 32.11 (-iyägägu'a [§ 30])

mīgā- to fight.

 \ddot{a} mīgā $t\bar{\imath}tc^{i}$ he fought with 14.4 (\ddot{a} — tc^{i} [§ 29]; - $t\bar{\imath}$ - [§ 38])

āwäpimīgātīwātcⁱ when they began fighting with each other 22.18 (ā- probably an error for ä-; ä—wātcⁱ [§ 29]; wäpi-[§ 16] to begin; -tī-[§ 38])

wäpimīgātīwātci they began fighting with each other 34.8 (ä-dropped [§ 12])

 $w\bar{\imath}m\bar{\imath}g\bar{\imath}t\bar{\imath}tc$ he would fight with them 24.23 (for $w\bar{\imath}-tc^i$ [§ 29]) $w\bar{\imath}m\bar{\imath}g\bar{\imath}t\bar{\imath}y\bar{a}n^i$ you will fight 24.25 ($w\bar{\imath}-y\bar{a}n^i$ [§ 29])

See also 24.26

mīsī- cacare.

ämisi tc^i when he eased himself 76.5 (ä— tc^i [§ 29]) $n\bar{\imath}m\bar{\imath}s^i$ I am about to ease myself 274.15, 16 ($n\bar{\imath}$ - [§ 28]) mīsim $\bar{\imath}s\bar{\imath}s\bar{a}$ one would ease and keep on easing 272.20; 274.4, 8, 13 (reduplication [§ 25]; $-s\bar{a}$ lengthened form of -sa [§ 30]) See also 274.20, 21; 276.10

mītci- cacare.

ämītcinātcⁱ then he dunged on him 124.22 (mītci- is related to mīsi- as pōtci- to pōsi-; ä—ātcⁱ [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21])

kicimītcinātc after he had dunged on him 124.22 (kici- for kīci-completion; ä-dropped [§ 12]; -ātc for -ātcⁱ [§ 10])

mītci- to eat.

kemītc¹ thou hast eaten 122.3 (ke-[§ 28])

ämītcitci then he ate 14.23

wīmītcite's she was on the point of eating 96.3 (-te's [§ 29]; for the use of wī- with the subjunctive see my note, p. 823) mītcinu eat thou 174.18 (-nu [§ 31])

See also 174.19; 184.16; 240.7, 18; 336.2; 374.18

musw- to suspect.

ämuswänemāwātcⁱ they suspected them 150.14 (ä—āwātcⁱ [§ 29]; -äne- [§ 18]; -m- [§ 21])

muswänemäwa he suspects him (-m-[§ 21]; äwa [§ 28])

nahi- to know how.

nahiwīseniwātcinⁱ they did not know how to eat 76.3 (ä-omitted on account of the negative; -nⁱ [§ 29]; -wātci [§ 29]; wīseni- to eat)

wīnahuwīwiyānⁱ I desire to know how to get a wife 334.13 (wī—yānⁱ [§ 29]; for the syntax see § 35; nah- for nahi- by contraction [§ 10]; uwīwⁱ- to marry)

See also 336.3

nawi- to visit.

 $n\bar{\imath}$ nawi $h\bar{a}w^a$ I am going to visit him 228.1; 238.21; 244.12; 256.1; 262.20 ($n\bar{\imath}$ — $\bar{a}w^a$ [§ 28]; -h- [§ 21])

winawihetīwagⁱ they will go visiting one another 242.5 (wi- for wī- used with intransitive independent future [§ 28]; -h- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -tī- [§ 38]; -wagⁱ [§ 28])

nā- to fetch.

kepyätcinānen I have come to take you away 40.12; 42.18; 44.1 (ke—n [§ 28]; pyätci- an extended form of pyä- motion hitherward; -n-[§ 21]; -e-[§ 8])

nepyätcinānā w^a I have come to take her away 42.4 (ne—ā w^a [§ 28]; -n- [§ 21])

nepyätcinānāpena we have come to take him away 58.8 (ne—āpena [§ 28])

nātawu'ku go and fetch him away 58.7 (-t- [§ 8]; awu- same as $\bar{a}w_{A-}$, aw_{A-} [§]; 'ku [§ 31])

nāne' k^u go fetch her 354.15 (-n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; ' k^u [§ 31]) See also 40.7; 42.1; 46.22; 58.8

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nāci- to caress.
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änācitepänātcⁱ he caressed her head with his hand 188.4, 9 (\ddot{a} — \bar{a} tcⁱ [§ 29]; tepä head; -n- [§ 21])

nāgä-, nAgA- to sing.

äcināgä tc^i thus he sang 110.18 (ä— tc^i [§ 29]; ci for ici THUŞ) äcināgä $nitc^i$ he sang 110.16 (ä—nitci [§ 34])

 \ddot{a} nAgAmutci then he sang 10.19; 110.18 (\ddot{a} —tc' [§ 29]; -m-[§§ 21, 37]; -u- [§ 40])

pyätcinagamunitci he came singing 350.6

äkīwinagamunitc¹ he went about singing 350.15 (ä—nitc¹ [§ 34]; -m- [§§ 27, 31]; -u- [§ 40]; kīwi- an extended form of kī- [§ 16] movement in an indefinite direction; [Jones's translation is free])

See also 110.13

nāgwā- to depart.

 $w\bar{\imath}n\bar{a}gw\bar{a}yagw^{\bullet}$ we (incl.) should depart 62.23 (for $w\bar{\imath}-y_{A}gw^{\bullet}$ [§ 29])

änāgwāwātci then they started on 138.14 (ä—wātci [§ 29]) nāgwāgōna now depart 170.6

wīnāgwāgwänⁱ (who) should depart 194.9 (wī—gwänⁱ [§ 32])

nāgwäwāpe'e he would go away 312.22 (for nāgwäwa āpe'e [§ 10]; -wa [§ 28]; nāgwä- is presumably more original than nāgwā-; cf. äpyāwātci when they came [from pyä-] and my note § 11) See also 44.16; 138.9, 11; 170.8

nä- to see.

 \ddot{a} nä $t_A g^i$ then he saw it, them 38.8; 202.11; 240.1; 266.5; 278.1 (\ddot{a} — $_A g^i$ [§ 29]; -t- [§ 21]; derived from $n\ddot{a}w$ -? [see § 12])

näsä- whole, well.

 $w\bar{\imath}n\ddot{a}s\ddot{a}h_Ag^i$ I shall make them well, I shall heal them 356.5 $(w\bar{\imath}-_Ag^i$ [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

 $w\bar{\imath}n\bar{a}s\bar{a}h\bar{d}w^a$ she shall heal them 356.6 ($-\bar{a}w^a$ [§ 28]; note the irregular use of $w\bar{\imath}$ - as a sign of the future with the independent mode transitive; note further that this is a future with a 3d person subject and 3d person object; see my note to § 28; -h- [§ 21])

näsäte'e would that he were alive 12.14 (-te'e [§ 29]) See also 116.17; 158.13, 16

näw-, nä·u to see.

näw $\bar{a}p^i$ they are seen 72.15 ($-\bar{a}p^i$ [§ 41]) änäw $\hat{a}w\bar{a}tc$ they saw him 198.2 (for ä— $\bar{a}w\bar{a}tc^i$ [§ 29])

näwagetcinⁱ we have not seen them 198.7 (ä- omitted because of the negative; -agetci, -nⁱ [§ 29])

näwägwin did ye not see them 198.4 (for -ägwinⁱ by contraction [§ 10]; ä-dropped; -ägwi for -ägwe; -nⁱ [§ 29])

äna·u·gutc she was seen 162.22 (for \ddot{a} — tc^i [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -gu- [§ 41])

näwu $t\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}tc\bar{\imath}n^i$ whenever they see one another 276.16 (for $n\ddot{a}\cdot u$; -w- is a glide [§ 8]; $-t\bar{\imath}$ - [§ 38]; the form is a participial; \bar{a} is left out before $w\bar{a}tcin^i$ [- $\bar{a}w\bar{a}tcin^i$] [§ 33] because $-t\bar{\imath}$ - really represents the objects exactly as in $\bar{a}w\ddot{a}pim\bar{\imath}g\bar{a}t\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}tc^i$ 22.18 [for the analysis see under $m\bar{\imath}ga$ -])

See also 38.11; 80.5, 16; 182.15; 276.14; 288.14; 340.6

nAnā- ready.

nanā $hawig\bar{o}^u$ get ready 22.20 (hawi- to be; $-g\bar{o}^u$ for $-g^u$ [§ 6]; $-g^u$ [§ 31])

nanāhawin^u get ready 44.1 (-n^u [§ 31])

nAto-, nAtu- to ask, summon.

änatomegutcⁱ she was summoned 146.15 (ä— tc^{i} [§ 29]; -m-[§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])

 $tc\bar{a}g\ddot{a}$ nAto $t\bar{i}w\bar{a}tc^i$ all asked each other 60.13 (for $tc\bar{a}g^i$ ALL $+\ddot{a}$ -[§ 10]; \ddot{a} — $w\bar{a}tc^i$ [§ 29]; $-t\bar{i}$ -[§ 38])

nepyätcinatumāw^a I have come to summon him 200.1 (ne—āw^a [§ 28]; pyätci- an extended form of pyä- [§ 16] motion hitherward; -m- [§ 21])

wätcinAtomenāge why we (excl.) asked thee 336.11 (wätci-from utci-[§ 16] WHENCE [see § 11]; -m-[§ 21], -e-[§ 8]; -nāge [§ 29]) See also 40.5; 60.15; 240.7; 336.10, 13; 338.6, 7; 342.3, 6, 9; 366.19; 368.2, 13, 20, 22; 372.21

nem A-, nema- perpendicularity.

 $nemasun^u$ stand up 48.17 (-su-[§ 40]; -n^u [§ 31])

nemas $\bar{o}w^a$ he is standing up (- $s\bar{o}$ - [§ 40]; - w^a [§ 28]; the explanation in § 8 is wrong)

nema $t\bar{o}n^u$ hang (it) up 240.5; 242.12 (-t- [§ 8]; - \bar{o} - [§ 19]; - n^u [§ 31])

nemas $\bar{o}w^a$ he stood 216.9

See also 48.18; 50.1, 9; 52.5; 54.3; 112.21; 238.3; 278.2

nep- to die.

nepetce may he die 68.14 (-e-[§ 8]; -tce [§ 31])

kīnep vou shall die 68.17, 20 (kī- [§ 28])

nepege'r had he died 158.16 (inanimate; for -'ke'r [§ 29]; confusion of g and k [§ 3])

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nep w^a he dies 332.18, 20 (-w^a [§ 28])
nepeniwan she had died 208.20 (for -niwan' [§ 34] by contraction
  [§ 10])
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See also 34.5; 114.16, 17, 20, 25, 26; 116.2, 3, 8; 158.15 nepä-, nepā- to sleep.

ke'tcinepäwa he is sound asleep 284.19 (ke'tci- intensity; -wa [§ 28])

nepāgwän* he must have slept 306.11 (ā for ä, as in pyātc* LET HIM COME, etc.; -gwän* [§ 32])

 \ddot{a} nepā tc^{i} he fell asleep 324.19 (\ddot{a} — tc^{i} [§ 29])

 $k\bar{\imath}$ nepā $pen\bar{a}$ let you and I go to sleep 324.18 (prolongation by stress [§ 6] of $k\bar{\imath}$ — pen^a [§ 28])

See also 10.19; 284.3, 5, 24

nes- to kill.

nesegusa he would have been slain 168.13 (-e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41]; -sa [§ 30])

kīnesāpena let us (incl.) slay him 94.7 (kī—āpena [§ 28])

wihutcines Agwe why we (incl.) should slay him 94.9 (wi-Agwe [§ 29]; -h- [§ 8]; utci- [§ 16] whence)

näsāwātci'i they whom they had slain 196.15 (-āwātci'i [§ 33]; participial; hence the change of the stem-vowel [§ 11])

See also 8.2, 3, 7, 12, 17; 10.3; 14.1; 26.13, 16; 350.2, 17

neski- to loathe, feel contempt for.

neskinamwa he felt contempt for them 168.19 (-n-[§ 21]; -amwa [28]

äneskinuwānitci she loathed him on that account 66.17 (ä-ānitci [§ 34])

neneskinawāwa I loathe him on account of 68.14 (ne—āwa [§ 28]) äneskinawatci because you loathe him 68.17, 20 (ä-atci [§ 29])

 $k\bar{\imath}$ neski $m\bar{a}w^a$ you shall scold at him 284.4 (literally, you shall loathe him with your tongue; $k\bar{\imath}-\bar{a}w^a$ [§ 28]; -m- [§ 21])

äneskimegutci he was scolded 60.8 (ä-tci [§ 29]; -m- [§ 21]; -e- $[\S 8]; -gu - [\S 41])$

See also 314.11; 330.23

$n\bar{\imath}gi$ - to be born.

änīgitci he was born 18.4

nīmi- to dance.

 $n\bar{a}n\bar{i}mihet\bar{i}w\bar{a}tc^i$ they had a great time dancing together 18.12 ($n\bar{a}$ -[§ 25]; -h-[§ 21]; -e-[§ 8]; \ddot{a} - dropped [§ 12]; -w $\bar{a}tc^i$ [§ 29]) $k\bar{i}n\bar{i}mipen\bar{o}^u$ let us (incl.) dance 132.29 (the form is peculiar; -penou evidently comes from -penu [§ 6]; ki-penu is closely

related to $k\bar{\imath}$ —pena [§ 28]; perhaps the -a has been split into a diphthong [§ 6])

kīke tcinīmipwa ye shall dance 280.17 (kī—pwa [§ 28]; ke tcintensity)

See also 134.17; 220.15; 282.1, 3, 12

nts- to reach and take down.

änīsenagi he reached up and took it down 320.22 (ä—agi [§ 29]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]) See also 160.17; 352.15

non-, nun- to suck.

wīnōn° it (animate) shall suck 106.12 (wī- [§ 28])
See also 104.9; 106.11, 14; 196.13

nōta-. nōdā- to hear.

änōtawātc' when he heard him 110.16 (ä—ātc' [§ 29]; -w- [§ 21]) nōdāgänitc' when he heard 146.14 (-gä- [§ 20]; -nitc' [§ 34])

nūcä- to give birth to.

änūcānātc' she bore him 38.5 (ä—ātc' [\S 29] -n- [\S 21]) See also 38.4; 74.9, 10, 12, 15; 152.14

nŭwi-, nowi- out.

nūwī'käg* don't go.out 12.4 (-'käg* [§ 30])

nūwīwa he went out 160.10

änūwine'kawātc he drove them out 94.16 (for ä—ātc' [§ 29]; -ne'ka-[§ 19]; -w- [§ 21])

nōwinōwi w^a many a time he went out 160.10 ($n\bar{o}wi$ -[§ 25]; $-w^a$ [§ 28])

nwäwī'tāgāwātcināpe' they continually went out to fight 12.5 (nwäwī- for nuwī [§ 12]; -wātc' [§ 29]; -n- [§ 8]; -āpe' [§ 14]) See also 10.25; 12.7; 38.13; 162.9, 10

pa'k- to pluck.

äpa'kenātc' then he plucked it 274.14 (ä—ātc' [§ 29]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

pAnA- to miss.

ä'panapinātc' he failed to catch him 282.17
ätacipanapinātc' where he failed to catch him 282.21
panahwäwa he missed hitting him (-hw- [§ 21]; -äwa [§ 28])
panatakan' you must have let it fall astray 230.11 (-t- [§ 21];
-akan' for -agan' [§ 30]; confusion of g and k [§ 3])
See also 180.19; 382.7

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pAgA-, pAgi- to strike.
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 $w\bar{\imath}p\bar{a}p_{A}g_{A}m\bar{a}tc$ 170.22 she was on the point of clubbing him to death (for $w\bar{\imath}-\bar{a}tc^{i}$ [§ 29]; -m- [§ 21]; $p\bar{a}$ - [§ 25])

 \ddot{a} 'pāpagamegutc' she was clubbed to death 164.2 (-m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41]; \ddot{a} —tc' [§ 29])

pagisenwⁱ it struck (-sen-[$\S 20$]; -wⁱ[$\S 28$])

 $\bar{\imath}n\ddot{a}$ pagi cig^{i} it alighted over there 282.19 (for $\bar{\imath}n^{i}\ddot{a}$ - [§ 10]; $-g^{i}$ for -' k^{i} [§ 3]; \ddot{a} —' k^{i} [§ 29]; -ci- [§ 12] for -cin- [§ 20]; note the contradiction: -cin- is animate; -' k^{i} inanimate)

See also § 14 and 146.16; 228.11; 232.9; 292.13

pagū- ahead.

pagūsusäg* walk on ahead 338.18, 340.1 (-s- [§ 8]; -usä- [§ 19]; -g* [§ 31])

pagūsusänu walk thou on ahead 340.4 $(-n^u [\S 31])$

pā'guhwäwa he makes him run (literally, he makes him go forward; -hw- [§ 21]; -äwa [§ 28])

pemw-, pemwu- to shoot.

 \ddot{a} 'pemw $\bar{a}tc'$ he shot him 22.23 (\ddot{a} — $\bar{a}tc'$ [§ 29])

ä'pemw $_{A}g^{i}$ when I am shooting at them 116.24 (ä $-w_{A}g^{i}$ [§ 29]) $w\bar{\imath}$ 'pemw $u_{L}m\bar{a}n^{i}$ I shall shoot at it 118.3, 5 ($w\bar{\imath}-_{A}m\bar{a}n^{i}$ [§ 29]: -t- [§ 21])

pemutamawinū shoot him for me 204.9 (-t- [§ 8]; -nū for -n^u [§ 31] by prolongation [§ 6]; -amaw- is the same as amaw- in nätamawäw^a ō'sanⁱ [literally, he saw him who was father to another; see § 34]; loss of -w- [§ 12])

See also 22.22; 118.8, 13; 204.1; 248.2, 5, 8, 14

penu-, peno- to go homeward, depart.

wi'penuyān' I am going home 232.23, 256.14 (wi—yān' [§ 29]) ä'pyätcipenutc' then he came back home 18.1 (ä—tc' [§ 29]; pyätcian extended form of pyä- [§ 16] MOTION HITHERWARD)

 $n\bar{i}$ penō I am going home 266.20 ($n\bar{i}$ - [§ 28])

 $k\bar{\imath}$ penopen^a let us go home 304.18 ($k\bar{\imath}$ —pen^a [§ 28])

See also 68.24; 160.3; 168.11, 15; 220.9, 14; 224.9, 6, 15; 252.12

pesw- to smoke out.

kīpeswāpen^a let us smoke them out 142.10 (kī—āpen^a [§ 28]) päswātci^{''} they whom he was smoking out 142.16 (-ātci^{''} [§ 33]; participial; hence the change of the stem-vowel)

pe'tawä- to kindle a fire.

ä'pe'tawasuwātci they kindled a fire to warm themselves 138.10 (-su-[§ 40])

- äwäpipe tawatc then he set to work to kindle a fire 142.8 (for ä—tc⁴ [§ 29]; wäpi- [§ 16] to begin)
- ähanemipe'tawätc' he kept on building the fire 142.13 (hanemi-same as hanemi-[§ 16])
- pe'tawä k^u kindle a fire 158.20 (- k^u for - g^u [§ 31]; confusion of g and k [§ 3])
- ōnäketcipetawäwātci accordingly they built a large fire 158.21 (for ōniä-[§ 10]; ä—wātci [§ 29]; ketci- intensity)

See also 142.11; 146.4; 158.21

pīn- entrance into.

 $p\bar{n}ahwin^u$ put me into 96.13 (-a- [§ 8]; -hw- [§ 21]; -in^u [§ 31]; $p\bar{n}n$ - is allied to $p\bar{i}$ -(t) [§ 16])

pīnahamānⁱ I put it in (ä- dropped [§ 12]; ä—amānⁱ [§ 29]; -a-[§ 8]; -h-[§ 21])

ä'pīnahwātc' he put him into 326.17 (ä-ātc' [§ 29])

pog- to fall.

ä'tcapōgisānitc she fell far out there 102.17 (for -nitc' [§ 34]; ä'tcaprobably is to be divided into ä-+'tca-; 'tca- is tca- by reason of ä-; tca- is allied with a'tetcä- distant; -isā- is from -isä- [§ 19] motion through the air)

pōku-, pōk- to break.

 \ddot{a} papōkuskahwitc he kept on breaking them with his foot 14.5 (for \ddot{a} — \ddot{a} tc^t [§ 29 and § 10]; pa-[§ 25]; -sk-[§ 21]; -a-[§ 8]; -hw-[§ 21])

kepō'kahāpwa you break it open 176.9 (ke—āpwa [§ 28]; -a-[§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])

 $w\bar{v}$ pō'ka hag^i one shall break it open 176.8 ($w\bar{v}$ — ag^i [§ 29]; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])

See also 14.8; and compare \ddot{a} pw \bar{a} wikaskip \bar{a} pa'ku n_Ag^i HE WAS NOT ABLE TO BREAK IT 126.3 (\ddot{a} — Ag^i [§ 29]; pw \bar{a} winot; kaski-same as kaski-[§ 16] ABILITY; p \bar{a} -[§ 25]; -n-[§ 21])

pōst- entrance into.

äpōsī'tōwāwātc they loaded it into 212.22 (for \ddot{a} — \bar{a} wātc' [§ 29]; -'tō- [§ 37]; -w- [§ 8])

kīcitcāgipōsi'tōwātc after they had loaded it into 212.23 (ä-dropped [§ 12]; kīci- [§ 16] completion; tcāgi- [§ 16] totality; -wātcⁱ [§ 29])

äpōsitc' he got into it 214.2 (ä—tc' [§ 29])

See also 214.21; 224.12, 17

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p\bar{o}tc(i) = entrance into (allied to p\bar{o}s\bar{i}- [see § 8])
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ä'pōtcisahutci then he leaped into 164.15 (ä—tci [§ 29]; -isahusame as -isahō [§ 19] to Jump; -i of pōtci- lost [§ 10])

pōtcisahōw^a he leaped into 164.16 ($-w^a$ [§ 28])

äpõtcisahowātci then they embarked into 214.15 (-isaho- same as -isahō- [\$ 19]; ä-wātci [\$ 29])

8AnA- difficult.

sanagatwi it is difficult 280.8 (-gat-same as -gat-) sanagatwi it is difficult 280.12, 16; 332.17 (-gat-[§ 20]; -wi [§ 28]) sanaga'kin' it is not difficult 284.17 (-n', -'ki [§ 29]; -ga- [cf. § 20]) See also 172.22

säge= fear.

sägesi w^a he was afraid 168.14 (-si- [§ 20]; - w^a [§ 28])

äsägesiyāni I am scared 312.14 (ä—yāni [§ 29])

sägihiyä'kan' you might frighten her 312.16 (-h-[§ 21]; -iyä'kan' [§ 30])

See also 336.8, 12; 344.7, 17; 346.1, 10

sigAtci-, sigatci- to freeze.

äsīgatcitci when he froze to death 138.14

kīcisīgatcinitci after the other froze 138.15 (ä-dropped [§ 12]; kīci- [§ 16] completion; ä-nitc' [§ 34])

sogi- to bind.

äsogisowātc they were bound with cords 26.3 (ä-wātc' [§ 29]; -so-[§ 40])

 \ddot{a} sogi $h\bar{a}tc$ he bound her 140.7 (for \ddot{a} — $\bar{a}tc^{i}$ [§ 29 and § 10]; -h-[§ 21]) sogisoyani where I am bound 106.17 (ä- dropped [§ 12]; -so- $[\S 40]; -y\bar{a}n^i [\S 29])$

äsōgi'tōtc' he tied a knot 334.16 (ä—tc' [§ 29]; -'tō- [§ 37]) See also 26.22; 108.6; 146.2; 338.21

tāg-, tAg- to touch.

ätägenātc he touched her 46.2 (for ä—ātcⁱ [§ 29]; -e-[§ 8]; -n-[§ 21]) äkīcitāgatamōwātci after they have touched it 184.18 (for ä-amo-

wātc! [§ 29]; kīci- [§ 16] completion; -4- same as -e- [§ 8]; -t-[§ 21])

ämāwitāgā'kwähagi then he went to touch it with a wooden pole 196.10 (\ddot{a} — Δg^{i} [§ 29]; $m\bar{a}wi$ - [§ 16] to go to; $-\bar{a}^{i}kw$ - [§ 18]; $-\bar{a}$ for -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])

ätageskag then he stamped on it 158.2 (ä-ag' [\$ 29]; -e- [\$ 8]; $-sk-[\S 21]$

See also 158.5; 194.13; 194.19; 330.13

taci- as many as, number (cf. taswi-).

 $med\bar{a}sw\ddot{a}t$ Aci $w\bar{a}tc^i$ the number was ten 164.4 (for $med\bar{a}sw^i$ ten [§ 50] + \ddot{a} - [§ 10]; \ddot{a} - $w\bar{a}tc^i$ [§ 29])

ätaciwātc as many as there were 166.3

Possibly in the following passages taci- is to be explained in the same way, though this is not apparent from Dr. Jones's somewhat free translation: 90.12; 108.6; 110.4; 150.17; 152.20; 164.4; 166.3; 244.13; 336.9; 346.21. It is quite clear that taci- is in some way connected with taswi-, as is shown by \(\text{\text{amedaciwatc'}}\) They were ten 78.14, as compared with medasw\(\text{asciwatc'}\) The NUMBER WAS TEN 164.4 (for medasw' \(\text{\text{asciwatc'}}\) [\(\frac{5}{2}\) 10]). The word for ten is medasw' [\(\frac{5}{2}\) 50]. For the interchange of s and c, see \(\frac{5}{2}\) 9; and for the loss of the second member of a consonant-cluster, \(\frac{5}{2}\) 12.

tAgwi- together.

tagwi 10.2 together with

ätagwimecenetcⁱ they were taken captive together 26.3 (ä—etcⁱ [§ 41]; mec- to capture; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

tagwitepänetātä w^i the land was owned in common 34.1 (-äne-[§ 18]; $-w^i$ [§ 28])

ä'tagwinatometc' they were asked together 338.7 (ä—etc' [§ 41]; nato- to ask; -m- [§ 21])

wītaguswage's that I should have put them together and cooked them 158.8 (wī-irregularly used with the subjunctive; see my note to § 29; -age's [§ 29]; u for wi [§ 12]; -sw-for -sū-[§ 20]) See also 178.8; 372.17

tan-, tan- to engage in.

 $k\bar{\imath}$ 'tane $t\bar{\imath}pen^a$ let us make a bet together 296.18 (literally, LET US ENGAGE IN AN ACTIVITY TOGETHER; hence, by inference, GAMBLE; $k\bar{\imath}$ — pen^a [§ 28]; -e-[§ 8]; $-t\bar{\imath}$ -[§ 38])

 \ddot{a} 'tane $t\bar{\iota}tc^{i}$ he was gambling 314.6 (\ddot{a} — tc^{i} [§ 29])

tanwä'wämä'w^a he quarrels with him (literally, he engages in repeated noise with him; -m-[§ 21] -äw^a [§ 28])

tanwä'wä'tōwa he bangs away on it (-'tō- [§§ 21, 37]; -wa [§ 28]) ä'tanwä'taminitci cries were sounded 192.3 (ä—nitci [§ 34]; wäsound)

ä'tanenetīgⁱ in the thick of the fight 168.1 (ä- as ordinarily; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]; -tī- [§ 38]; -gⁱ locative suffix [§ 42]; the context alone suggests the idea of Fighting)

ähanemitanusätci as he continued to engage in walking 48.20 (ä—tci [§ 29]; hanemi- [§ 16] to continue to; -usä- [§ 19] to walk)

See also 190.13, 23

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tap- to place trust in.
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netapänem^u I put my trust in 190.15 (ne- [§ 28]; -äne- [§ 18]; -m- [§ 21]; -^u [§ 40])

tAsuci- as many as, as much as, number.

ätaswipyānitcinⁱ as many as came 8.9 (why ä- is used, is not clear; pyā- from pyä- [§ 16] motion hitherward; -nitcinⁱ [§ 34])

 $\bar{\imath}n\ddot{a}t$ as with atc^i and hast thou included as many as there are 298.16 (for $\bar{\imath}n^i\ddot{a}$ -[§ 10]; $\bar{\imath}n^i$ [§ 47]; -h-[§ 21]; \ddot{a} — atc^i [§ 29])

taswi the number 20.7

taswicōniyāi is the amount of money 34.16

initāswi that is the number 252.9 (ini [§ 47])

See also 8.14, 18; 10.5; 20.11; 32.13; 76.16; 246.21; 312.17, 21; 358.6; 374.3

tapwe- to speak the truth.

ketäpw^o you were telling the truth 24.15; 322.9 (ke- [§ 28]) wītäpwäyā n^i I desire to speak the truth 324.13 (wī—yā n^i [§ 29]) See also 322.16

tcīp- to nudge softly.

äwäpitcīpenātcⁱ then he began to nudge her softly with the finger 320.7 (ä—ātcⁱ [§ 29]; wäpi- [§ 16] to begin; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]) ätcītcipetcänātcⁱ he gave her a nudge in the side 44.1 (ä—ātcⁱ [§ 29]; -tcī- [§ 25]; -e- [§ 8]; -tcā- [§ 18]; -n- [§ 21])

$tc\bar{\imath}g(i)$ - edge.

tcīgäskut' on the edge of the prairie 126.7

tcīgike'tcigumīwe by the shore of the sea 350.5 (ke'tci- intensity; -gum- = -kam- [§ 18])

tcīgikė tcikamīw on the shore of the sea 100.14 (ke tci- intensity; -kam- [§ 18]; -ī- same as -i- [§ 20]; -w for -w [§ 28]; literal translation, IT WAS THE EDGE OF THE GREAT EXPANSE)
See also 68.11; 110.7; 124.2

tcīt- down.

ätcītapisahutci there he sprang and crouched 188.15 (ä—tci [§ 29]; -isahu- same as -isahō- [§ 19]; apisahu- for api + isahu- [§ 10]; api- to sit [there he sprang and sat down is literal]) ätcītapiwātci there they sat down 190.14 (ä—wātci [§ 29]) See also 332.13; 352.15

te- to say.

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\begin{array}{l} neteg\bar{o}p^{i} \text{ I am called } 12.19 \ (ne-g\bar{o}p^{i} \, [\$ \, 41]) \\ netegw^{a} \text{ I was told } 108.7 \ (ne-gw^{a} \, [\$ \, 41]) \\ keten^{e} \text{ I told thee } 190.18 \ (ke-n^{e} \, [\$ \, 28]) \\ neten\bar{a}w^{a} \text{ I said to him } 216.5 \ (ne-\bar{a}w^{a} \, [\$ \, 28]; -n-[\$ \, 21]) \end{array}
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 $neteg\bar{o}g^i$ they call me 322.12 ($ne-g\bar{o}g^i$ [§ 28])

ketenepw^a I declared to you 346.2, 10; 358.23 (ke—nepw^a [§ 28]) ketekuwāw^a he has told you 370.12 (ke—guwāw^a [§ 28]; confusion of g and k [§ 3])

keteneyow. I told thee before 110.5 (for keten. iyow. iyow. aforetime)

 $tep\bar{a}$ - to be fond of, to love.

ketepā nen^e I am fond of thee 314.4 (ke— n^e [§ 28]; -n- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8])

ätepā n_Atc^i thou art fond of them 276.19 (ä— Atc^i [§ 29]; -n- [§ 21]) tepā $n\ddot{a}w^a$ she was fond of them 170.1 (-n- [§ 21]; $-\ddot{a}w^a$ [§ 28])

täpānata she whom you love 150.1 (-n-[§ 21]; -ata [§ 33]; change of the stem-vowel, as the form is a participial)

See also 148.2, 5; 190.18; 174.3

tepowa- to hold council.

kīcitepowāwātcⁱ after they had ended their council 338.5 (kīci-[§ 16] completion; ä-dropped [§ 12]; ä—wātcⁱ [§ 29]; it is likely -wä- is identical with wä sound in § 20)

ätepowānetc' he was debated in council 338.4 (ä—etc' [§ 41]; -n-[§ 21]; -ā- for -ä- as in äcīcātc' then he went off on a hunt; ä'pyātc' when he came; etc.)

See also 336.8, 9

tes- to trap.

 $k\bar{\imath}$ teso'tawāpena let us set a trap for it 78.3 ($k\bar{\imath}$ —āpena [§ 28]) tes $\bar{\imath}$ trap ($-\bar{\imath}$

 $t\bar{o}'k(\bar{t})$ - state of being awake.

tō'kī g^u wake up 46.15 (- g^u [§ 31])

ätö'kīyān' when I wake up 284.1

tō'kitcā he might wake up 284.18 (for $t\bar{o}$ 'kītce probably; -tce [§ 31]) \ddot{a} tō'kītc¹ then he woke up 126.1

ämāwitō'kenātc then he went and woke him up 104.15 (ä—ātcⁱ [§ 29]; māwi [§ 16] to go; -e-[§ 8]; -n-[§ 21])

See also 40.18; 44.6, 7; 104.18

$uw\overline{\iota}w(i)$ - to marry.

uwiwiyaneh* if it had been you who married 216.16 (-yaneh*, really -yane'* [§ 29])

ähuwīwitci then he married 216.20 (ä—itci [§ 29]; -h- [§ 8])

kīhuwīwemen I shall marry you 148.19 (kī—n [§ 28]; -h-[§ 8]; -e-[§ 8]; -m-[§ 21]; -e-[§ 8])

uwīwa wife

See also 42.4; 44.13; 82.2; 148.8; 200.13, 18; 216.13, 16, 20

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(u)w\overline{\iota}gi-, (u)w\overline{\iota}ge- to dwell.
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 $wigiw^a$ he lives 220.22 (- w^a [§ 28])

äwiginitc' where he dwelt 160.15 (ä-nitc' [§ 34])

ä'kīwi'u'wīgewātc' they went in an indefinite direction and lived there 66.15 (ä—wātc' [§ 29]; kīwi motion in an indefinite direction; cf. kī- [§ 16])

wäwīgit^a he who dwells 38.9 (from *uwīgi*-; the change of the stem-vowel is due to the fact that the form is a participial [§§ 12, 33]; -t^a [§ 33])

wäwiginitcinⁱ he who dwelt there 80.9, 20; 82.2, 10, 22; 84.10, 21, etc. (for the change of the stem-vowel see §§ 12, 33; -nitcinⁱ [§ 34])

wawigitcigi they who dwell here 194.7 (-tcigi [§ 33])

ähuwiginite' where they were living 194.5, 18 (ä—nite' [§ 34]; -hu-is not an accretion, it is to be divided into -h-+u- [see my note on this point, § 8])

See also 10.5; 38.7; 160.14; 320.3; etc.

wAnt- to lose.

 \ddot{a} wani $h\bar{a}tc^i$ he lost him 182.12 (\ddot{a} — $\bar{a}tc^i$ [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

wAtcā- to cook.

 \ddot{a} w $\Delta tc\bar{a}h\bar{a}tc^i$ then she cooked a meal 240.12 (\ddot{a} — $\bar{a}tc^i$ [§ 29]; -h-[§ 21])

wīwatcāhagw • we (incl.) shall cook for him 256.8 (wī—agw • [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

wīwutcāhawawān^e shall we cook for him 260.15 (indirect question; wī—wagwanⁱ[§ 32]; confusion of and unless wī- is used unusually with the subjunctive; -h-[§ 21]; -a-[§ 8])

See also 152.20, 21; 228.7; 232.3; 234.22; 244.7; 248.21; 262.8; 264.3; 266.1

wapa- to look at.

kīwāpatāpena let us look into it 24.8 (kī—āpena [§ 28]; -t- [§ 21]) äwāpamātci he looked at her 46.7 (ä—ātci [§ 29]; -m- [§ 21]) wāpaminu look at me 322.3 (-m- [§ 21]; -inu [§ 31]) See also 104.13, 19; 146.7, 9; 250.8; 316.20; 338.7

wīcā- to implore.

äwicāmegutc he was implored 182.5 (for ä—tcⁱ [§ 29, also § 10]; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])

win Ani- to flay and cut up.

wīnanihⁱ cut it up 58.2, 3; 162.13 (-h- [§ 21]; -ⁱ [§ 31]) § 16

äwīnani $h\bar{a}tc^i$ then she flayed and cut him up 162.14 (ä— $\bar{a}tc^i$ [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

kīciwīnanihātci after she had flayed and cut it up 162.14 (ä-dropped [§ 12]; kīci-[§ 16] completion)

wine- filthy.

wīnesi w^a she is filthy 292.15 (-si- [§ 20]; - w^a [§ 28]) See also 320.3

wīseni- to eat.

wīwīseniwag' they shall eat 8.11 (-wag' [§ 28]; wī- used because the form is intransitive [§ 28]) $k\bar{\imath}w\bar{\imath}sen^i$ thou wilt eat 26.7 ($k\bar{\imath}$ - [§ 28]) äwīseni tc^i then he ate 240.13 (ä— tc^i [§ 29]) See also 14.18; 196.16, 20

yā- to go.

äyāwāte' that they went 72.2 (ä- unexpected with the subjunctive, but see my note to § 29; -wāte' [§ 29]) äyāmiga'k' it went 224.17 (ä—'k' [§ 29]; -miga- [§§ 33, 20; cf. § 28]) äyāwāte they went 166.5 (for ä—wāte' [§ 29]) See also 72.3; 176.20; 200.21; 262.21

SECONDARY STEMS (§§ 17-20)

§ 17. Types of Secondary Stems

These stems are not as numerous as initial stems, but still their number is quite considerable. They never occur alone, but are found usually between an initial member and a formative, or else, but much less often, in conjunction with only a formative. In a combination like $t\ddot{a}'wici'nw^a$ HE FELL AND HURT HIMSELF, $t\ddot{a}wi$ is initial, and denotes pain; while -cin is secondary, and expresses the notion of coming to a state of rest. In the word $tc\bar{i}'m\bar{a}n^i$ canoe is a less frequent example of a secondary stem occupying first place. The stem tci or tcim comes from a secondary element indicating movement in water, and the rest of the word is a suffix denoting abstraction, both together referring to the object used for going through water.

Just as a regular system of arrangement determines the position of initial stems before secondary stems, so the same sort of order places the representatives of one group of secondary stems before those of another group. This peculiar method of arrangement rests largely

¹ From p. 772 to here, addition by T Michelson.

on the nature of the ideas expressed by the stems. It makes possible a further division of stems into secondary stems of the first order and secondary stems of the second order.

Secondary stems of the second class always stand nearest to the terminal pronominal signs: -usä- in wä'pusä'wa he begins to walk is a secondary stem of the second class. Some secondary stems of the first class, however, can occupy the same place, but only when a secondary stem of the second class is absent: tca'gana'qetu'nwa HE HAS A SMALL MOUTH contains two secondary stems of the first classone is -nag-, which expresses the notion of cavity; the other is -tun-, which refers to the idea of space round about a cavity, and is a term applied to the lips and mouth. A further division of secondary stems of the first class might be suggested, in which -nag- would represent one class, and -tun- the other: -nag- belongs to a more stationary type, which always stands next to initial stems when there are other secondary stems in composition; and -tun- belongs to a more The latter type is frequent in nominal form: $u't\bar{o}n^i$ mobile kind. MOUTH (literally, HIS MOUTH). In kīwe'skwäpyä'wa HE IS DRUNK are illustrated two types of secondary stems: kīwe- is an initial stem meaning indefinite movement anywhere; -skwä- is a secondary stem of the first class, denoting the neck and back of the head; and -pyāis a secondary stem of the second class, expressive of a subtle, attributive condition. [-pyä-belongs rather to the secondary nominal stems (§ 23); -skwä- apparently cognate with -'kwä- (§ 18). But why can not -skwä- correspond to -nag-, and -pyä- to -tun-? At any rate, this does not affect the statement made at the end of § 19.-T. M.] A fuller and more correct rendering of the combination would be something like HE IS IN A STATE OF AIMLESS MOVEMENT IN THE REGION ABOUT THE NECK AND HEAD.

§ 18. Secondary Stems of the First Order

-ā'kw- relates in a general way to matter at rest and in the form of linear dimension, together with an uncertain implication as to its state of hardness. The term is of frequent use, an example of which comes out in the notion of wood, TREE, FOREST.

pe'kwā''kwāwi'w' it is a place of clumps of trees pīgwā''kwāwi'w' a grove stands dense in the distance pāgā''kwici'nw' he bumped against a tree, post, bar (pāg-same as pag [§ 14]; -cin-[§ 20])

pe'cigwā'kwa'tw' the log, tree, stick, is straight pagā'kwitunäcinwa he bumps himself on the mouth (analysis § 14)

-nAg- expresses the idea of an opening, as of a hole.

pā''kāna'getā'w' the hole gapes open

ma'gāna'getu'nwa he has a large mouth (-tun- mouth [p. 796])

ku'gwäna'gucā'wa he has holes pierced in his ears (-cä- ear [p. 796])

-tAy- is another characteristic term of uncertain definition. It refers to the idea of color without having reference to light, shade, hue, or any quality attributive of color. It is simply the idea in the abstract.

keta'gesi'w^a its color is spotted (animate)
wâba'ta'gawä'w^a its color is white (animate)
meckwa'ta'gawä'w^a its color is red (animate, meckwa red)

-ane- relates to mental operation.

ke'kä'nemä'w^a he knows, understands him muswä'nemä'w^a he suspects him (musw-suspect; -m-[§ 37]; -äw^a [§ 28])

menwä'nemä'w^a he feels well disposed toward him nā'gatawä'nemä'w^a he keeps him constantly in mind panä'nemä'w^a he makes fun of him

ämänecitähätc for she felt shame within her heart 38.12 (compare 210.15)

ämuswänemāwātcⁱ they began to suspect something wrong with them 150.14 (musw-suspect; -m-[§ 37]; ä—āwātcⁱ [§ 29])

-itil- refers to subjective feeling, and so finds place for manifold application.

 $ici't\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}'w^a$ thus he feels (i. e., thinks; for ici thus $+it\ddot{a}$; $-h\ddot{a}$ -[§ 20]; w^a [§ 28])

myāci'tāhā'wa she is tearful, sad to weeping mä'neci'tāhā'wa he is ashamed (-äne- above)

upi'tähä'wa he is joyful

kīwātci'tähä'wa he is lonely (kīwātc- lonely; see also § 20)

ä:i:citähätci he thus thought in his heart 202.10

-nāgu- stands for the idea of LOOK, APPEARANCE, RESEMBLANCE.

pe''kīnā'gusi'wa he looks like a foreigner (-si-[§ 20]) ā'kwä'wināgusi'wa he has an angry look (ā'kwä anger) kecā'tcinā'gusi'wa he has a gentle appearance kīwā'tcinā'gusi'wa he seems sad, lonely -kAm- expresses the idea of indefinite space as applied to such terms as sweep, range, latitude, expanse.

 ke^itci' kamī'wⁱ it is the sea; it is the great expanse ta'kamisä'w^a it flies over an expanse (-isä- [§ 19]) ta' kamī'w^a he crosses an open space ka''kamī'w^a he makes a short cut across

-'ka- imprint, track.

ä'pītci'kawänitc' they trailed (a bear into bushes) 70.12 (for pītci see under pīt-[§ 16] and the analysis in text at end)

In the list of examples that follow immediately are stems relating to parts of the body. Their inherent sense is concerned with space, each form having to do with situation in a given relation.

-cd- carries the vague notion of something thin, as of a sheet, film, blade. It is an association with this spacial sense that makes it a term applied to the ear.

mamā'gecā'wa he has big ears
kī'skecā'wa he has no ears (literally, he is cut-ear)
kagā'nocā'wa he has long ears
nā'käkīckīckecācwātcāpe' and he would cut off their ears 8.12
(reduplicated stem allied to kīsk; for -ātci [§ 29] āpe'e [§ 14])

-kum- or -gum- conveys the intrinsic meaning of linear protrusion, projection out from a base. The use of the term for NOSE is a natural application.

wāgi'kumā'wā he has a crooked nose pāgiku'māci'nwā he bumped his nose (pāgi- see under p4g- [§ 14]; -cin- [§ 20])
tatēgi'kumā'wā his nose spreads at the nostrils (-gi locative suffix)
kīnigu'māyā'wā it is sharp at the point (kīni- [§ 16]; -wā [§ 28])
nā'kākīckigumācwātcāpe'ā and he would cut off their noses 8.13
(for nā'kā and ā-)

-tun- is used for the external space about the mouth.

 $m\bar{\imath}'setu'nw^a$ he has a mustache ($m\bar{\imath}s$ - hair [§ 24]) $kep_{A}'getu'nw^a$ he has thick lips $p\bar{a}''ketu'nw^a$ he opens his mouth

-winā- gives the notion of linear dimension, round of form, and of limited circumference. It is a term for HORN.

tca'kwī'wī'nä'w^a he is short-horned pō'kwiwi'näci'nw^a he fell and broke his horn (-cin- to fall [§ 20]) pa'kwi'winä'w^a he is shedding his horns

- ***Kivä-* is a spacial element expressive of the place back of the neck, of the hair on the head, and even of the head itself. The term has also a feminine meaning, taken, it seems, from the notion of hair. The four different expressions—NECK, HAIR, HEAD, and WOMANKIND—are thus shown in the order named.

 $n\bar{a}pe'$ 'kwä $hw\ddot{a}$ ' w^a he lassoes him by the neck; compare 282.18 (hw [§ 21]; $-\ddot{a}w^a$ [§ 28])

ke'kite''kwänä'w^a he hugs her around the neck (-n-[\S 21]; +- \ddot{a} w^a [\S 28])

pena'hā'kwā'wa she combs her hair

me'se'kwä'wa she has long hair

tä'we'kwä'wa he has a headache (täwi- [§ 16])

 $m_A t_A g u'$ 'kwä $h \bar{o} w^a$ he covers his (own) head

pyäte''kwäwä'w^a he brings home a wife (pyä- [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8]; - \ddot{a} w^a [§ 28])

mī''keme''kwäwä'wa he is wooing (mī'k- [§ 16])

 $n\bar{i}c\bar{o}''$ kwä $w\ddot{a}'w^a$ he has two wives $(n\bar{i}c\bar{o}-$ [§ 12])

-tcd- signifies a material body with volume more or less plump and distended. It is used with reference to the abdominal region.

upi'skwätcä'wa he is big round the waist

 $p\bar{a}ge'$ tcäci' nw^a he ran, and fell on the flat of his belly (the literal translation would seem to be HE FELL AND STRUCK HIS BELLY; see $p_{4}g(i)$ - [§ 14] and $p\bar{a}gi$ - cited under -kum- [p. 796]; -cin- [§ 20])

ke''kite'tcana'wa he grabs him round the body (see ke'kite''kwanawa above)

 $m\bar{\imath}'setc\bar{a}'w^a$ he is afflicted with dropsy

§ 19. Secondary Stems of the Second Order

It is not always easy to determine the place of some secondary stems, whether they belong to the first or to the second order. In passing along the list, one should note that, in some respects, there is a general similarity in the groups of ideas expressed by secondary stems of the second class and by initial stems. There are, however, differences in the apparent similarities, the differences being chiefly of manner and degree. It is doubtful which of these two groups is the more numerous one.

ā in its naked form is so vague of sense that it is almost undefinable.

Its nature comes out well in the rôle of an assisting element,
and as such often helps to convey the idea of motion. In

one instance its help brings about the definite notion of flight from danger.

kī'wāmō'wa he flees hither and thither (for kīw- see under kī-[§ 16]; -m- [§§ 8, 21, 37]; -ō- animate middle voice [§ 40]; -wa 3d person animate singular, intransitive aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

pe'māmō'wa he hurries past in flight (pem- [§ 16])

 $py\ddot{a}'t\bar{a}mo'w^a$ he comes fleeing hitherward ($py\ddot{a}$ - [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8]; -o- [§ 40])

 $w\bar{i}w\ddot{a}p\bar{a}moy_An^i$ you had better begin to flee 98.5 ($w\ddot{a}p$ - [§ 16]; $w\bar{i}-y_An^i$ 2d person singular intransitive future, conjunctive [§ 29]; -m- [§§ 8, 21, 37]; -o- animate middle voice [§ 40])

pemāmoyane in your flight 98.5 (pem- [§ 16]; -m-o- as in last example; -yane 2d person singular intransitive present, subjunctive [§ 29])

äpītāmutcⁱ and in she fled 98.15 (ä- temporal prefix; pīt- into [§ 16]; -m- as in last two examples; -u- animate passive [§ 40]; -tcⁱ 3d person singular animate intransitive acrist, conjunctive [§ 29])

kīcipītāmutc' after she had fled inside 98.16 (kīci-completion [§ 16]) wīwäpāmutē'e it was her purpose to flee for her life 218.14 (wäp-[§ 16]; the form is explained in § 29)

-egā- is for the movement of one in the dance.

 $upy\ddot{a}'neg\ddot{a}'w^a$ he moves slowly in the dance $n\bar{\imath}g\bar{a}'neg\ddot{a}'w^a$ he leads in the dance

ä'hä'wegä'w^a he dances the swan-dance

 $c\bar{a}'w_An\bar{o}'weg\ddot{a}'w^a$ he dances the Shawnee dance

äyäpwäwiwäpegäyägw but before you begin dancing 280.21 (wāp-[§ 16]; -yägw 2d person plural intransitive, conjunctive [§ 29])

-isä- conveys primarily the notion of velocity, speed, and is associated with locomotion through the air.

 $h_A ni'w$ isä' w^a he runs swiftly

myācisā'wi it lacks a keen edge (-c- [§ 21.5])

nema'swisä'wa he alighted feet first

kugwä'tcisä'wa he tries to fly

 $p\bar{\imath}'tc$ isä' w^i it blew inside ($p\bar{\imath}t$ - inside [§ 16])

 $tc_{A}p\bar{o}'g$ isä' w^{a} he fell into the water (for $Ap\bar{o}$ cf. $\bar{a}p\bar{o}$ [§ 24])

wätcikesiyāgīcisāwā whence the cold comes, there he is speeding to 70.14 (analysis note 21, p. 869)

pemisäw^a it went flying past 80.6, 17 (pem- past [§ 16]; -w^a 3d person singular animate aorist, intransitive, independent mode [§ 28])

BOAS]

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\ddot{a}n\bar{u}w is \bar{a}tc^i so out he went on the run 254.15 (\ddot{a}-tc^i [§ 29])
īnänuwisātc then she flew out 146.9 (see §11)
ähanisānitci it flew away 282.17, 19 (-nitci [§ 34])
īnäpemanisānitc thereupon they went flying up 76.14
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- -isahō- is swift locomotion through the air and of a kind that is limited as to space and duration. The idea of the motion is defined by such terms as JUMP, LEAP, BOUND.
 - pītci'sahō'wa he leaps into an enclosure (pītc- see under pīt- [§ 16]; wa [\$ 28])
 - pyätci'sahō'wa he comes a-jumping (pyätc- see under pyä- [§ 16]) kwāskwi'sahō'wa he dismounts
 - nūwi'sahō'wa he goes out on the jump (nuw- out; änuwitch he then went out 38.13; änūwīwātci and they went out 50.2) ätcīpisahutci she leaped with startled surprise 68.18
- -ō- implies conveyance, portage, transportation. It has acquired the specific meaning of CARRYING A BURDEN ON THE BACK.
 - $k\bar{\imath}'y\bar{o}m\ddot{a}'w^a$ she carries it (her child) about on her back ($k\bar{\imath}$ -[§ 16]; -y- a glide [§ 8]; $-\bar{o}$ - [§ 19]; -m- instrumental, animate [§ 21]; $-\bar{a}w^a$ 3d person singular animate subject and object, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])
 - pe'mōta'mwa he passes by with a burden on his back (pem- to pass by [§ 16]; -t- instrumental inanimate [§ 21]; -amwa 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person inanimate object, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])
 - kepyätonepwa I have brought you 90.1 (pyä-motion hither [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8]; $-\bar{o}$ - [§ 19]; ke— $nepw^a$ 1st person singular subject, 2d person plural object, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])
- -ōtā- is for locomotion along a surface, and attended with effort and retardation. It is tantamount to the notion expressed by the words to crawl.

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ta''kamōtä'wa he crawls athwart
A'gōsi'ōtä'wa he crawls upward (as up a tree) (compare ōnä'A'-
 gōsītci and then he climbed up 274.24; ähanemi a gōsīpahō-
 miga'k' climbed hurriedly up the hill 96.19; wīhagōsīyān' I
 shall have to do the climbing 90.19)
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ke'tāsi'ōtā'wa he crawls upward (as up a hill)

 $p\bar{\imath}'t\bar{o}t\ddot{a}'w^a$ he crawls inside $(p\bar{\imath}t-[\S 16])$

Ane'mōtä'wa he crawls moving yon way

ähagwāyūtāwātci they creep forth 352.5 (-ūtä- same as -ōtä-)

ä'pemagwāyutänitc' they started to crawl out 352.11 (pem [§ 16]; -nitc' [§ 34])

- nā'kā pītōtātc then again he crawled into 290.4 (nā'k- again; ā-temporal prefix; pīt- into [§ 16]; -tc for -tc' 3d person singular animate aorist, conjunctive mode [§ 29])
- -usä- has to do with locomotion by land, with particular reference to that of the foot and leg, and of such nature as to imply lack of speed. The combination of ideas involved is synonymous with the word WALK.

cōskā''kusā'wa he walks straight, erect (cōsk-[§ 16])
wä'pusā'wa he starts off on a walk (wäp- to begin [§ 16])
náhusā'wa he learns how to walk (compare nahitcimāwa he
knows how to swim under -tcim-[p. 801])

tete' pusä'wa he walks round in a circle (tetep- in a circle [§ 16]) pyä'tusä'wa he comes a-walking (pyä- motion hither [§ 16]; -t- intervocalic [§ 8])

ä'pemiwäpusätci then he started to walk 194.19 (ä- temporal prefix; pemi- wäp- [§ 16])

 $k\bar{\imath}y$ usä n^u walk thou about 300.2 ($k\bar{\imath}$ - about [§ 16]; -y- a glide [§ 8]; - n^u 2d person singular imperative [§ 31])

wī'kīyusäwa it [animate] shall walk about 300.1 (wī- future) pagūsusänu walk thou on ahead 340.4

- ä kīwā pusā yāg¹ after we proceeded on the way 342.13 (ä-temporal prefix; kīci-wāp-[§ 16]; see § 12 for loss of ci; for the ending see § 29)
- -hogō- is locomotion by water, and differs from -tcim- in having more of the sense of CONVEYANCE.

pyäta'hogō'w^a he comes a-swimming (pyä- motion hither [§ 16]) $k\bar{\imath}wa'$ hogō'w^a he swims about ($k\bar{\imath}$ - motion round about [§ 16]) a'nema'hogō'w^a he swims thitherward

 $s\bar{a}'gitep\ddot{a}'hog\bar{o}'w^a$ he swims with the head above water (sāgiexposed [§ 16]; $tep\ddot{a}$ head)

ä'pemitepikīckahugunitc' they passed by swimming 184.2 (pemito pass [§ 16]; -hugu- same as -hogō-; -nitc' [§ 34])

-puhō- is of the nature of -usä-, differing from it only in the degree of locomotion. It denotes speed and swiftness, and is best translated by the term TO RUN.

pe'mipahō'wa he runs past (pemi- to pass [§ 16])

nA'gipahō'wa he stops running (nAgi- to stop [§ 16])

ki'wipahō'wa he runs around (kī- motion round about [§ 16])

nA'gAskipahō'wa he runs with back bent forward

pä'cipahō'wa he leaves a gentle touch as he flies past on the run

§ 19

äwäpahöwātci then they set to work to paddle 214.3 (for äwäpipahōwātci [§ 12]; ä-; wäpi- [§ 16]; -wātci [§ 29])

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- ä'pemipahutci then he went running along 110.7 (pemi- [§ 16])
- ä'pyä'pahutc' then he came on the run 254.19 (pyä- [§ 16])
- ähanemi a gösipahömiga ki then (the head) climbed hurriedly up the tree 96.19 (hanemi- [§ 16]; -a gösi see p. 799 under -ōtä-)
- ätetepipahute and round in a circle he ran 312.6 (tetep-[§ 16])
- ätetepipahonitc' then (his friend) was running around in a circle (-nitc' [§ 34])
- pyä'pahōwag they came a-running 276.14 (pyä- [§ 16]; -wag for -wag' [§ 28])
- -puyō- is another term for locomotion by water. It expresses passive conveyance, the sense of which comes out well in the word FLOAT.
 - pe'mitetepipu'gōtä'w' it floats past a-whirling (pemi-tetep-[§ 16]; -w' 3d person inanimate singular, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])
 - $n\bar{u}'wipug\bar{o}'w^a$ he came out a-floating ($n\bar{u}wi$ out, see under -isä- [p. 798] and -isa $h\bar{o}$ [p. 799])
 - na'nōskwipu'gōtä'w' it floats about at random
 - ka'skipugō'wa he is able to float (kaski- ability [§ 16])
- -ne'ka- to drive, to pursue.
 - pämine kawātcigi those who pursue, 70 TITLE (this form is participial [§ 33], hence the vowel changes to pämi- from pemi-;
 -ātcigi pronominal form 3d person plural animate subject, 3d person animate object)
- -teim- is locomotion through water. It is equivalent in meaning to the word swim.
 - kīwi'tcimä'w^a he swims round about (see under kī- [p. 766]) pemi'tcimä'w^a he swims past
 - nahi'tcimä'wa he knows how to swim (compare nahusäwa he learns how to walk under -usä- [p. 800])
 - nō'täwi'tcimä'wa he gives out before swimming to the end of his goal
 - ōnäwäpācōwitcimätc¹ then he started to swim out to the shore 276.7 (wäp-[§ 16])
- -gapa- is for perpendicularity, and its use is observed in situations of rest with upright support. The term is rendered by the words TO STAND.
 - ne'nigwi'gāpā'wa he stands trembling ne'maswi'gāpā'wa he rose to his feet

 $n_Agi'g\bar{a}p\bar{a}`w^a$ he came to a standstill $(n_Agi \ [\S \ 16])$ $p\bar{o}ni'g\bar{a}p\bar{a}`w^a$ he ceased standing $(p\bar{o}ni-\ [\S \ 16])$ $tc\bar{a}g\bar{a}n_Agig\bar{a}p\bar{a}w\bar{a}tc^i$ all came to a standing halt $(tc\bar{a}gi\cdot n_Agi-\ [\S \ 16])$ $in\bar{a}n_Agik\bar{a}p\bar{a}w\bar{a}tc^i$ and then they came to a standing halt 50.17 $(-k\bar{a}p\bar{a}-\ for\ -g\bar{a}p\bar{a}-\ [see\ \S \ 3])$

[To prove that any given stem is one of the second class of the second order, from the definition laid down in § 17, one must find it after a stem of the first class of the second order. Now, it will be noticed that not one of the stems given in this section as belonging to the second class of the second order in point of fact is found after a secondary stem of the first class; or, at any rate, no example of one has thus far been pointed out. Accordingly, it follows that at present there is no reason why the so-called second class of the second order should not be relegated to oblivion and the entire body merged with the stems of the first class of the second order. The proposed division of stems of the first class of the second order into two subdivisions strikes me as sound in principle; but too few secondary stems have been thus far pointed out to make this division feasible at present.

The following remarks were written subsequent to the preceding comments. As it is admitted in § 14 as well as in § 17 that two secondary stems of the first class can occur in combination, there is no reason why ta kamisäwa (under -kam- § 18) should not also fall into this class (-kam-+-isä-). It should be noted especially that ta- is initial: see § 17 and my note in § 14.—T. M.]

§ 20. Secondary Co-ordinative Stems

There is yet another class of stems that occupy a place just preceding the terminal suffixed pronouns. They serve a double office,—one as co-ordinatives between preceding stems of a purely verbal nature, and following pronominal elements; the other as verbals signifying intransitive notions of existence, being, state, condition. Some express the notion feebly, others do it with more certainty. Many stand in an intimate relation with the subjective terminal pronouns, in a relation of concord, and one so close that they take on different forms; some to agree with the animate, others with the inanimate. Their nature and type are shown in the examples.

1. -cin- animate; -sen- inanimate.

-cin- is an animate term with much variety of use. Its essential meaning is CHANGE FROM MOTION TO REST. The length of

the pause can be long enough to indicate the idea of RECLIN-ING, LYING DOWN.

 $s\bar{a}'gici`nw^a$ he lies exposed ($s\bar{a}gi$ - [§ 16]) $\bar{a}ta'w\bar{a}ci`nw^a$ he lies on his back

kīcū'wici'nwa he lies warm

äcegicinitci when he lay 116.9

'ähape'kwähicinowātc' so they lay with a pillow under their heads 322.20

äcegicinowātc as they lay there together 324.8 äcegicinig where he lay 326.1

The cessation may be only momentary, like the instant respite of the foot on the ground during the act of walking. The term is translated into STEP, WALK, in the following examples:

pe'miwä'wäci'nwa it is the sound of his footstep as he passes by (pemi-[§ 16])

pyätwä'wäci'nwa it is the sound of his walk coming home (pyä [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8])

Anemwä'wäci'nwa it is the sound of his step going away

Again, the rest may be sudden, and indefinite as to duration. The meaning in this light comes out in words expressive of descent, as FALL, DROP.

 $p_A'gici'nw^a$ (the bird) lights (see p_Ag - [§ 14])

ä pyätcipagicinitci then the bird came and alighted 98.3 (pyätcisee pyä- [§ 16]; -nitci [§ 34])

 $p\bar{\imath}'t\bar{a}ci`nw^a$ he dropped inside ($p\bar{\imath}t$ - [§ 16]) $c\bar{o}'skwici`nw^a$ he slips and falls ($c\bar{o}sk$ - [§ 16])

-sen- is inanimate, and corresponds to -cin-. It is of wide use, too. It can be applied in the examples illustrating some of the uses of -cin-. To indicate REST IN PLACE -sen- is used in the following examples:

sā'gise'nw' it lies exposed (sāgi-[\$ 16])
āta'wāse'nw' it lies wrong side up
kīcū'wise'nw' it lies in a state of warmth

It likewise expresses the notion of instant change coming from rapid contact between two bodies. As in the illustrations for -cin-, so in the following, the idea for sound is represented by the reduplicated form of wä. The idea of contact and the idea of interval between one contact and another are expressed by -sen-.

pe'miwä'wäse'nw' it passes by a-jingling (pemi-[§ 16]; -w' [§ 28]) pyätwä'wäse'nw' it comes a-ringing (pyät- see pyä- [§ 16])

Anemwä'wäse'nw' it goes yon way a-tinkling

Some of its uses to express descent are—

 $p_{A}'gise'nw^{i}$ it struck, hit, fell, alighted $(p_{A}g-[\S 14])$ $p_{\overline{i}}'t\bar{a}se'nw^{i}$ it dropped inside $(p_{\overline{i}}t-[\S 16]; -\bar{a}-[\S 19])$ $c_{\overline{o}}'skwise'nw^{i}$ it slid and fell $(c_{\overline{o}}sk-[\S 16])$

[Apparently -sen- can be used also with an animate subject: ä'pagisenetc' 160.1.—T. M.]

- 2. -si- animate; -ā- inanimate.
 - -si- implies in a general way the attribute of being animate. It can almost always be rendered in English by an adjective used with the verb to be:

mō'wesi'wa he is untidy (-wa [§ 28])
kā'wesi'wa he is rough, uneven, on the skin
cā'wesi'wa he is hungry (i. e., feeble, faint by reason of being famished)

-ā- is the inanimate correspondent of si:

kepa'gesi'wa he is thick of skin

mō'wāw' it is soiled, stained (w' [§ 28]) kā'wāw' it is rough, unpolished, prickly cā'cawā'w' it is pliant, yielding ke'pagyā'w' it is thick

- 3. $-s\bar{u}$ heat, animate; $-t\ddot{a}$ heat, inanimate.
 - -sū- signifies that the animate subject is in a state of heat, fire, warmth:

wī'casū'wa he is sweating
a''kasū'wa he is burned to a crisp
pa'sesū'wa he is burned
kī'cešū'wa he is cooked done (kīci- [§ 16])
ä:ä''kasutc' he was burned alive 160.1
kīcitcāgesutc' after he was all burned up 160.2 (kīci-. tcāgi- [§ 16])

-tä- is the inanimate equivalent of $s\bar{u}$:

wi'catä'w' (weather) is warm
a''katä'w' it burned to ashes
pa'setä'w' it is hot, heated (pas-[§ 16])
kī'catä'w' it is done cooking (kīci-[§ 16])

(-a-).—The a of ta in the last illustration has been met before in combinations like usa to walk, isa flight, ōta to crawl,

egä to dance, and some others. In the form of kä, 'kä, and sometimes gä, it helps to express activity, occupation, exercise, industry. It admits of a wide range of use with the three forms, but everywhere is distinguished the idea of doing, performing.

nenu'su'kä'wa he is on a buffalo-hunt

kepi'hikā'wa he is making a fence (i. e., an enclosure). [kep-is an initial stem denoting ENCLOSURE.—T. M.]

 $k\bar{o}ge'nig\ddot{a}'w^a$ she is washing clothes (i. e., doing work with water $[k\bar{o}g-\S~16]$)

There is no precise notion expressed by the vowel ä in such augmented forms as -hä- and -wä-. It is an empty sign so far as standing for an idea goes; yet the vowel, like some others in its class, plays an important function. It helps to define the preceding stems and to connect them with the terminal pronouns. A copula might be an apt term for it, for such is its office. The following show some of its uses:

kī'wātci'tähā'w^a he is melancholy (-itä- [§ 18]) ā'kwi'tähā'w^a he is sullen kī'yāwā'w^a he is jealous ā''kwäw^a he is angry

The inanimate retains \ddot{a} in $-\ddot{a}mig_{\Delta}t$. As in the animate, so in the inanimate, the rendering is usually with some form of the verb to be. The inanimate admits of a further meaning, implying something of the notion of vague extension, like prevalent tone, pervading temper, dominant state of things. Such is the essential idea that comes from the substitution of $-\ddot{a}mig_{\Delta}t$ - for the animate in the forms that have just been given:

ne'nusu'kä'miga'tw' the buffalo-hunt is the all-absorbing topic ke'pihikä'miga'tw' everything is given over to the building of enclosures

 $k\bar{o}'genig\ddot{a}'migA'tw'$ the place is astir with the washing of clothes $k\bar{i}'w\bar{a}tcit\ddot{a}h\ddot{a}'migA'tw'$ the place is sad, dolefully sad

ā''kwitähä'miga'tw' the air is all in a spleen

kīyāwā'miga'tw' the place is mad with jealousy

ā'kwa'miga'tw' it is aflame with anger

It is well to mention at this point an inanimate use of $-g_At$ -, a component element of $-\ddot{a}mig_At$ -. The form is sometimes $-gw_At$ -, $-kw_At$ -, or $-kw_At$ -. In function it is not unlike the inanimate

-ā-, shown a little way back as an equivalent of the animate -si-. Furthermore, it has a very common use of expressing ideas of vague existence in space of such things as odor, fragrance, atmospheric states of the weather.

peci'gwā'kwa'tw' (tree, log, stick) is straight mī'cāga'tw' it is fuzzy me'nāgwa'tw' it smells, stinks mī'cātci'yāgwa'tw' it is fragrant

me'ca'kwa'tw' it is a clear day or starry night (literally, it is a state of immensity)

negwâ'na'kwa'tw' it is cloudy (more literally, a process of covering is going on above)

pōsā'na'kwa'tw' clouds hang heavy, look angry (literally, a condition of enlargement, expansion, is taking place overhead)

(-i-).—The vowel i, in the forms -wi- and -hi-, is another element with the office of a link auxiliary. It is a common characteristic of i, in one or the other form, to increase or to retain the quantity of the vowel in the preceding syllable. It frequently lends emphasis to the meaning of a whole combination.

kīwāte'sīhi'w^a he is so lonely (for kīwāte beside kīwātci, cf. pyäte beside pyätci [pyä- § 16]; -sī-=-si-, above)

sanage'sīhi'wa he is positively unyielding, incorrigible

The inanimate of the same is-

 $k\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}'tc\bar{a}$ hi' w^i the place is so lonely (- \bar{a} - inanimate of -si-) $s_{AnAgA'}t\bar{o}$ hi' w^i it is certainly tough, formidable

Some instances show that the use of i is not always in agreement with the principle of strict pronominal concord; in other words, that it is not a peculiarity of one or the other gender.

me''tōsäne'nīhi'wa he is mortal, exists as a mortal wāwāne'skāhi'wa he is bad, lives an evil life me''tosäne'nīhi'wi it is in nature mortal wāwāne'skāhi'wi it has the stamp of evil on it

A common use of i conveys the idea of entrance into a state, or of becoming a part of a condition.

ma'netōwi'w^a he takes on the essence of supernatural power, is supernatural power itself (personified)

ugi'māwi'w^a he becomes chief

ma'netōwi'w' it is charged with, is possessed of, supernatural power; it becomes the supernatural power itself ugi'māwi'w' it partakes of the nature of sovereignty

§ 21. INSTRUMENTAL PARTICLES

A set of elements denoting different notions of instrumentality incorporate after initial stems and after secondary stems of the first class. They introduce a causal relation, and render verbs transitive. Their nature and type come out in the illustrations.

1. -h- is for instrumentality in general.

k''skah' mw he accomplishes an act with the aid of means p''nah' mw he failed to hit it with what he used

ha'pi'naha'mwa he unloosed it by means of something

-h- often gets so far away from its instrumental significance as to be absorbed by a general causal idea.

 $k\bar{\imath}w\bar{a}'moh\ddot{a}'w^a$ he puts them to wild flight ($k\bar{\imath}$ - [§ 16]; $-\bar{a}$ - [§ 19]; $-\ddot{a}w^a$ [§ 28])

mäne'cihä'wa he disgraces him

nī'cwihā'wa he owns two (animate objects)

The instrumental form is frequently -hw- instead of -h-.

 $p\bar{\imath}'tahw\ddot{a}'w^a$ he buries him ($p\bar{\imath}t$ -[§ 16]; $-\ddot{a}w^a$ [§ 28])

 $p\bar{a}'gu$ hw \ddot{a} ' w^a he makes him run

pōtcī'gwähwä'wa he pierced him in the eye with something

2. -n- refers to the instrumentality of the hand.

 $n\bar{o}'t\ddot{a}n_{A}'mw^{a}$ he falls short of reaching it with his hand (Δmw^{a} [§ 28])

pa'nena'mwa he failed to hold it with the hand atā' pena'mwa he takes hold of it with the hand

The use of -n- is so common that its symbolism gets pretty far from its original meaning. In some instances -n- refers just as much to mechanical means in general as it does to hand.

nā'nāwa he goes to fetch him ā'wanā'wa he carries him away me'cenā'wa he catches him

And in other instances the notion of hand becomes obscure.

 $m\ddot{a}ne'w\bar{a}n\ddot{a}`w^a$ he loves her as a lover $t_A'p\bar{a}n\ddot{a}`w^a$ he is fond of her as a lover, friend, or relative $k_A'n\bar{o}n\ddot{a}`w^a$ he talks to her $(k_An-[\S24])$

3. -sk- expresses the doing of an act with the foot or leg.

ta'geska'mwa he kicks it

tā'geska'mwa he touches it with the foot

p_Ata''ketcä'skawä'w^a he spurs him in the side (literally, he pierces him in the side with the foot)

4. -p-, -pu-, or -pw- denotes an act done with the mouth.

sa'gi'pwä'wa he bites him (i. e., he takes hold of him with the mouth [sagi- § 16]; -äwa [§ 28])

sagi''putō'wa he bit it (-tō- [§ 37])

kī'ckiku'mä'pwä'wa he bites off his nose (kīcki- cut; -kum- nose [§ 18]; -äwa [§ 28])

pō'tetu'nä'pwä'wa he kisses her (-tun- [§ 18]; -äwa [§ 28])

5. -c-, -cw-, or -sw- signifies an act done with something sharp.

pe'tecō'wa he cuts himself accidentally (with a knife)

kīskāno'wācwā'wa he cut off the (animal's) tail kī'skeca'mwa he cut it off

kīske'cāswā'wa he cut off (another's) ear (-cā- ear [§ 18])

The association of the two ideas of something sharp, and something thin and film-like, affords an explanation of why c refers not only to the ear, but also to the notion of the ear as an instrument; usually, however, in an intransitive sense.

 $pe'secā'w^a$ he listens (compare $-c\ddot{a}$ - [§ 18]) $nan\bar{a}'tuc\bar{a}'w^a$ he asks questions (i. e., he seeks with the ear)

6. -m-, -t-. Farther back were shown a number of attributive elements indicating activities with reference to one or the other gender. The elements were preceded by certain consonants, which had much to do with indicating the gender of what followed. There is an analogous process in causal relations. Certain consonants precede pronominal elements in much the same way as the instrumental particles that have just been shown. These consonants serve as intervocalics, and at the same time point out the gender of what follows. A very common consonant is m, which precedes incorporated animate pronominal elements in the objective case. It sometimes means doing something with the voice, the act being done with reference to an animate object.

 $p\bar{o}'nim\ddot{a}'w^a$ he stops talking to him $(p\bar{o}ni$ - [§ 16])

tanwä'wämä'wa he quarrels with him (literally, he engages in repeated noise with him; for wäwä- compare examples under -cin-, -sen-[§ 20])

ka'skimä'wa he gains her by persuasion (kaski-[§ 16])

Corresponding with m on the inanimate side is t or t, but the use appears there in a different sense.

```
p\bar{o}'ni't\bar{o}'w<sup>a</sup> he stops doing it (p\bar{o}ni- [§ 16]) tanwä'wä't\bar{o}'w<sup>a</sup> he bangs away on it (-\bar{o}- [§ 37]) k_A'ski't\bar{o}'w<sup>a</sup> he gets it, he buys it (k_Aski- [§ 16])
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It is not always certain if the symbol stands for a genuine instrumental. Its causal force is so indefinite at times as to represent no other function than to make an animate verb transitive.

 $w\hat{a}'b_Am\ddot{a}'w^a$ he looks at him ($w\hat{a}b_A$ same as $w\hat{a}p_A$ to look at; $-\ddot{a}w^a$ [§ 28])

pa'gamä'wa he hits him (pag- [§ 14]; see also examples under -cin--sen- [§ 20])

mī'kemā'wa he is occupied with (an animate object). It is the idiom for he wooes her, he attends him (in sickness) (mī'k-[§ 16])

The parallel of the same thing with t and the inanimate would be— $wd'b_{A}t_{A}$ ' mw^{a} he looks at it (- Amw^{a} [§ 28])

 $p_A'g_A t_A'mw^a$ he hits it

mī''keta'mwa he is busy with it

7. -s-, -'t-. Another frequent consonant, indicating that the following vowel represents an animate object, is s. In the inanimate, 't replaces s.

ku'säwa he fears him a'säwa he owns something animate ku''tamwa he fears it a''tōwa he has it (-ō- [§ 37]; -wa [§ 28])

8. -n-, -t-. It was shown that n referred to activity with the hand. The reference was clear when the object was animate: as—

pyä'näwa he fetches him (literally, he comes, bringing him with the hand [pyä- § 16])

nā'näwa he goes to fetch him with the hand

The instrumental notion of the hand is sometimes lost when the object of the activity is inanimate. In that case t replaces n.

 $py\ddot{a}'t\bar{o}w^a$ he fetches it $(-\bar{o}-[\S 37])$ $n\bar{a}'t\bar{o}w^a$ he goes to fetch it

Substantival Composition (§§ 22-24)

§ 22. CHARACTER OF SUBSTANTIVES

A pure substantive in the strict sense of the word is wanting in the Algonquian languages, but what is here termed a substantive is only part of that. The composition of a so-called substantive-group is not at all unlike that of a verb. Initial and secondary stems combine in the same kind of way; link-stems also fall in line; and the element to indicate the notion of a specifier is a sort of designating suffix that is susceptible of a comprehensive application. The suffix, in turn, ends with one or the other of the pronominal signs to show which gender the word is—a for the animate, and i for the inanimate. Often there is no designative suffix at all, but merely a pronominal termination to mark the end of the word, and leaving the idea of a substantive to be inferred from the context. In the illustrations of noun-composition, only the absolute form of the nominative is given, and under the component parts of secondary stems and suffixes.

§ 23. SECONDARY STEMS

-d'kw- has been met with before in another connection, meaning mass, usually in linear dimension, and referring to wood, tree.

It conveys much the same meaning in the noun.

me'ciwā''kwa dead fallen tree (meci- large [initial])

ma'gā'kwa''k' tree of large girth (mag-large[initial])

mä'ckwā'kwī'i red stem (the name of a medicinal plant) (mäckw-blood or red [for meckw-])

pe'mitā'kwī's collar-bone (pemi- spacial notion of SIDE, BY, LAT-ERAL [§ 16])

-ōtil- is probably akin to the same form met with in the verb, and denoting TO CRAWL. It has no such specific meaning in the noun, but refers in a general way to human interests, especially in an objective relation.

me'gō'täwe'n' dress (of a woman) (meg-cover [initial])

me'sōtä'w' rain, wind, rumor, news, the whole world (mestotality [initial]; -w' [§ 28])

 $u't\bar{o}t\ddot{a}'m^a$ or $ut\bar{o}'t\ddot{a}m_A'n^i$ his eldest brother, his guardian, his master, his clan tutelary, his giver of supernatural power ($u-m_An^i$ [§ 45])

ō'täwe'ni town probably belongs to this class

-nu'k- refers to the spacial notion of TOP, CREST, APEX.

 $k\bar{a}'wata'$ na' $k\bar{\imath}^{i}$ brittle-top (the name of a medicinal plant) ($k\bar{a}w$ -roughness, asperity)

mäckwa'na'kī' red-top (the name of a plant used for medicine)
(mäckw- red)

- -ōtc- or -ōt- conveys the idea of LATENCY, and refers to something used for a purpose. The -ō- is the same as that met with before, denoting the notion of passive conveyance.
 - te'sotci' trap (tes- to entrap [initial stem])
 - Aca'mōtcī' bait (Acam- to give to eat)
 - nā'neskwäputcī' dart (nāne- to poise; nāneskwä to poise by the neck; nāneskwäp to poise by a notch in the neck [done by a knot at the end of a string used in throwing the dart]; for -ōtc-:-ōt-, cf. pītc(i): pīt [§ 16])
- -pyā-, a term incapable of specific definition, denotes something of the vagueness implied in words like ESSENCE, QUALITY, CONDITION.
 - kī'wāpyā' crawling vine (kīw- indefinite movement or space [literally, a something with the attribute of movement almost anywhere about])
 - kīcō'pyätä'g' hot water (kīc- [initial] and tä- [cf.-tä- warmth [§ 20]). The objective idea of water is transferred to the acquired condition; and the term signifying the new state stands for water, although it does not mean water—a common process peculiar to the psychology of the language
- -gi- or -ge- expresses the idea of similarity, resemblance. With the connective ä, as -ägi- or -äge-, it is used to represent the idea for some kinds of cloth.
 - ma'netōwäge'n' like the mysterious (the name of an expensive broadcloth used for leggings and breech-clout)
 - me'ckwäge'nw' like the red (the name of a red woolen broadcloth with white edge)
 - $c\bar{o}'skw\bar{a}g\bar{\imath}'^i$ like the smooth (a fine woolen broadcloth used for garments by women on ceremonial occasions) ($c\bar{o}sk$ [§ 16])
- -pa'k- refers to the external structure of a dwelling.
 - pe'mitōpa''kwi side (of a lodge) (for pemi-cf. under -ā'kw-above) tcā'pa'kwā'n' wall (of a lodge) (tcā-[initial] refers to interlocation) a'kwi'tapa''kwi roof (of a lodge) (a''kwi on top, surface)

§ 24. NOMINAL SUFFIXES

The examples from this point on to the end contain formatives that make a combination take on more of the character of a substantive. The stems that precede the formatives stand in a kind of attributive relation.

-ask- is a generic term for plants and herbs, and is common in the names for medicines.

tane'tīwa'skw' gambling-medicine (tanetī mutual activity, by inference gambling; -tī-[§ 38])

mīcātcine'nīwa'skw' perfume (mīc large; mīcāt state of largeness; mīcātcineni man in a feeling of largeness)

wâ'baskw' white medicine (wâb- white; also to look at)

-āp- appears in combinations denoting cord, string.

me''tegwā'pi bow-string (me''tegw' wood, stick)

Atū'sitā'pi moccasin-string (-ūsi- is related to the stem -usā- TO WALK)

A'sApā'pi string, thread, cord

-min- is a collective term for FRUIT, GRAIN, BERRY.

me'cīmi'na apple (literally, large fruit; mec-initial stem)

wâ'bimi'n' white corn

Adä'imi'n' strawberry (literally, heart-berry)

kā'wimi'na gooseberry (literally, prickly, rough, or thorny berry;
 cf. kāwesiwa he is rough [§ 20])

- $p\bar{o}$ - or - $\bar{a}p\bar{o}$ - refers to fluid, liquid.

 $ne'p\bar{o}p^i$ soup $(ne'p^i$ water)

ma'ciski'wāpō'w' tea (literally, herb-drink or herb-fluid)

wīcku' pāpō'w' wine (literally, sweet fluid)

maskutä'wāpōw' whisky, rum, alcohol (literally, fire-fluid; -tä-[§ 20])

wīmeckwāpōgateniw' there shall be a red fluid 184.19 (meckw-red [initial stem]; -gat-[§ 20]; wī-sign of intransitive future [§ 28]; -w' [§ 28]; -ni-[§ 34]; -e- to prevent the cluster -tn-[§ 8])

-mutä- is a general term for receptacle as the notion is expressed in POCKET, POUCH, BAG.

 $m\bar{\imath}ci'$ mutä^{\(\gamma\)} paunch ($m\bar{\imath}c$ - littleness, shortness, as in fuzz, and so fuzzy pouch)

maski'mutä' bag, sack (maski- as in ma'skiski'w grass, reed, and so reed bag, grass bag)

 $k\bar{a}'ki'$ mutä' bag made from linn-wood bark ($k\bar{a}'k$ - to dry, season, and so a bag of seasoned material)

pīcā'ganimutä'i parflèche (pī'cāga'n' rawhide, and so rawhide pouch)

-gAn- is a comprehensive term expressive of instrumentality.

kepanō'higa'n' lid (for a bucket, basket) (kep- to enclose; -anopening, and so an object for closing an opening) ke'patci'higa`n' lid, cork for small opening, as in a bottle kepī'higa`n' fence (kep- to enclose)

kā'wipu'tciga'n' file (kāwi- rough, serrated; -pu- or -put- [see § 21; cf. pītci- beside pīti-] bite, and so an indented tool for taking hold)

apwā'tcīga'n' scaffold for roasting and drying meat on (apwā-to roast, and so a thing for roasting)

-gan- is a common element for many nouns denoting parts of the body.

mī'setu'nāga'n' mustache, beard (mīs- hair, fuzz; -tun- mouth [§ 18], lips, and so the hair or thread-like arrangement about the mouth)

uwi'pigA`n' marrow (-wip- form, length, and roundness vaguely implied)

u''kwäga'n' neck (-'kwä- the space back of the neck [§ 18])

-nā- refers in a general way to place, and is used to denote an inhabited region or community.

Cā'wanō'ïnā'w. Shawnee village (Cā'wanō'w. a Shawnee)

Wacā'cinā'w' Osage town (acāca an Osage)

Ō'tcipwä'hinā'w' Ojibwa country (Ō'tcipwä'wa an Ojibwa)

With the locative ending $-g^i$, as $-n\bar{a}g^i$, the meaning becomes more that of COUNTRY, LAND.

 $ac\bar{a}'hin\bar{a}'g^i$ in the country of the Sioux ($a'c\bar{a}^a$ a Sioux) $k\bar{\imath}'g\bar{a}p\bar{o}'hin\bar{a}'g^i$ in the Kickapoo country ($K\bar{\imath}'g\bar{a}p\bar{o}'w^a$ a Kickapoo)

-gān- is another collective term for place. It refers especially to enclosures.

 $\Delta d\bar{a}'w\ddot{a}g\bar{a}'n'$ store ($\Delta d\bar{a}w\ddot{a}$ - to sell, and so selling-place)

Ase'nigā'n' stone house (A'sen' stone)

pa''kwaigā'n' flag-reed lodge (pa''kwa' flag-reed or flag-reed mat)

-īn-, -win-, -wen-, -ān-, -wān-, -ōn-. There is one suffix that imparts an abstract meaning to a combination; it is analogous in meaning to ā'wahī'n', a demonstrative pronoun with an indefinite sense of vague reference, allusion, and having a close parallel to the colloquial "What d'ye call it?" The suffix appears in slightly varying forms, as -īn-, -win-, -wen-, -ān-, -wān-, -ōn-.

 $A'p_Ap_1$ 'n' chair, seat (Ap- to sit, and so something to sit on)

ka'nawi'n' word, talk, report (kan- to talk, and so something about talk)

mī'tciwe'n' food (mī- or mīt- to eat, and so something to eat)
pa'gān' hickory-nut (pag- to hit, alight [§ 14], and so something to
drop and hit)

pī'tanwā'na quiver (pī- or pīt- to put into [§ 16]; -an- receptacle, and so an object to contain something inside)

 $w\hat{a}'b_{A}m\bar{o}$ 'n' mirror ($w\hat{a}b_{A}$ - to look at [same as $w\hat{a}p_{A}$ -]; -m-[§ 21], and so something to look at)

These few examples are perhaps enough to give an idea of nounstructure. As in the verb, so in the noun, there is much the same general character of vague implication in the component parts when they stand alone. They offer no definite meaning by themselves: it is only as they enter into combination that they convey specific sense to the mind. The moment they fall into composition, they acquire the force of precise statement, which they hold within definite limits. The method of procedure is to advance progressively from one general notion to another, each qualifying the other, with the result of a constant trend toward greater specialization.

§ 25. Reduplication

Reduplication is common, and occurs in the initial stem. Many initial stems have more than one syllable; and, when reduplication takes place, it may be with the first syllable only, or it may include the syllable immediately following. This phase of the process can be observed from the examples that are to be shown. In the examples the reduplicated syllable will appear in Roman type. The vowel of the reduplication is often unlike the vowel of the syllable reduplicated.

Reduplication expresses—

1. Intensity of action.

kāgī'gänō'wa he held the clan ceremony with great solemnity tā'tageskawä'wa he stamped him under foot (cf. § 21.3)

2. Customary action.

mā'micātesi'w^a he always went well dressed (-si- [§ 20]) wā'wī cāpenä'w^a he is always hungry (-cā- allied to -cāwe-; see -si- [§ 20])

3. Continuity of action.

pe'peskutcäskä'w^a it (animate) keeps shedding hair of the body mayo'mayō'w^a he kept on weeping

4. Repetition.

 n_A' n $Ag\bar{\imath}'w^a$ he is constantly stopping on the way $(n_Ag\bar{\imath}-[\S 16]; -w^a$ $[\S 28])$

pā'ka'pā'kanoskä'w' it opens and closes alternately

5. Plurality, distribution.

kīskī 'skecā'wa he cut off both ears (-cā- [§ 18])

sa'sāgigāci'nwa he lay with both feet exposed (sāgi- [§16]; -cin- [§ 20])

mānemānemegu many a thing 112.11

sāsāgisegi they stick out 284.14

nä'nesā'tc' he killed many (animate objects) (nes- initial stem то кіль; -ātc' [§ 29])

nā'nūwisāwā'tc' they came flying out one after the other (nūwiout; -isä- [§ 19]; ä lengthened before wātc' [§ 29]; ä- lacking) mä'metāswitaciwa'g' there were ten of them all together (metāswifor medāswi [§ 50]; taci- [§ 16]; -wag' [§ 28])

6. Duration.

 $p\bar{a}p\bar{o}'n\bar{\imath}w_{A}'g^{i}$ they made long stops on the journey ($p\bar{o}ni$ -[§ 16]; $-w_{A}g^{i}$ [§ 28])

 $w\hat{a}'paw\hat{a}p_{A}m\bar{a}'tc^{i}$ he looked at him a long time 116.6, cf. 278.2 (-m-[§ 21]; $-\bar{a}tc^{i}$ [§ 29]; \ddot{a} - lacking)

 $\ddot{a}h_{A}pih_{A}pitc^{i}$ he sat there a long while 116.6 ($\ddot{a}-tc^{i}$ [§ 29]; -h-glide [§ 8]; $_{A}pi$ -initial stem to sit; $_{A}$ -glide [§ 8])

7. Quantity, size.

mā'mīcine'kä'wa he has a great deal of hair on the hand (mīc-[§ 24 under -min-])

papa'gähe'nwi it is thin (-wi [§ 28])

8. Onomatopæia.

 $k\bar{a}sk\bar{a}'skah_{A}'mw^{a}$ he files it, he scrapes it (-h-[§ 21]; - Amw^{a} [§ 28])

The Verb (§§ 26-41)

§ 26. Pronoun, Voice, and Mode

It has been stated before (§ 14) that animate and inanimate gender are strictly distinguished, that there is a singular and a plural, and that the exclusive and the inclusive first person plural are distinguished. The former is associated with the forms of the first person singular; the latter, with those of the second person. Since both subject and object are expressed by incorporated pronominal forms, the intransitive verb and the transitive verb must be treated separately. Active, middle, and passive voice occur. The pronouns

take entirely different forms in different groups of modes. Three groups of modes may be distinguished,—the indicative, the subjunctive, and the potential,—to which may be added a fragmentary series of imperatives.

§ 27. Tense

The expression of tense by grammatical form is slightly developed. There is nothing in the simple form of the verb to mark the distinction between present and past time. It may express an act as in duration, as passing into a condition, or as momentary; but the time of the action, whether present or past, is to be inferred only from the context. This tense is referred to as acrist. It has its peculiar marks, which will be pointed out in the section on modes and pronominal forms. There may be said to be but one distinct grammatical tense, the future, which is indicated by the vowel i or the syllable wi. A fuller treatment of this tense will also be given further on.

The extreme lack of grammatical form to express tense must not be taken as an indication that the language is unable to make distinctions in the time of an action. On the contrary, stems of the initial class [§ 16] express great variety of temporal relations. Some of these relations are the notions of completion, with an implication of—

Past time.

kī'cipyā'wa he has come (literally, he finishes the movement hither)

Frequency.

nahi' $n\ddot{a}w\ddot{a}$ ' w^a he frequently sees him, he used to see him, he kept seeing him

Continuity.

Anemitā''pena'mwa he is constantly taking it up with his hand Incipiency.

wä'pi $py\ddot{a}$ ' w^a he began coming, he begins to come

Cessation.

pō'nipyä'wa he no longer comes

Furthermore, temporal adverbs are used to express tense.

Present:

ne''pya inug' I come now, I came to-day § 27

Future:

nī' 'pyawabago I shall come to-morrow

Past:

ne'pya'nāgō'wo I came yesterday

Pronominal Forms (§§ 28-34)

§ 28. INDEPENDENT MODE

Aorist

	1	we excl.	we incl.	thou	уе	he[it]	they, animate [they, inani- mate]
Intransitive	ne	ne—pena	kepena	ke	ke—pwa	(wa [wagi [
me				ke-i	ke-ipwa	ne-gwa	ne-gōgi
us excl.				ke-ipena	ke-ipena	ne-gunāna	ne-gunānagi
us incl.						ke-gunāna	ke-gunānagi
thee	ke-ne	ke-nepena				ke-ywa	ke-gōgi
ye	ke-nepwa	ke-nepena				ke-guwāwa .	ke-guwāwAgi
him	nc-āwa	ne-āpena	ke-apena	ke-āwa	ke-āpwa	-āwa	-āwAgi
them	ne-āwagi	ne-apena	ke-dpena	ke-āwagi	ke-apwa	-āwa	-äwAgi
it, them, in- animate	ne-a	ne-àpena	ke-åpena	ke-a	ke-ápwa	-Amwa	-Amōgi

In the line containing the intransitive verb the forms for animate subject, third person, are given in the first line; those for inanimate subject, in the second line. In the transitive verb no forms with inanimate subject occur.

The future forms have $n\bar{\imath}$ and $k\bar{\imath}$ as prefixes in place of ne and ke. The future of the intransitive has the prefix $w\bar{\imath}$. No future forms of the transitive third person subject with third person object have been recorded.

[Such a form is winesāw^a' HE SHALL SLAY IT (HIS DOG) 178.2. Observe $w\bar{\imath}$ - as prefix. It may be noted that intransitive futures occur without this prefix; for instance, $n\bar{\imath}'$ py^a (quoted § 27) I SHALL COME.—T. M.]

The following examples illustrate the use of the intransitive forms:

ne''py' I come, I came (see py\(\alpha\) [\§ 16]) $n\bar{i}'py'$ I shall come 270.21

 $ke''py^a$ you come, you came

pyäwa he comes, he came

 $\bar{h}iw^a$ he says, he said 26.12, 14

pyä'migatw¹ it comes, it came (-migat- of the inanimate is a secondary stem of a connective, and is a peculiarity of gender [see § 20])

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pyäwagi they came 22.14
pyä'pahōwag they come a-running 276.13 (-pahō- [§ 19])
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The following examples illustrate the transitive forms:

kewâpamen^e I look at thee (wâpa initial stem to look at; -m-[§§ 21, 37]; cf. also § 8 end)

ke pyätcinānen° I have come to fetch you away 50.1, 10 (pyätci: see under pyä [§ 16, also § 8]; -nā- to fetch; -n- instrumental particle [§ 21]; see also § 8)

kepyätciwapamene I have come to visit thee 242.11

ketepānene I am fond of thee 314.4

kīwī pumen I shall eat with you 252.4 (wī- [§ 16]; -pu- [§ 21]; -m- [§§ 21, 37])

kīhawihene I shall lend it to thee 302.8

ke*pyätō*nepw^a I have brought to you 90.1 (*pyä*- [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8]; -ō- [§ 19])

kīnatomenepwa I shall call you 356.16

nekusāwa I fear him 366.2 (-s-[§ 21])

newâpamāwa I look at him (wâpa and m as above)

 $n\bar{n}awih\bar{a}w^a$ I am going to visit him 258.1 (nawi- to see; h for $h\bar{a}$ [$k\bar{i}h\bar{a}-pw^a$ you shall go 356.15], or -h- [§21])

nīmāwiwâpamāwa I shall go and visit him 230.22 (māwi- [§ 16]; -m- [§§ 21, 37]; nīmāwâpamāwa at 260.12, 268.19 is the same form with loss of the syllable wi [cf. § 12])

ne pyätcānānāw ag¹ I have come to take them away (pyätc for pyätci-[§16]; -ā [§19]; nā to fetch; -n- instrumental [§21])

netenāwagi I call them 330.6

nīwâpamāwagi I shall see them 298.12 (a mild imperative, LET ME SEE THEM)

ne'wâpata I look at it (-t- [§§ 21, 37])

nepyätcinānāpena we (excl.) have come to take him 58.8 (pyätci [§§ 8, 16]; nā to fetch; -n- [§21])

nenesāpena we (excl.) have slain him 160.4

 $k\bar{i}m\bar{a}w\bar{i}w\hat{a}p_At\bar{a}pen^a$ we (incl.) shall go look at it 284.8 ($m\bar{a}w\bar{i}$ -[§ 16]; $w\hat{a}p_A$ - as above; -t-[§§ 21, 37])

kī'kīwiwâpatāpena we (incl.) are going on a journey to see it 338.7 (kīwi- an initial stem denoting indefinite motion; [cf. kī- § 16])

ke'wâpa'm' thou lookest at me (-m-[§§ 21, 37])

kīnesāpena we shall slay him 90.6 (a mild command)

kīwâwâpamipena-tcā' thou wilt examine us (excl.) 290.23 (wâwâpa a reduplicated form of wâpa-; -m- [§§ 21, 37]), a mild command

kewâ'pamāwa thou lookest at him

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kineckimāwa thou wilt scold at him 284.4 (mild imperative)
kīpāgwihāwa thou wilt run him off 284.5
kīhināwa thou wilt say to him 98.9, 382.12 (-n- is an inter-
  vocalic particle [see § 21])
kīwāpamāwagi thou wilt see them (animate) 246.15
kītäpihāwagi thou wilt make them happy 276.23
kew\hat{a}p_At^* thou lookest at it (-t-[§§ 21, 37])
newâpamegwa Le looked at me 368.19 (-me- [§§ 8, 21, 37])
kīnaganegunāna he will leave us (incl. = thee and me) 178.18
pyänäwa he brought (something alive) 58.5 (pyä-[§ 16]; -n-[§ 21])
k\bar{\imath}y\bar{o}m\ddot{a}w^{a} she carries it (her child) about on her back (k\bar{\imath}- [§ 16];
  -y- a glide [§ 8]; -\bar{o}- [§ 19]; -m- [§ 21])
kaskimä'wa he succeeds in persuading him (kaski-[§ 16]; -m-[§ 21])
wâpatamwa he looks at it
k\bar{a}s\bar{i}hamw<sup>a</sup> he erases it (k\bar{a}s\bar{i}-[\S 16]; -h-[\S 21])
netcāgimanihegōgi they took everything I had 276.15 (tcāgi-[§ 16];
  -q\bar{o}q for -q\bar{o}q^i)
kīpyänutāgōgi they shall come to thee 348.2
kīwāpesīhihegōgi they will set thee crazy 309.20
kīhamwahamwukōgi they will often use thee for food 330.22
  (reduplication to express frequency [§ 25]; -kog' for -gog';
  confusion of k and g [see § 3]; Amw-initial stem to EAT; h
  [both times] a glide [§ 8]; -u- to prevent -wk-)
kīhigōgi they will call thee 110.9
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When the initial stem of a verb begins with a vowel in the aorist, an intervocalic consonant -t- is inserted between pronoun and stem; in the future this insertion does not occur.

Aorist:

ne'taw' I am, I remain; I was, I remained
ke'taw' you are, you remain; you were, you remained
a'wiwa he is, he remains; he was, he remained
awī'miga'tw' it is, it remains; it was, it remained (for -migat- cf.
§ 20)

Future:

nī'·a·w' I shall be, I shall remain
kī'·a·w' you will be, you will remain
wī'·a·wi wa he will be, he will remain
wī·a·wī'miga'tw' it will be, it will remain

§ 29. CONJUNCTIVE, AORIST AND FUTURE; SUBJUNCTIVE, PRESENT AND PAST

	н	we excl.	we incl.	thou	ув	he	they	sing. and plur.
Intransitive	(d- }pdni mi-}pdne -pdne'e	d- voi-]ydge -ydge	6- 101-)yaqwe -yaqwe -yaqw'a	d- 107.] pani -yane -yane'e	d- pague gare gare	d- leci vol- juliesi -te -te'e	d- voltei wt- rults -walte -walte's	4 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 14 1
				9,2474; 9474; 102- 103- 104- 104- 104- 104- 104- 104- 104- 104	d-}indowe		d- }iwatci wi- iwate -iwate	
us excl		l	١		a_bqqe, -1Aqqe -1Aqqe		ut. Syametei ut. Syametei -iyametei -iyametei	
us fnol	1	1			1	wet mane	napue	
	(d- }ndni vot- ^ndne -ndne'e	d - }nage wt.}nage -nage:				(G-7, kt (G-7, kt (oct.) - ke - ke	0- 74.0% 0 0- 74.0% 0 0-1.00 1.16.0	
: : : :	d- ut- nagóve nagóve	d-}ndge wt.}ndge -ndge'e		1		d- aughre- aughre- aughre- aughre-	d- adgae ad- adgae ad- adgae	
him, them	(d-)40f -49e-		d- wt- Agwe -Agwe	d- -4te -4te -4te	de de la constante de la const	de due due due due due due due due due d	dwater dwater	
t, them, inanimate of Amdra - Amdra - Amdra	!		d- }amague Amague Amague		d. Amdqwe .Amdqwe .Amdqw'a	d-}401 -496 -49'e	d- A movedich - A movedich - A movedich	

The indicative negative has the same form as the conjunctive with the negative, which replaces \ddot{a} and $w\bar{\imath}$. All the endings have i as terminal vowel (never e), and take the additional suffix -ni.

[It is likely that \ddot{a} and the $\bar{\imath}$ of $w\bar{\imath}$ are aspirated vowels. This would account for the regular conversion of k, p, t, to \dot{k} , \dot{p} , \dot{t} , after them; and also for the insertion of h after them and before a vowel. The elements $n\bar{\imath}$ - and $k\bar{\imath}$ - have a similar effect (see § 28).—T. M.]

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Intransitive forms:
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winowiyan' I shall go out 320.20 (conj. fut.)
wi'pyāyān' I shall then come 296.21 (conj. fut.)
wi'penuyani I am going home 256.14, 258.23 (conj. fut.)
wīnāgwāyāni I shall go (conj. fut.)
ä'pyāyāge when we (excl.) came (conj. aor.)
wī i cimenwipemātesiyāge that we (excl.) may have good health
  (conj. fut.)
ā pyāyagw when we (incl.) came (conj. aor.)
āhiyani when thou saidst 116.20 (conj. aor.)
winepeyani thou wilt die 296.20 (conj. fut.)
wiwäpāmoyani thou hadst better flee for thy life 98.5 (conj. fut.;
  w\ddot{a}p-[\S 16]; -\bar{a}-[\S 19]; -m-[\S\S 21, 37]; -o-[\S 40]
wi-ā-tcimoyani that thou talkest 322.16 (conj. fut.; -m- -o-
  [\S\S 21, 40]
wihinamoyani thou shouldst flee 98.8 (conj. fut.)
pemāmoyane in thy flight 98.5 (subj. pres.)
kīcipvätōyan° when thou hast brought (it) here 320.20 (subj. pres.;
  kīci- pyä- [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8]; -o- [§ 19])
wäpikāwusäyane start and take another step 128.18 (subj. pres.:
  wäpi- [§ 16]; -usä- [§ 19])
pyā'yan° if you should come 320.4 (subj. pres.)
ā' pemiwä pāmutci then he started to begin to flee 154.10 (conj. aor.;
  pemi- wäpi- [§ 16]; -ā-m-u- [§§ 19, 37, 40])
a'pemusätci then he walked along 104.19 (conj. aor.; pem-for
  pemi- [§ 16] before vowel; -usä- [§ 19])
āhitc1 then he said 48.21; 58.26, 27; 114.2, 9; 118.21, 23 (conj. aor.)
ä'kīyusätc' then he walked about 252.17 (conj. aor.; kī-y-usä-
  [§§ 16, 8, 19])
änāgwātci then he started away 240.19 (conj. aor.)
āpyātci then he came 326.22 (conj. aor.)
a'penutci then he went away 326.2 (conj. aor.)
pyānite should he come 156.21 (subj. pres.)
pītigāte'e that he entered 18.4 (subj. past)
wi'pyānitc' when he would come 298.11 (conj. fut.; -ni- [§ 34])
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- ähanemiwäpusäwätci they continued to start off on a walk 108.8 (conj. aor.; hanemiwäp- [wäpi-] -usä- [§§ 16, 19])
- ä'kīyusäwātc¹ they tramped about 136.14 (kī-y-usä- [§§ 16, 8, 19]) ä'pyāwātc¹ when they came 120.7, 166.22 (conj. aor.)
- ä'pōnīwātci then they halted to camp 166.13 (conj. aor.; pōni-[§ 16])

änagīwātci they halted 166.7 (conj. aor.; nagi [§ 16])

änepāwātci they slept 334.19 (conj. aor.)

ä'penuwātci then they went away 334.19 (conj. aor.)

wi'pemāmuwātc¹ then it was their purpose to begin to flee (conj. fut.; pem-ā-m-u-[§§ 16, 19, 21, 37, 40])

Transitive forms:

witacinesagi I shall kill her 102.1 (conj. fut.; nes- to kill)

āgwitcā wīnesenānin' I do not mean to kill thee 54.23 (conj. fut.; $-n^i$ negative suffix)

äwāwītamawiyani when you (singular) taunted me about him 330.16 (conj. aor.)

ä. A. camiyan' you (singular) gave them to me to eat (conj. aor.)

wipāpagamenāge we (excl.) shall now club you to death 160.6 (conj. fut.; pāpaga- reduplicated form of a stem allied to pag[i]- [§§ 14, 20]; -me- [§§ 8, 21])

neciyano if thou slay me 54.21 (subj. pres.; nes-, nec- to slay [see §9]) wihāwanatci wilt thou carry them away? 54.21 (conj. fut.)

wiketeminawiyägwe that ye will bless me 380.7 (conj. fut.)

äwâpamātc he looked at her 298.20 (conj. aor.; -tc for -tc' before a vowel)

ä'kusātci he feared him 366.22 (conj. aor.; -s- [§ 21.7])

ähinātci he said to him (her) 240.16, 290.18 (conj. aor.; -n-[§ 21]) ä'kīcinesātci after she had slain (an animate object) 254.19 (conj. aor.; kīci-[§ 16]; nes- to slay)

ä $w\bar{\imath}$ 'pum $\bar{\imath}$ tc¹ he then ate with them 296.8 (conj. aor.; $w\bar{\imath}$ -pu-m-[§§ 16, 21, 37])

ä'kaskimātc she succeeded in persuading her 102.6 (conj. aor.; kaski-m-[§§ 16, 21]; -tc for -tc^t before a vowel)

äpyätōhwātci he then fetched (an animate object) 266.15 (conj. aor.; pyä-t-ō-hw-[§§ 16, 8, 19, 21])

äwâpatagi he then looked at (the inanimate thing) 222.22, 248.3 (conj. aor.; -t- [§§ 21, 37])

 $n\bar{a}$ 'kä $k\bar{o}gen$ Ag¹ she also washed it 178.21 (conj. aor.; $n\bar{a}$ 'ka also, again; -a lost before \ddot{a} -; $k\bar{o}g$ -n-[§§ 8, 16, 21])

äpemwutagi so he shot at (the inanimate object) 252.19 (conj. aor.; -t-[§§ 21, 37])

äwâpacimiwātci when they poke fun at me 322.12 (conj. aor.; wâpa to look at)

inācin_Atut_Amu'k¹ thus they begged of thee 382.14 (conj. aor.) änesāwātc¹ then they killed him 294.8, 296.2 (conj. aor.) ähināwātc¹ then they told him 32.5 (conj. aor.; -n- [§ 21]) näwāwāt° should they see them 192.11 (subj. pres.)

[It would seem that under some conditions \ddot{a} - and $w\bar{\imath}$ - may be used with the subjunctive (see § 35.4). Examples are:

ä'pōnīwāte' when they had camped 96.2 (pronominal form of subjunctive past)

wīwäpāmute'e it was his purpose to flee 218.14 (pronominal form of subjunctive past; wäp-ā-m-u-[§§ 16, 19, 21, and 37, 40]) wīmītcite'e she would have eaten 96.3

wipenwage's I would have shot it 254.20 —T. M.]

880. POTENTIAL, POTENTIAL SUBJUNCTIVE, AND PROHIBITIVE 1

they sing. and plur, insnimste	-'ktvolic! -'ktvolic!	-i kivdice -i volsa -ivol klici		-nagrave -nagrave	naphywe naphte naphti	only vi-	-ifa kitatice -diodia -diodi kitci
he	-kitci -sa -'kitci	i'kitce isa -i'kitci	-iyame`kilce -iyamesa -iyame`kilci	-nagague -nagusa	-naghce -naghce -naghci	-naggwe -nwisa -nagdwe	-iyaguce -dsa -d'ktici
ye	-'kāgu'a -yāgāgu'a -'kāgu	i kāpu i kāpo a i kāpu	-i'kāge -i'kāge'e -i'kāge			1	-iya kagu -iyaqdgu'a -iya'ku -a oibe
tpon	-'kapa -'ka'pa -'kani	-i'kani -i'kapa -i'kani	-i'kāge -i'kāge'e -i'kāge		1		-iydkani -iydykapa -iydgani
we incl.	-'kagwe -yagagu'a -'kagwe						-iyagagu a -iyagagu a -iyagague
we excl.	-'kāge'e -yAgāge'e -'kāge		1	1	-nagice(f) -nagige'e -nagige	na päge'e -na päge'e -na päge	-tydydge'a -tydydge'a -tydydge
H	(-'kd'a -'kd'a -'ka		I	-	-4490° a -7490° a -7490° a	-n. gava'i -n. gava'i -n. ga	-iyaga a -iyaga -iyaga
	Intransitive	тю.	us excl	us Incl	thes · · · ·	ye. · · ·	him, them, animate - iyaga'a - iyaga'a - iyaga

The first form is the potential; the second, the potential subjunctive; the third, the prohibitive.

Apparently these forms are distantly related to the other dependent modes. This appears clearly in the forms for the third person animate, exclusive, inclusive, and second person plural. The character of most of the potential forms is -'k-. Examples are—

näsä kapa you (sing.) would have come back to life 116.17 (potential)

mānähiyākapa you (sing.) would have much of it (potential)

kīyāwami'kan' you (sing.) might be jealous of me 216.15 (kīyāwa jealous; -m-[§ 21]; potential)

inenagā'a I should have said to thee 314.3 (potential)

ugimāwisa he would have become chief 26.16 (potential subjunctive)

nesegus^a he would have been killed 168.13 (nes- initial stem to KILL; -e-[§8]; -gu-[§41]; potential subjunctive)

mīciyāgāgu'a you (pl.) might give to him (potential subjunctive) 32.11

kāta aiyāpami ai yohipyā kant thou shalt not return to this place again 146.20 (prohibitive; -pyā- from pyä- [§ 16]); aiyō here; aiyāpami back)

kāta kuse'kyä'käk" be ye not afraid 190.21 (prohibitive; -'kak" for -'kag"; confusion of -g- and k [§ 3]; -se- [§§ 8, 21])

kāta nūwī'kägu do not go out 12.4 (prohibitive; nūwī initial stem оuт)

kāta, nesīmähetigā, sā pigwā'kaku don't, oh my little brothers, peep 282.4, 6, 8, 10 (prohibitive; -ku for -gu)

kāta wīna sā pīgwä kitci let no one of you peep 280.25 (prohibitive)

kāta natawâpi'kani thou shalt not try to peep at me 118.10 (prohibitive; -wâp- for wâpa look at)

kāta, nī'kā'ne, Asāmihi'kan' don't, my friend, be too cruel with me 330.17 (prohibitive)

kāta ātcimi'kāge ye shall not tell on us (excl.) 152.10 (prohibitive)
 kāta wīna natawâpi'kitc uwiya none of you shall try to look at me 280.19 (prohibitive; wâp for wâpa)

§ 31. IMPERATIVE

	we excl.	thou	ye	he	they
Intransitive	-tāwe	-nū'	-gu'	-tce	-wátce
me	_	-inu	- ku	-itce	-inodice
us excl		-inage	-ināge	-iya metce	-iya metce
us incl			-	-naguice	-nagutce
thee		· —-		-netce	-netci
ye				-nowatce	-nowatee
him, them, animate	-diāwe	į -i	-'ku	wi-ātci	เช่-ติเซลีเต่
	l		1	-ālce	-āroātce
lt, them, inanimate	-didwe	-ARU	-Amu'ku	wl-Agi	wi-a mowātci
				-Alce	-A motoálce

It will be noted that in the third person these forms are similar to those of the subjunctive, except that -tce is found when the subjunctive substitutes -te.

```
py\bar{a}'t\bar{a}w^{e} let us come (from py\ddot{a}- [§ 16])
pyā'nu or pyānu' come thou 304.17
tetepusänu walk thou in a circle 376.12 (tetep- [§ 16]; -usä- [§ 19])
nuwinu out of doors with you 292.15 (nuwi- out)
k\bar{\imath}yus\ddot{a}n^{u} walk thou about 300.2 (k\bar{\imath}-[§ 16]; -y [§ 8]; -us\darager{a}-[§ 19])
hawin<sup>u</sup> stay thou 42.21
hapinu sit down 28.3 (api-initial stem to sit; h-really belongs to
  aiyō)
pyā'gu or pyāgu' come ye
hawik^u remain ye 48.23 (confusion of k and g)
nāgwāku begone 58.13
m\bar{a}win n e g\bar{o}^u go ye in pursuit 358.24 (m\bar{a}wi- [§ 16]; -n- [§ 21]; -e-
  [§8]; -g\bar{o}^u for -gu [§6])
pyātce let him come
pyāwātce let them come
w\hat{a}p_Amin^u look thou at me 322.3 (w\hat{a}p_A- to look at; -m- [§ 21])
pōnimi speak thou no more to him 56.3 (pōni-[§ 16]; -m-[§ 21])
māwinatumi ask him to come 366.19, 368.2 (māwi- [§ 16])
wâpame'ku look ye at him 242.19 (wâpa-; -m-[§21]; -e-[§8])
[In a pinahwinage open it and set us (excl.) free 290.22 -nage
   is a palpable error for -nage, for the subject is THOU.—T. M.]
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§ 32. THE INTERROGATIVE MODE

There is an interrogative mode that plays the rôle of an indirect question. It has some points in common with the conjunctive mode; it is a subordinate mode; it makes use of the syllabic augments \ddot{a} and $w\ddot{\imath}$ to express indefinite and future tenses; it has a com-

plete set of pronominal forms from which, in turn, are derived others that are used to express further degrees of subordination. The forms are as follows:

Interrogative Conjunctive, Aorist and Future

	Singular		Plural
1st per.	$\left. egin{array}{l} \ddot{a}-\ war{a}- \end{array} ight\} war{a}n\ddot{a}ni$	Exclu.	$\left. egin{aligned} \ddot{a} - \ war{i} - \end{aligned} ight\} war{a}g\ddot{a}ni$
		Incl.	$\left.\begin{array}{c} \ddot{a}-\\ w\bar{\imath}-\end{array}\right\}$ $w_{A}gw\ddot{a}ni$
2d per.	$\left. egin{array}{l} \ddot{a}-\ war{\imath}- \end{array} ight\}$ w $_{ar{A}}$ nä $_{ar{a}}$ ni	2d per.	ä- wī- wāgwäni
3d per. an.	$\left. egin{array}{c} \ddot{a}-\ oldsymbol{w}ar{\imath}- \end{array} ight\} gwani$	3d per. an.	$\left. egin{array}{c} \ddot{a}-\ war{\imath}- \end{array} ight\}gw\ddot{a}higi$
3d per. inan.	$\left. egin{array}{c} \ddot{a}-\ war{\imath}- \end{array} ight\}\!g\!w\ddot{a}ni$	3d per. inan.	$\left. egin{array}{c} \ddot{a}-\ war{\imath}- \end{array} ight\}\!\!g\!w\ddot{a}hini$

These forms appear in various connections. An example of a future is—

wīwäpipemutīwagwäni when we shall begin shooting at each other 20.12 (indirect question; wäpi- [§ 16]; pemu- in äwäpipemutīwātci then they began shooting at each other 20.14; cf. nī'pemwāwa I am going to shoot at him 248.14; -tī- reciprocal [§ 38])

Three of those used for the agrist will be shown. One is an indirect question after an imperative statement.

kīnanātucāpwa ä' 'cisenogwā'n' you should inquire how the affair stood

Another is in an indirect question after a declarative, negative statement.

āgwinōtāgäyānin' äcisowanän' I did not learn what their name was

A third use is in the salutation of a first meeting after a long absence.

ä'pyāwʌnän'! and so thou hast come!

Without ä, this interrogative appears in

āgwi meckwähäw^a näwägwinⁱ did you not see a red swan 80.5, 16; 82.6 (nä- to see [§ 16]; -wägwi [§ 32]; -nⁱ [§ 29])

[No transitive forms are given in the above table for the interrogative subjunctive. Note, however,

nesāgwäni (somebody) must have killed him 66.7

This is a form of this class; $-\bar{a}$ corresponds to \bar{a} of $-\bar{a}w^a$ in this independent mode; $-gw\bar{a}n^i$ as in the table; but \ddot{a} - is lacking.—T. M.]

The subjunctive of the indirect question omits the temporal prefix, and has throughout final -e instead of -i (-wānāne, -gwähine, etc.).

[näsāgwän^a somebody slew him 26.15 (the change of the stem vowel e to ä as in the participial näsāt^a he that slew him 26.13) should be noted.—T. M.]

§ 33. PARTICIPIALS

	I	We e	exel.	we incl.	thou -yani	
Intransitive	-yāni	- y d	ige	-yAgwe		
me				. —	-iyAni	
us excl		<u> </u>	1		-iyage	
as incl			1			
thee	-nāni	-nāge				
ye	-nagowe	-näge	1			
h i m	-Aga	-Ageta	į.	Agwa	-Ata	
them, an	-Agigi	-Agetcigi		A gwigi	-Atcigi	
l t	-Amāni	-A mäge	-	AmAgwe	-A mA ni	
them, inan	-A mānini	-A māgini	į.	A mAgwini	-A mA nini	
	ye	he	they, an	. it	they, inan	
Intransitive	-yāgwe	-ta	-tcigi	-miga'ki	-mige'kini	
me	-iyāgwe	-ita	-itcigi	-gwiyāni	-gwiyānini	
us excl	-iyāge	-iy <i>A</i> meta	-iya metcigi	-gwiyage	-gwiyāgini	
ıs incl		-nagwa	-nAgwigi	-gwiyAgwe	-gwiyAgwini	
thee		-`ka	-`kigi	-gwiyAni	-gwiya nini	
ув		-nāgwa	-nagwigi	-gwiyāgwe	-gwiyāgwini	
hlm	-āgwa	-āta	-ātcigi	-gwitci	-gwivoltcini	
them, an	-ägwigi	-āta	-ātcigi	-gwiwātci	-gwiwatcini	
it	-A mägwe	-Aga	-∆gigi	-4 mõmiga'ki	-A mōmiga`kini	
	-A mägwini	-Agini	-Agigi	-Amōmiga`ki	-A mõmiga kini	

It may be well to point out here some of the differences between the participle and the conjunctive verb. In the first place, the participle lacks the temporal augment \ddot{a} to denote indefinite tense. In the second place, the vowel of the first syllable of the initial stem undergoes change; this, however, is not always maintained if the vowel be i, o, or u. Finally, as observed from the table, the singular of the third person animate intransitive ends in -ta, the plural of the same person and gender ends in -tcigi, and the ending of the plural of the third person inanimate is -miga'kini instead of -miga'ki. Some

of these differences can be seen from a comparison of a few participles with their related conjunctives:

```
ä'hanemihā'tc' when he went yon way
  äne'mihā'ta he who went yon way
  ä'nemihā'tcig' they who went yon way
  ä'nemihāmiga'ki'ni they (the stones) that went yon way
ä'pe'me'kā'tc' when he passed by
  pā'me'kā'ta he who passed by
ä'hutcī'tc' when he came from thence
  wä'tcīta he who came from thence
  wä'tcīmiga'ki'ni they (the things) that came from thence
ä'kī'witā'tc' when he staid around them
  kīwi'tātci'g' they who staid about them
  kīwi'tämiga'ki'ni they (the things) that remained about
pāmine'ka'watcig' they that chase 70 TITLE (stem-vowel e)
mä'kadäwīt* he who was fasting 186 TITLE (stem-vowel a)
manwanetaga he who preferred it 136.5 (stem-vowel e) [ending
  -ag^a for -Ag^a—T. M.]
wapinīqwāta the white-eyed one 150.1 (stem-vowel â)
t\ddot{a}p\bar{a}nAt^a the one whom you love 150.1 (stem-vowel e)
wanimata the one whom he had forsaken 150.7 (stem-vowel i)
n\ddot{a}s\ddot{a}t^{a} he that slew him 26.13, 17 (stem-vowel e)
tcāgānātowātcigi they of every language 22.14 (tcāg for tcāgi
  [$ 16])
mī'kemātcig they who had been making love to her 46.5 (mī'k-..
  [\S 16]: -e-[\S 8]: -m-[\S 21])
```

The transitive pronominal forms differ most widely where the third person is involved in the subject. The transitive participle of the third person sometimes has the force of a possessive construction combined with that of an objective. Its sense is then more of the nature of a noun. Its pronominal endings are slightly different, as can be seen from the table.

									he	they
him .									-ālcini -ālci' -Agi	-āwātcini
hem									-ātci	-āwātci'i
t									-Agi	-Amowālci -Amowālcini
them									-Agini	-Amovatcini

These forms occur in situations like these:

tcīnawä'mātci'n¹ his relative; viz., one to whom he is related (-m-[§ 21])

tcīna'wä'ta'gi his object of relation; viz., a thing to which he is bound by a tie (-t-[§ 21])

tcīnawämā'wātci'n¹ their relative

tcinawä'ta'mowā'tci their object of relation

wâp_Amā'wātc¹'' the animate objects of his view; viz., the animate objects at which he is looking (wâp_A- to see; -m- [§ 21]) wâp_A't_Agi'n¹ the inanimate objects of his view (-t- [§ 21])

wītāmā' wātci'i their companions; viz., ones with whom they were in company (wī- [§ 16])

wītä'tamowātci'ni their accompaniments

wītāmātcini he who accompanied him 70.14 (full analysis, note 23, p. 869; translation in Fox Texts not accurate)

pyänātcini she whom he had brought

pägamemetcini he who was being hit 26.25 (from pag- [§ 14])

§ 34. THIRD PERSON ANIMATE

The third person animate, singular and plural, has two forms. The first of these forms is -tci for the singular, -wātci for the plural; the second is -nitci for both singular and plural. The latter form is used in two cases. One is syntactic, and occurs when the dependent verb is subordinate to a principal verb. The other is psychological, and occurs when the subject of the dependent verb plays a less important rôle than the subject of another verb; it is a frequent construction in narration. The subjective noun of the dependent verb takes on an objective ending -wani for the singular, and -wa'i or ha'i for the plural.

ä''pyātc' ä''pyāni'tc' when he came the other was arriving ō'ni ne'gute'nw' ä'nāgwā'tc' . . . kä'geyā''' ä''pyāni'tc' so then once went he away . . . then by and by here came another ite'pihä'wa äha'wini'tc' i''kwäwa'n' he went over to the place where the woman was

ugi'māwa'g' ä'pīti'gäwā'tc', ō'ni uskina'wäha'' änū'wīni'tc' the chiefs then went inside, and thereupon the youths came on out

The same thing happens to a transitive verb in the same relation. The change takes place with the form representing the subject, but the form representing the object remains unchanged. The change occurs when the subject of a dependent verb becomes the object of a principal verb. The subjective noun of the dependent verb has the objective ending -Ani in the singular, and -a'i in the plural. In the following examples, the first two show the construction with an intransitive dependent verb, and the next two show the construction with a transitive verb.

wâ'pamä'wa ine'niwa'n' ä''pyāni'tc' he watched the man come wâ'pamä'wa ine'niwa'' ä''pyāni'tc' he watched the men come wâ'pamä'wa ine'niwa'n' äne'sāni'tc' pecege'siwa'n' he watched the man kill a deer

nä'wäwa ine'niwa''i äwâpa'māni'tc' ne'niwa'n' änesānitc' pecege'siwa'n' he beheld the men looking at a man killing a deer

In the third example, \bar{a} in $\bar{a}ne's\bar{a}ni'tc^i$ refers to $pecege'siw_A'n^i$, the object that was slain. In the fourth example, \bar{a} in $\bar{a}w\hat{a}p_A'm\bar{a}ni'tc^i$ refers to $ne'niw_A'n^i$, the object looked at by the plural $ine'niw_A'^i$; $ne'niw_A'n^i$, in turn, becomes the subject of $\bar{a}ne's\bar{a}ni'tc^i$, and $pecege'siw_A'n^i$ is the object.

[Dr. Jones is slightly mistaken regarding -nitci in transitive forms. From the Fox Texts I can make two deductions: namely, that when the object is the third person animate, the form is -ānitci (as Dr. Jones also saw); when third person inanimate, the form is -Aminitci (with -aminitei as a variant). The $-\bar{a}$ - of $-\bar{a}$ nitei is the same pronominal element to be seen in ä-āroātci (§ 29), etc.; while -Ami- is related to Amin -Amwa (§ 28); Amo in ä-Amowātci (§ 29); -Amō- -Amaw- of the double object, etc. Contrast ä'tcāgamānitc' THEN THEY ATE IT ALL (animate) 294.10 (ä—nitci [§ 29]; tcāg- for tcāgi- totality [§ 16] by contraction [§ 10]; Am- for Amw- TO EAT [§ 16] by elision [§ 12]) with kā'kāwataminitc' THEY CRUNCHED THEM (bones: inanimate) 294.10 (kāreduplication [§ 25]; 'kāwa- to crunch [§ 16]; -t- [§ 21]; ä- dropped [§ 12]). And observe nā'kā'tcāgamāwātci again they ate it (animate) ALL 296.3 (for nā'ka AGAIN ä-[§ 10]; ä—āwāwtci [§ 29]) and ä'kākāwatamowātci then they crunched them (bones: inanimate) 296.5 (ä—amowatc⁴ [§ 29]), where no change in the third person subject occurs. Note also onamenataminite THEN THEY VOMITED THEM (inanimate) 294.13 (for on'-ä-), but ämemenatamowatc' then they vomited them (inanimate) 296.6 (for ä—Amowātci [§ 29]). Further compare ä.A.tā'penaminitci 172.19, 8.4. $d\bar{a}'$ penaminite 172.16, then he took it in his hand (4. $d\bar{a}p$ -, A'tāp- initial stem; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]) with a'A'dā'penag' then he TOOK IT 172.5 (\ddot{a} — Ag^i [§ 29]; \ddot{a} ·a· $t\bar{a}$ pen Ag^i 174.15 is a variant; \bar{i} n \ddot{a} ·A· $d\bar{a}$ -'penag' 172.12 is for $\bar{\imath}n'$ ä-). See also 22.23; 68.13; 150.15, 17; 160.18; 166.19; 172.14, 17; 174.8; 188.21; 244.14; 348.18, 22, 23. is also to be seen in an interrogative verbal form (§ 32); namely, ä'tanwätaminigwänⁱ 340.11, 17. The inserted -ni- is also noteworthy. The analysis of this is ä—gwänⁱ (§ 32); tan- to engage in (§ 16); wä SOUND (§ 20). HE SOUNDED IT (i. e., his voice) out is a close rendering.

It should be observed that the same device of inserting -ni- is used in the subjunctive; e. g., $py\bar{a}$ nit* 156.21 SHOULD HE CHANCE TO COME.—T. M.]

Use of the Possessed Noun as Subject of a Verb

An independent verb with the possessed noun of the third person used as the subject changes the form of its pronominal ending from $-w^a$ to $-niw_An^i$ in the singular and from $-w_Ag^i$ to $-niw_An^i$ in the plural. The change is one of concord between the subject and the verb.

utanemō/hema'n' pyä'niwa'n' his dog comes utanemōhe'mwâwa'n' pyä'niwa'n' their dog comes utanemō/hema'' pyä'niwa'' his dogs come utanemōhe'mwâwa'' pyä'niwa'' their dogs come

The next set of examples are of the independent transitive verb. It is to be noted that the change of the pronominal ending concerns only the one representing the subject; the one standing for the object remains the same.

utanemō'hema'n' wâ'pamäniwa'n' ma''hwäwa'n' his dog looked at the wolf (ä in wâ'pamäniwa'n' is an objective sign, and refers to ma''hwäwa'n', the object of the verb)

utanemō'hema'' wâ'pamäniwa'' ma''hwäwa'' his dogs watched the wolves

If the object of the verb become in turn the subject of a dependent clause, it will still keep its objective form; but its verb will be of the dependent group. The object of the main verb will be represented as subject of the dependent verb by -nitci (ni in -nitci is the same as ni in $-niw_An^i$). As in the case of the independent verb, so in that of the dependent verb, the sign of the object is unmodified.

utanemō'hema'n'wâpamäniwa'n' ine'niwa'n' äne'sāni'tc' ma''hwāwa'n' his dog looked at the man who was killing the wolf (ā in äne'sāni'tc' refers to ma''hwäwa'ni, the object that was killed; and nitci in the same verb refers to ine'niwa'n', the subject who did the killing; the verb is of the conjunctive mode).

If the verb of the possessed subject contain a dependent clause with object, it will keep the singular -niwan', even though the possessed subject be plural.

utanemōhe'mwâwa`'i wâ'pamäniwa`n' ma''hwäwa`n' ä'pemine-'ka''wāni'tc' kō'kō'cäha`n' their dogs looked at the wolf chasing the pig

utanemōhe'mwâwa`'i wâ'pamäniwa`n' ma''hwäwa`'i ä'pemine-'ka''wāni'tc' kō'kō'cäha`'' their dogs watched the wolves chasing the pigs There is also a peculiarity of construction belonging to the possessed inanimate noun of the third person when used as the subject of an intransitive verb. The pronominal ending representing the subject of the independent verb is changed from $-w^i$ to $-niw^i$ in the singular, and from $-\bar{o}n^i$ to $-niw_An^i$ in the plural. These peculiarities can be observed from an illustration of an independent intransitive verb.

uta'seni'mi pyä'migateni'wi his stone comes this way
utase'nima'ni pyämigate'niwa'ni his stones come hitherward

The construction is not so simple with a transitive verb. If the verb takes an object which in turn becomes the subject of a subordinate clause, then its pronominal subject becomes $-niw_An^A$ for both the singular and the plural.

uta'seni'm' mecugwi'niwa'n' ne'niwa'n' ä'pemine'ka''wāni'tc' i''kwäwa'n' his stone hit the man who was chasing the woman utase'nima'n' mecugwi'niwa'n' ne'niwa''' ä'pemine'ka''wāni'tc' i''kwäwa''' his stones hit the men who were in pursuit of the women

If there be only the subject, verb, and object, then the verb assumes dependent form. The ending of the pronominal element representing the subject of an assertive verb is -nitci, which at once looks like an animate form of the conjunctive. But there are three peculiarities which point toward a passive participial. One is the presence of -gwi- before -nitci. This -gwi- seems to be the same as -g- or -gu-, which, occurring in the same place, expresses a passive relation. Another peculiarity is that the first vowel of the initial stem undergoes change. Finally, the syllabic augment \ddot{a} is wanting. Change of the vowel of an initial stem, and the absence of the augment \ddot{a} , are the peculiar characteristics of a participial.

uta'seni'm' mäcu'gwini'tc' ine'niwa'n' his stone hit the man utase'nima'n' mäcu'gwini'tc' ine'niwa'n' his stones struck the man

The active transitive form of the verb is me'cwäw^a HE HIT HIM WITH A MISSILE. The animate passive conjunctive is äme'cugu'tcⁱ WHEN HE WAS STRUCK BY A MISSILE.

[Here should be mentioned the peculiar treatment of a possessed inanimate noun of the first person with a transitive verb taking an animate object. In this case the form of the verb is precisely the same as in the passive [§ 41], but the incorporated pronominal object

immediately precedes the final termination. An example is $n\bar{\imath}pi-k^{\omega}$ netāwatāgwa my arrow was carrying it away (from me) 80.19; 82. 8, 21; $n\bar{\imath}piku'^i$ netāwatāgwa my arrow was carrying it away (from me) 80.8. The analysis of the last is n- my; m- suffix omitted (§ 45); $\bar{\imath}pi$ arrow; $-ku'^i$ verizy; ne— gw^a i am (§ 41); the $-\bar{a}$ - before the $-gw^a$ is the same objective incorporated third person pronoun met in §§ 28, 29 (e. g., $\bar{a}nes\bar{a}tc^i$ then he slew him). The t after ne- is inserted according to § 28; $\bar{a}wa$ - $\bar{a}wa$ - is an initial stem (§ 16) meaning to carry away; the following t seems to be a reflex of the inanimate subject (see § 21). I may add, $n\bar{\imath}pi$ - k^{ω} is merely a reduction of $n\bar{\imath}pi$ - ku'^i by stress (§ 6).— T. M.]

Use of the Possessed Noun of the Third Person as the Object of a Verb

Ambiguity is likely to arise when a possessed noun of the third person, like $\bar{o}'s_An^i$ his father, becomes the object of a verb. In a sentence like $n\bar{c}w\bar{c}w^a$ $\bar{o}'s_An^i$ he saw his father there are two possible fathers: one is the father of the subject, and the other is the father of somebody else. The sentence, however, implies but a single father, but which one is meant is not made positive by any special form. As the sentence stands, the reference is rather to the father of the subject. But if the father of another be in mind, and there be a desire to avoid ambiguity, then one of two methods is employed. In the one the name of the son appears before the possessed noun, the name ending with the sign of the objective:

nä'wäwa Pāgwa'nīwa`ni ō'sani he saw Running-Wolf's father
In the other, use is made of an incorporated dative construction.

näta'mawä'wa ō'san', the literal rendering of which is HE SAW IT FOR HIM HIS FATHER; and the sense of which is HE SAW HIM WHO WAS FATHER TO ANOTHER. The vowel a after t is an inanimate pronominal element. It is objective, while ä of the penult is animate and in a dative relation. [nä- is an initial stem, to see; -t- is an intervocalic (§ 8); -äwa (§ 28).—T. M.]

The i -Amaw- of $n\ddot{a}t$ -Amaw $\ddot{a}w^a$ is identical with the -Amaw- of i A i A'maw i n' until this for me 312.12 (i A i L') until [§ 16]; i n' [§ 31]); \ddot{a}' A' i Pi'Amaw $\ddot{a}tc^i$ then he untiled the thing and took it off from him 312.13 (\ddot{a} — $\ddot{a}tc^i$ [§ 29]); i Pemutamaw i n \ddot{a} shoot him for me 202.18; 204.9 (i Pemu- for i Pemuu- [§ 12]; i -- [§ 21]; i - i n \ddot{a} , a prolongation of i n' [§ 31]); i Sigahamaw i n Pour it out for him (me) 236.8 (i -a- [§ 8]; i -- [§ 21]; i n for i n' [§ 31] by contraction [§ 10] and stress [§ 6]).

¹ From here to p. 838, addition by T. Michelson.

The question of the double object in Algonquian is not raised by Dr. Jones. It surely is found, but I have been unable to gather more than a fragmentary series from the Fox Texts. The pronominal form of the third person object, singular or plural, animate or inanimate, is -Amaw- before vowels, -Amō- (-Amu-) before consonants. This occurs immediately before the other suffixal pronominal elements. It is clear that -Amaw- and -Amō- are related to the -Am- in -Amwa of the independent mode (§ 28), -Amān', -Amagwe, -Amovātc', etc., of conjunctive and subjunctive (§ 29); -Amāge'e, -Amāgu'a, -Amovāsa, etc., of the potential, potential subjunctive, prohibitive (§ 30); -Amāge, -Amāgin', -Amagwe, -Amāgwe, -Amōmiga'k', etc., of the participial (§ 33); -Amu'k'a, -Amovātc', etc., of the imperative (§ 31), Following are examples:

kesa'kahamō n^e I burn him for you (sing.) 380.1 (ke— n^e [§ 28]; sa'k-initial stem; -a-[§ 8]; -h-[§ 21])

kesa'kahamōnepwa I burn him for you (pl.) 380.6 (ke-nepwa [§ 28]; the rest as above)

pemutamawinū shoot him for me 202.18 (pemu- for pemw- to shoot; -t- [§ 8]; -inū for -inu [§ 31] by prolongation [§ 5])

ähawatenamawāte then he handed it to him 348.8 (with SHE as subj. 174.17) (for \ddot{a} — $\bar{a}te^{4}$ [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -h- [§ 8]; awa for $\bar{a}wa$, an initial stem [§ 16]; -te- [§ 8], -n- [§ 21]); see also 348.10, 12, 14

 $k\bar{\imath}sa'kah$ amaw $\bar{a}pw^a$ ye will burn him for them 180.14 ($k\bar{\imath}-\bar{a}pw^a$ [§28]; sa'k- an initial stem; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])

Apī A'mawin^u untie it for me 312.12 (Apī $[\bar{a}p\bar{\imath}-]$ to untie [§16]; $-in^u$ [§31])

ä'A'pi 'A'mawātc' then he untied it for him 312.13 (ä—ātc' [§ 29]) ä'pyätenAmawivātc' then they brought it to me 376.9 (ä—ivātc' [§ 29]; pyä- motion hitherward [§16]; -te- [§ 8]; -n- [§21])

pyätenamawiyägwe when you (pl.) brought me it 376.1 (ä- dropped [§ 12]; ä—iyägwe [§ 29])

änägon Amawātci then he shoved it into them 358.1 (ä—ātci [§ 29]; -n-[§ 21]; the initial stem is nägo- [nägu- 358.3] to shove)

pyätenamawin^u hand me them 242.13 (graphic variant for pyäten-Amawin^u; pyä-[§ 16]; -te-[§ 8]; -in^u [§ 31])

nīmāwinatutamawāwa I shall go and ask him for it 252.20 (nī—
āwa [§ 28]; māwi- to go [§ 16]; natu- [nato-] to ask [§ 16]);
kenatotamōne I ask it of you 380.2, 4 (ke—ne [§ 28])

äsa'kahamawātc' when he burns him for him TITLE 380 (ä—ātc' [§ 29]; sa'k- initial stem to BURN AS AN OFFERING; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21])

äsa'kahamawāvātc' when they burn him for them TITLE 380 (ä—āvātc' [§ 29])

ketecinatutamone such is what I ask of thee 380.5 (graphic variant for ketacinatutamone; ke-ne [§ 28]; taci- initial stem meaning NUMBER)

īnācinatutamu'k' is what they beg of thee 382.14 (for īn' ā:ici-; īn' [§ 47]; ä—'k' [§ 29]; ici thus)

witamawin* tell them to me 350.19 (the stem is wit- [or wi-; -t-as
in § 8?]; -in* [§ 31])

kewītamōn I told it to you 114.22 (for ke—ne [§ 28] by contraction [§ 8])

kīwītamawāwa thou wilt tell it to him 178.1 (kī—āwa [§ 28])

äwītamōnāni I tell it to thee 814.1 (ä—nāni [§ 29])

kīwītemōne-mān go ahead and tell it to me 112.15 (kī—ne [§ 28]; -emō- variant of -4mō-)

kīwītemōnepwa I will tell it to you (pl.) 356.6 (kī—nepwa [§ 28]) wī'i'ciwītamōnagōw' what I should tell you (pl.) 280.13 (wī—nagōw' [§ 29]; ici- initial stem thus; -amō- variant of -amō-) äwāwītamawiyan' when thou tauntedst me about him 330.16 (ä—iyan' [§ 29]; wā- [§ 25])

wīwītamawiyāge what we (excl.) would you (sing.) declare to us 364.20 (wī—iyāge [§ 29])

 $\ddot{a}k\bar{i}civ\bar{v}t$ Am $\ddot{o}n\bar{a}n^i$ I have nothing more to say to thee 330.13 (\ddot{a} — $n\bar{a}n$ [§ 29]; $k\bar{\iota}ci$ - an initial stem denoting completion [§ 16]; an excellent example to show that $k\bar{\iota}ci$ - in Algonquian is not (as is assumed in some purely practical grammars) merely a tense-prefix to form the perfect)

kīwītamawi-tcāmeg^u I should merely like you to tell it to me 328.14 (kī—i [§ 28])

I do not understand $awitameg^{a}$ $witamonenag\bar{a}^{'a}$ I ought not to have told you 314.2. It is clear that $nag\bar{a}^{'a}$ belongs in § 30; $-am\bar{o}$ -also needs no elucidation. The -ne- is a puzzle; I wonder if it stands for -ni- and is the same as the negative suffix -ni in § 29?

According to Dr. Jones, a keteminamawiyagwe 374.14 (and similarly inacinākaketeminamawiyagwe 374.9) means, not in that you have blessed them for my sake,—which the analysis would require,—but in that you have done the blessing for me.

wīwītamawage'e at 350.17 is clear enough in structure (wī—age'e [§§ 29, 35]), but certainly does not fit well with Dr. Jones's explanation (Fox Texts, p. 351, footnote 3). I suspect that the real sense is I MEANT TO HAVE TOLD (YOU) ABOUT THEM FOR HIS SAKE.

This -amaw- is also to be seen in indefinite passives, conjunctive mode [§ 41]. Examples are:

ä'ke'kahamawig' when I was pointed it out 374.16 (ä—ig'; ke'k-an initial stem, to know, to find out; -a-[§ 8]; -h-[§ 21])

ä'ke'kahamawutc' it was pointed out for him 62.8 (ä—utc'; -amano-represents the inanimate object)

kīcesamawutc' when it was done cooking for him 14.18, 21 (kīce-kīci- COMPLETION [§ 16]; -amaw- variant of -amaw-; ä- dropped [§ 12]; ä—utc')

äpapa'kenamawutc' then it was taken away and torn off him
158.19(ä—utc'; pa-[§ 25]; -e-[§ 8]; -n-[§ 21]; pa'k- to separate)
ä a 'kasamawutc' they deprived him of it and burnt it up 158.19
(ä—utc'; contrast with this ä a 'kasutc' HE WAS BURNT UP 160.1)

ä 'pa'kväcamawutc' then it was sliced away for him 14.22 (-c-[§ 21]; contrast 14.23 ähanemisa'kväcutc'; hanemi-[§ 16])

Also this -Amaw- is to be seen in the pronominal termination of a transitive verb with possessed noun of the third person as object (§ 34):

äne'tamawagwe osīman' because we slew his younger brother 344.10 (ä—agwe [§ 29]; ne't- a variant of nes- to kill [§§ 9, 16]; osīman'; o for u; u—man' [§ 45]).

The $-Am\bar{o}$ - is certainly also to be seen in a transitive form of the interrogative mode, which, though not given by Dr. Jones, nevertheless existed:

keke'känetamõwanän' you knew all about it 288.5 (ke- [§ 25]; ke'k-initial stem; -äne- [§ 18]; -t-[§ 8 or § 21]; ä- dropped [§ 12]; ä-wanän' [§ 32])

nätawänetAmōwanäne what you desire in your own mind 180.9 (nätaw[i]- to desire; -wanäne [§ 32])

In this connection the peculiar use of -4mā- in certain cases should be mentioned:

ä'kīciwītamāgutc' when he was told about them 54.13 (ā—tc' [§ 29]; kīci- completion; wīt- to tell; -qu- [§ 41])

ōnäsīgahamāgutc then she poured it for her 316.23 (for ōnⁱ äsīgahamāgutcⁱ by contraction [§ 10]; ä—tcⁱ [§ 29]; sīg- an initial stem meaning to Pour; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21]; the English idiom prevents this being translated as a passive)

pyätanamāgutci she was fetched it 318.1 (pyä- [§ 16]; -t- [§ 8]; -a- variant of -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21]; -ä—tci [§ 29]; -gu- [§ 41])

kenatawänetamāgōgi they ask it of you 382.12 (ke—gōgi [§ 28]; nataw- a by-form of natu- to ask; -äne- [§ 18]; -t- [§ 21])

nīwītamāgwa-mā of course he will tell me it 328.21 (nī—gwa [§ 28]; wīt- to tell)

ōnä'pāpākahamāgute then it was tapped on by him 346.15 (for ōn' ä'pāpākahamāgute'; ä—te' [§ 29]; -gu- [§ 41]; pä- [§ 25]; pāk- [cf. ä'pāpāgepyähaminite' 68.13] to tap; -a- [§ 8]; -h- [§ 21]; note that the subject grammatically must be animate)

A double object is clearly to be seen in 344.5, 7, 15, 24; 346.8: but unfortunately I can not completely analyze the form; $p\bar{a}p\bar{a}k\bar{a}t$ amawis a variant for $p\bar{a}p_{A}g_{A}t$ amaw-, and the double object is clear ($p\bar{a}$ -[§ 25]; $p_{A}g_{A}$ -[$p\bar{a}g_{i}$ -] to strike with a club).

A couple of examples where the subject is the third person plural, and the direct object third person singular (or plural), with the second person singular as indirect object, are—

kīpyätāgōg¹ they will bring them to you 348.3 (kī-gōg¹ [§ 28]; pyā-motion hitherward [§ 16]; -t-[§ 21] and

kīhawatāgōg they will fetch them to you 348.4 (for $k\bar{\imath}$ — $g\bar{o}g^i$ [§ 28] by contraction [§ 10]; -h- [§ 8]; awa- variant of $\bar{a}w$ - to fetch [§ 16]; -t- [§§ 8, 21]). The - \bar{a} - is the same objective pronominal element seen in ne— $\bar{a}wa$, ke— $\bar{a}pwa$, etc. [§ 28]; \ddot{a} — $\bar{a}tci$, \ddot{a} — $\bar{a}w\bar{a}tci$, etc. [§ 29]; - $\bar{a}sa$, - $\bar{a}w\bar{a}sa$ [§ 30]; - $\bar{a}ta$, - $\bar{a}tcigi$, - $\bar{a}tcini$, - $\bar{a}w\bar{a}tcini$, etc. [§ 33].

Allied to the double object is the treatment of a possessed noun as the object of a transitive verb. Dr. Jones has treated the possessed noun of the third person as the object of a transitive verb of the third person [§ 34]. But there are other cases.

Thus nemīcāmi netāwatāgwa she carried my sacred bundle away 326.24; 328.5, 14; 330.2 (ne- [§ 45]; ne—gwa [§ 28]; -ā- as above; -t- [§ 28]; āwa- [awa-] to carry away; -t- [§ 8 or § 21?]). As far as the verb is concerned, the structure is the same as in neka'kitāgwa she has hidden it from me 326.17 (ka'ki- is an initial stem meaning to concerd). Furthermore, it should be noted that although the noun is inanimate, -ā- is animate. An example of where the possessed noun singular is keta'ko'konān¹ kīhawanāwa thou wilt take our (incl.) drum along 348.9 (ke—nān¹ [§ 45]; -t- [§ 45]; kī—āwa [§ 28]; -h- [§ 8]; awa- a variant of āwa-; -n- [§ 21]). Observe that a'ko'kon¹ (348.10, 17) drum is inanimate, as shown by the termination ¹ (§ 42); and that the pronominal elements of keta'ko'konān¹ are inanimate; nevertheless the pronominal elements incorporated in the verb are animate.¹

Two kinds of participles drop the final sign of the subject, and take on a lengthened termination when it becomes necessary for them to enter into a relation involving the use of $-n^i$ as a final ending. One is the transitive participle with an animate subject and an inanimate object; the nominative ending of this participle is $-g^a$.

¹ From p. 834 to here, addition by T. Michelson.

pämiwā'säska'ga one who passes by flashing a light nä'wäwa pämiwāsä'skaminitci'n' he saw him that went past flashing a light

The same ending with similar change occurs with an intransitive participle.

pā'wacī'ga one who shakes his (own) body while lying down wâ'pamä'wa pāwacimi'nitci'ni he looked at him who lay shaking his own body

The other kind of participle is with the subject ending in $-t^a$. The dropping of $-t^a$ is common with the indefinite passive participle.

mī'neta one to whom he was given ähigutc' mīne'metci'n' and so he was told by the one to whom he was given (-m-[§ 21]; see also § 8)

§ 35. Syntactic Use of Modes and Tenses

1. Future.—The future sometimes denotes expectation, desire, and exhortation.

 $n\bar{\imath}'py^a$ I hope to come $k\bar{\imath}'py^a$ may you come $w\bar{\imath}'py\bar{u}w^a$ let him come

2. Conjunctive.—Tense for the present and past is indicated by the syllabic augment \ddot{a} . If the conjunctive preserves its purely subordinate character, as when it stands in an indirect relation to an idea previously expressed or to an independent statement, then the augment \ddot{a} - is more likely to refer to an action as past. Thus:

a'skatc' a''pyātc' in course of time he came (cf. 38.14) ne''pya a''pyāya'n' I came when you arrived

But if the conjunctive departs from its subordinate function, then the syllabic \ddot{a} - may, according to context, refer to an occurrence as past, or as extending up to, and as taking place during, the present. This is the same indefinite tense of the independent verb.

äne'pāyā'n' I slept; I am sleeping äne'pāya'n' you slept; you are sleeping ä'nepā'tc' he slept; he sleeps

It is to be observed that the translations are finite assertions, and are in the indicative mode, as would be the case for an independent verb of the same tense. They illustrate a peculiar use of the con-

junctive,—a use that belongs to all narrative discourse, as in the language of myth, legend, tradition.

This finite use is parallel to that found in the Latin construction of accusative with infinitive.

The conjunctive has a future tense, which is indicated by the prefix wi-. The temporal prefix also occurs with the third person of animate and inanimate independent forms. [See my note to § 28.—T. M.]

As in the independent series, so here, the future can be used to express vague anticipation and desire.

wī'hāya'n'? dost thou expect to go? wīhātc' he wants to go

3. Dependent Character of the Pronominal Forms of the Negative Independent Verb.—It is convenient at this point to make mention of the negative forms of the independent intransitive verb. The negative adverb is $\bar{a}gw^i$ no, not. Its position is before the verb, and its use involves a modification of the conjunctive. In the first place, the temporal vowel \ddot{a} - drops out, and so there is no sign to indicate indefinite tense. In the second place, all the pronominal elements take on a terminal -ni, all the terminal vowels of the conjunctive being e.

The following examples show some of the forms with stem:

ā'gwi pyā'yāni'n' I do not come; I did not come ā'gwi pyā'yʌni'n' thou dost not come; thou didst not come ā'gwi pyā'tcin' he does not come; he did not come ā'gwi pyāmi'ga'ki'n' it does not come; it did not come ā'gwi pyā'yāgi'ni they and I do not come; they and I did not come

For the future, the negative independent verb has the prefix wi-.

The negative of the conjunctive verb is indicated by $pw\bar{a}'wi$. Its use brings about no change in the form of the verb. It stands between the tense particles \ddot{a} - and $w\bar{\imath}$ - and the verbal stems.

 \ddot{a}' 'pwāwi $py\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ ' n^i when I did not come $w\bar{\imath}$ 'pwāwi $py\bar{a}$ ' tc^i while he has no desire to come

4. The Subjunctive.—The subjunctive has a variety of uses. In one it is used to express an unfulfilled wish.

 $n\ddot{a}'s\ddot{a}t^*$ may he get well $p\ddot{o}'nepy\ddot{a}'t^*$ would that he ceased from drunkenness

In another it is employed to express a wish, as of a prayer. In

its use, it occurs with an adverb tai'yāna, which conveys the desiderative sense of WOULD THAT! OH, IF!

tai'yāna pyā't*! oh, if he would only come!

The subjunctive is also used to express the possibility of an action.

pe'musä't* he might pass by on foot

tetepu'säya'ne thou shouldst walk around in a circle

The same subjunctive is employed to express two kinds of conditions. In the one, where the condition is assumed as possible, the subjunctive stands in the protasis; while the future indicative of an independent verb is in the conclusion. The tense of the subjunctive is implied, and is that of the future.

wī·u·pi'tähä'wa pyä'miga''k he will be pleased if it should come

In the other, where the condition is assumed as contrary to fact, both clauses stand in the subjunctive. The tense of both clauses is implied; that of the protasis is past, and that of the conclusion is present.

upi'tähä't* pyä'miga''k* he would be pleased if it had come

The forms of this subjunctive are connected with past action. The idea of relative time is gathered more from implication of the context than from the actual expression of some distinctive element calling for past time. Some of the uses to which this subjunctive is put are the following:

It is used to express an unattained desire. It occurs with taiyāna. tai'yāna kī'wäte''. oh, if he only had turned and come back!

It is used as a potential.

ta'k_musä'y_ne''• thou mightest have gone by a short way in your walk across country

It frequently has the force of an indicative, and, when so used, the verb makes use of the tense particles ä and wī. [See my note to § 29.—T. M.] But the action is always represented with reference to an event in the past.

i'ni te'pe'kw' ä''pemāmute'' it was on that night when he fled for his life (pem- [§ 16]; -āmu- [see -ā- § 19])

In this connection it often occurs with an adverb, $ke'y\ddot{a}h_{A}'p^{a}$, which has such meanings as IT WAS TRUE; IT WAS A FACT; WHY, AS A MATTER OF FACT.

ke'yäha'pa wī.'A'ceno'wāte'' now, as a matter of fact, it was their intention to be absent

5. The Potential.—The potential is used to express a possibility.

 $nahin\bar{a}'g\ddot{a}'ki'tc'$ he might learn how to sing $py\bar{a}''k\bar{a}'^a$ I am likely to come

The potential subjunctive is used in a verb that stands in the conclusion of a past condition contrary to fact, while in the protasis stands a verb in the past subjunctive.

nahinā'gäte''* īte'pihā'sa had he known how to sing, he would have gone to the place

6. The negative of the verb in the protasis is $pw\bar{a}'w^i$, and the negative of the verb in the conclusion is $a'wit^a$.

pwā'w' nahinā'gäte'' a'wita īte'pihā'sa if he had not known how to sing, he would not have gone to the place

- 7. The prohibitive imperative is introduced by $k\bar{a}t^a$, a negative adverb with the meaning not or do not.
- 8. The Imperative.—It was observed how the future independent was used as a mild imperative. There is still another light imperative, one that is used in connection with the third person animate. It is almost like a subjunctive (see § 31). The forms of this imperative have a passive sense, and are best rendered by some such word as Let.

Pre-pronominal Elements (§§ 36-41)

§ 36. FORMAL VALUE OF PRE-PRONOMINAL ELEMENTS

In §§ 20-21 a number of stems have been described which precede the pronouns, and which have in some cases the meaning of a noun, or less clearly defined instrumentality; in others, a classificatory value relating to animate and inanimate objects; while in many cases their significance is quite evanescent. Many of these elements have more or less formal values, and correspond to the voices of the verbs of other languages; while still others seem to be purely formal in character. For this reason these elements, so far as they are formal in character, will be treated here again.

§ 37. CAUSAL PARTICLES

-m- animate, -t- inanimate. (See § 21)

As has been stated before, these particles sometimes imply that something is done with the voice, but ordinarily they simply §§ 36, 37

indicate the transitive character of the verb. The animate-m-immediately precedes an animate, pronominal element. When the object is animate, it comes before the form that represents an objective relation; but when the object is inanimate, then it stands preceding the sign that represents the animate subject. The intervocalic t stands in front of the vowel that represents the inanimate object. (See examples in § 21.)

The consonant t often has a whispered continuant before articulation ('t). With one form or the other, the consonant has an inanimate use which is peculiar to itself alone. It often conveys the idea of work; of the display of energy; of activity which implies the use of some agency, but without expressing any particular form of instrumentality. This use of the intervocalic consonant involves a difference in the form of the objective pronominal sign. In the examples that were just cited, the sign of the objective inanimate pronoun was a or a. With this other use of t or 't, the inanimate sign of the objective pronoun is a or a.

 $p\bar{o}'ni't\bar{o}'w^a$ he no longer works at it; he no longer makes it $(p\bar{o}ni-[\S 16])$

nesa'nagi"te I had a hard time with it; I had trouble making it

h, hw, w.

There is one group of causal particles which have a common function of reference to instrumentality in general. They are h, hw, and w. Comparing the use of one of these with that of t or 't brings out clearly the difference between causal particles with the instrumental sense limited and t or 't that has the instrumental function unlimited. With h, for example, the emphasis is rather upon the connection of the action of the verb and the means taken to act upon the object. On the other hand, with t or 't the connection is closer between the action of the verb and the object of the verb. The idea of instrumentality is so vague as to be left wholly to inference.

ka'skaha'mwa he accomplished the work (by the help of some kind of agency) (kask-[§ 16]; -amwa [§ 28])

ka'ski'tō'wa he accomplished the work

 \ddot{a} pyätōhwātcⁱ he then fetched it 266.15 (pyä-t-ō- [§§ 16, 8, 19]; $-\bar{a}tc^i$ [§ 29])

One more comparison will perhaps suffice upon this point. There is a causal particle m which has already been mentioned. It has a common use associated with the instrumentality of the mouth, more particularly with that of speech.

 $p\bar{o}'nim\ddot{a}'w^a$ no longer does he speak to him $p\bar{o}'ni't\bar{o}'w^a$ no longer does he do it .

§ 38. THE RECIPROCAL VERB

Now that the tables of the transitive pronominal elements have been shown, it will be convenient to take up the other two classes of transitive verbs; viz., the reciprocals and reflexives. They can be dismissed with a few remarks. Both have much the character of an intransitive verb; in fact, their form is that of an intransitive. The reciprocal expresses mutual participation on the part of two or more subjects, and so the verb does not occur except in plural form or with a plural sense. The reciprocal notion is expressed by ti incorporated between the stem of the verb and the final, pronominal sign. [It should be noted that in all the examples given, -ti- is the incorporated element, not-ti-.—T. M.] The reciprocal has a reflexive sense, in that it represents the subjects as objects of the action. Its force as a transitive is gathered from the context.

 $m\bar{\imath}g\bar{a}'t\bar{\imath}w_A'g^i$ they fought together; they fought with one another $ne'w\hat{a}p_At\bar{\imath}pe'n^a$ he and I looked at each other

ke'nīmihetī'pwa you danced together

ä'tanetīg' at a place where gambling one with another is going on nawihetīwagāpe's they always visit one another 238.23

ähitīnitc' they said one to another 76.14 (-nitc' [§ 34])

änäwutīwātci as one was eyeing the other 112.8

mänetīcigi they who played the harlot with each other 150 TITLE [so text; error for -tcigi]

ä'kakanōnetītc' she and he talked together a great deal 176.21 (kan- reduplicated)

mamātīwagāpe they are always taking things from each other 276.16 (-ag- for -agi before -āpe)

kī'tanetīpena let us make a bet with each other 296.18

ähitīwātci they said one to another 358.25

 \ddot{a} \dot{p} \bar{o} nik_{A} $n\bar{o}$ $net\bar{i}$ $w\bar{a}$ tc so with no further words to each other 62.6 $n\bar{i}$ $m\bar{i}$ g \bar{a} $t\bar{i}$ pen^{a} he and I shall fight against each other 60.6

tcāgän Atotīwātci then an invitation was extended to all, every one asking every one else 60.13 (tcāg- for tcāgi- ALL)

§ 39. THE REFLEXIVE VERB

In the reflexive verb the action refers back to the subject. The sign of the reflexive is -tisu- or -tiso- with the u or o vowel in either case sometimes long. The reflexive sign occurs in the same place as the reciprocal; viz., between the stem and the final pronoun. The difference of meaning between the two signs is, that -tisu- represents the subject solely as the object of the action, and does not, like -ti-, convey the reciprocal relation which two or more subjects bear to one another. Reflexive -ti- in -tisu- is plainly the same element as the reciprocal -ti-.

 $wab_{A'}$ tisō'wa he looked at himself (wab_{A-} same as wap_{A}) $p_{A}g_{A'}$ tisō'wa he hit himself ($p_{A}g_{A}$ allied with $p_{A}g_{i}$ to strike) ähitisutc' he then said to himself 286.22 (hi to say)

§ 40. THE MIDDLE VOICE

Thus far the description has been of verbs in the active voice. Two other voices are yet to be mentioned,—the middle and the passive. The middle voice represents the subject in close relation with the action of the verb. It is a form of construction of which the dialect is especially fond. The form of the verb is active, and mainly of a predicative intransitive character; but the meaning is passive. The voice is distinguished by animate and inanimate signs. Only two sets of signs will be taken up, the two most frequently met with. The animate sign is o and u long and short, and the inanimate is \ddot{a} . These vowels are immediately preceded by intervocalic consonants. among which are s for the animate and t for the inanimate. perhaps better to refer to the combinations of so and $s\bar{o}$, su and $s\bar{u}$, and tä, as some of the signs of the middle voice. These forms are incorporated between the stem and the pronominal ending. The combinations of $s\bar{u}$ and $t\ddot{a}$ were met with before in the section on secondary connective stems (§ 20). They appeared there in the rôle of co-ordinative stems, and the sense they conveyed was that of HEAT and WARMTH. They were used with reference to an existence or condition of the subject, and occurred among verbs of an intransitive nature. The same verbs used in the examples there can all be classed in the middle voice. The same signs can be used without the meaning of HEAT and WARMTH.

ä'wäwäpisu'tc' when he swung
wī'tō'kāsoya'n° if thou shouldst help
ka''kisa'wa he is in hiding
ne'tōwa he killed himself 66.8 (-'t-[§ 9])
kīwā'gwatā'w' it lies on the ground
ane'mipugōtā'w' it floats yon way; it moves away, carried by the
water (anemi-[§ 16]; -pugō-[§ 19]; -w' [§ 28])

The middle voice sometimes represents an animate subject as acting upon itself in an indirect object relation. The action of the verb refers back to the subject in something like a reflexive sense. In this use of the middle voice appears the instrumental particle, and it stands in the place of ε .

 $k\bar{o}'gitep\ddot{a}n\ddot{u}'w^a$ he washes his own head (with the help of his hand) $(k\bar{o}g-[\S~16];~-n-[\S~21])$

 $k\bar{a}'s\bar{\imath}tep\ddot{a}h\bar{o}'w^a$ he wipes his own head (with something) ($k\bar{a}s\bar{\imath}-$ [§ 16]; -h- [§ 21])

pe'teco'w he accidentally cut himself (with something sharp) (-c-[§ 21])

The subject of a verb in the middle voice is often expressed as if acted upon in a passive sense.

tagwa'hōsō'wa he is caught in a trap

pemi'pugō'wa he floats by (more literally, he is carried past by the water; pemi-pugō-[§§ 16, 19])

 $k\bar{\imath}y\bar{o}'meg\bar{o}'w^a$ he rides about on horseback (literally, he is carried about; $k\bar{\imath}$ - [§ 16]; -y- a glide [§ 8]; - \bar{o} - [§ 19]; -m- [§ 21; also § 8])

§ 41. THE PASSIVE VOICE

The use of the passive voice proper is confined to an agent in the third person. The sign of the passive is g or gu; it occurs between the stem and the final pronominal ending. The sign with pronominal element can be seen in the tables of transitive forms. It is to be observed that the sign occurs more frequently with independent than with dependent forms.

The Passive with Subject and Object

A peculiarity of the passive construction is the difference of the form of the animate agent when the action of the verb is directed against the first or second person, and the form of the animate agent when the action is directed against a third person. If the action of the verb be directed against a first or second person, then the agent

keeps the normal form of the nominative; but if the action of the verb be directed against the third person, then there is a change in the form of the agent: -ni is added to the nominative singular to mark the singular agent, and 'i is added to the same to mark the plural agent. Furthermore, if the object of the action be singular and the agent plural, the form of the verb will be singular. If the object of the action be plural, then the form of the verb will be plural. A few examples will illustrate the use of the passive forms with an animate agent.

newâ' pame'gwa ne'niwa I am seen by the man kewâ' pame'gwa ne'niwa thou art seen by the man wâ' pame'gwa ne'niwa'ni he is seen by the man. [In this and the next case, $-w^a$ is the pronominal termination; -g- the passive sign; i. e., $g-w^a$, not $-gu^a$ (for gu+a), as in the first two examples.—T. M.]

wâ'pame'gwa ne'niwa''! he is seen by the men wâpa'megō'g' ne'niwa'n' they are seen by the man wâpa'megō'g' ne'niwa''' they are seen by the men

The same examples turned into the conjunctive mode would be—

äwâpʌmegwʌg¹ ne'niw² when I was seen by the man

äwâpʌmegwʌtc¹ ne'niw² when thou wert seen by the man

ä'wâpʌmegu'tc¹ ne'niwa'ni when he was seen by the man

ä'wâpʌmegu'tc¹ ne'niwa''¹ when he was seen by the men

äwâ'pʌmeguwā'tc¹ ne'niwa'ni when they were seen by the man

äwâ'pʌmeguwā'tc¹ ne'niwa''¹ when they were seen by the men

The Indefinite Passive

There is an indefinite passive—indefinite in the sense that the agent is referred to in an indefinite way. The forms of two modes will be shown,—one of the indefinite tense of the independent mode, and another of the same tense of the conjunctive mode.

INDEFINITE PASSIVE INDEPENDENT MODE

	Singular	1	Plural
1st per.	ne-gōpi	Excl.	ne-gōpena
•		Incl.	ke-göpen a
2d per.	$oldsymbol{ke} ext{-}oldsymbol{g}oldsymbol{ar{o}}oldsymbol{pi}$	2d per.	ke-gōpwa
3d per. an.)	-āpi	3d per.	$-ar{a}pm{i}$
3d per. inan.∫	•		•

It is to be observed that some of the independent forms end with a final -pi, which may have some relation with i'pi, a quotative with

such meanings as THEY SAY, IT IS SAID. The quotative sometimes occurs alone, but is most frequently met with as a suffix. Some of the forms just shown are the same as the ones seen in the independent transitive list; viz., the forms of the plural of the first and second persons. The following examples illustrate some of the uses of this passive:

ne'wâpamegō'pi I am looked at (-me-[§§ 8, 21]) ke'wâpamegō'pwa you are looked at wâ'pamā'pi he is looked at; they are looked at wâ'patā'pi it is looked at; they are looked at kenatomegōpi you are asked 368.4 (-me-[§§ 8, 21])

The conjunctive forms show the passive sign in the plural. The first and second persons singular end in -gi,—a suffix denoting location when attached to substantives, and indicating plurality of the third person of the independent mode. It is possible that there may be some connection between this ending and the passive sign; but it has not yet been made clear. The following are the indefinite passive forms of the conjunctive of indefinite tense:

INDEFINITE PASSIVE. CONJUNCTIVE MODE

•	Singular		Plural
1st per.	ä-igi	Excl. Incl.	ä-gwiyāge ä-gwiy∧gwe
0.1	¥	1	
2d per.	ä-negi	2d per.	ä-gwiyägwe
3d per. an.	ä-(u)tci	3d per. an.	ä-gwiwātci
	ä-(e)tci		
3d per. inan	. ä-лтед і	3d per. inan	. ä-smegi

änatumene'k' when you were asked 372.12 (k for g, as in -kāpāfor -gāpā- and in other similar cases)
nätumik I being asked 374.1 (-m-[§ 21])
äha'kasameg' they (inan.) were set on fire 16.1

The third person animate singular of the indefinite passive can refer to four different relations. The form is the same, whatever may be the number of the object and the agent. The number of the object and the agent is often inferred from the context, but in the two examples to be shown each passive expression will appear with agents. If the agent be singular, then the ending will be -ni; if plural, then the noun ends in -'i. It will be observed that this construction is much like that of the passive with g and gu. The object

of the action of the verb will be omitted; if expressed, it would be in the nominative.

ä'hine'tc¹ ne'niwa'n¹ he was told by the man ä'hine'tc¹ ne'niwa'n¹ he was told by the men ä'hine'tc¹ ne'niwa'n¹ they were told by the man ä'hine'tc¹ ne'niwa'¹¹ they were told by the men ä'näwu'tc¹ i'`kwäwa'n¹ she was seen by the woman ä'näwu'tc¹ i'`kwäwa'n¹ she was seen by the woman ä'näwu'tc¹ i'`kwäwa'n¹ they were seen by the woman ä'näwu'tc¹ i'`kwäwa'n¹ they were seen by the women

§ 42. Syntactic Forms of the Substantive

Substantives have forms to distinguish gender, number, and four case-relations. The case-relations are the nominative, the vocative, the locative, which is the case of spacial and temporal relations, and the objective. All these forms are expressed by suffixes. They are thus shown in the following table:

						•			Aniı	nate.	Inanimate.		
									Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural	
Nominative									-a	-gi	4	-ni	
Vocative .									-e, -i	-tige	(-e), -i	-ni (-ne)	
Locative .									-gi	-nigini	-we, -e, -gi	-gini	
Objective .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-a, -ni	-gi, -ʻi	-4	-ni	

These forms will be shown with two nouns,— $a'n\bar{a}gw^a$ star, and a'sen' stone.

		Star.	Stone.			
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural		
Nominative	A'nāgwa	A'nāgwA`gi	A'seni	A'senyā'n i		
Vocative	And gwe	And'gweti`ge	Ase'n'	A'senyā'ni		
Locative	A'nāgwi`gi A'nāgu`gi	}_anāgwi'nīgi`ni	A'seni`gi	Ase'nigi'ni		
Objective	A'nāgwa A'nāgA'ni	a'nāgwa`gʻ Anāgwu`i	A'seni	A'senyā`ni		

There is no difference of form between the objective and some forms of the possessive. Thus:

 \bar{o} 's an^i his father (animate) $u'w\bar{u}c^i$ his head (inanimate)

The ending -gi to express animate plurality is no doubt the same as the one denoting location, thus suggesting the probability of a common origin.

§ 43. The Adjective

The attributive relation is expressed by a form analogous to an inanimate construction, which does not inflect for number or case. There are primary and derived adjectives. The former contains the descriptive notion in the stem; as, ke' tci great, tcA'gi small. The derived adjective is one that comes from a noun; as, $mA'net\bar{v}w^i$ (from $mA'net\bar{v}w^a$ mystery being), $A'c\bar{a}^{'i}$ (from $A'c\bar{a}^{'a}$ A Sioux). Both kinds of inanimate adjectives agree in form and function; they have a singular, inanimate ending, and they occur in an attributive relation.

ke'tci ma'netō'wa a great mysterious being tcagi wīgiyāpä'i a little dwelling ma'netō'wi a''ki a mysterious country A'cāhi ne'niwa a Sioux man

As has been said, such adjectives do not change their form to agree with nouns for number and case.

ke''tci ma'netō'we! O great mystery! ma'netō'wi a''kyän' mysterious lands A'cāhi ne'niwa'g' Sioux men

By virtue of its position, the adjective of inanimate forms takes on the function of an initial stem, and as such it enters into combinations with secondary elements to form—

Nouns:

tcagi'nāgā``'s small bowl
me'cīmi`n's apple (literally, large fruit)
ase'nigā`n' stone dwelling
Acā'hinā`w' Sioux country

Verbs:

 $tc_{A}'g\bar{a}henuhi'w' p\bar{\imath}'c\bar{a}g\bar{a}^{''i}$ it is a tiny buckskin string $ne'niw^a$ $me'cin\bar{a}gusi'w^a$ the man looked big $(-n\bar{a}gu-[\S 18];-si-[\S 20])$

Adjectives, when used as predicates, have the form of an intransitive verb. The verb is built up on the regular order of stemformation with the qualifying notion of the combination resting mainly in the initial member. The sense of the stem undergoes restriction by other elements, and concord of gender and pronoun

is maintained. Such a combination agrees with a noun in gender and number. It stands before or after the noun it modifies. me'cāwi sī'pōw' large is the river (mec-large; -ā-[§20]; -wi [§28])
i''kwäwa'g' känō'siwa'g' the women are tall (-si-[§ 20]; -wag' [§ 28])

Pronouns (§§ 44-49)

§ 44. The Independent Personal Pronoun

The incorporated forms of the personal pronoun have been treated in §§ 28-34. The independent pronoun is closely related to the pronouns of the independent mode of the intransitive verb (§ 28).

$I n \bar{\imath} n^a$	
we (exclusive) nī'nāna	
we (inclusive) kīnāna	
thou $k\bar{\imath}n^a$	
ve kī'napāana	

he (an.) $\bar{\imath}n^a$ it (inan.) $\bar{\imath}n^i$ they (an.) $\bar{\imath}'nig^i$ they (inan.) $\bar{\imath}'nin^i$

§ 45. The Possessive Pronoun

Possession is expressed by prefixes and suffixes which are related to the pronouns of the independent mode. The suffixes differ for nouns of the animate and for those of the inanimate class, and for singular and plural of the object possessed.

OBJECT	POSSESSI	ED
--------	----------	----

	Aı	almate.	In	animate.
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
my	ne-ma	ne-magi	ne-mi	ne-mani
	ne-menāna	ne-menānagi	ne-menāni	ne-mendnani
	ke-menāna	ke-menānagi	ke-menāni	ke-mendnani
by	ke-ma	ke-magi	ke-mi	ke-mani
	ke-mwāwa	ke-mwawagi	ke-miodwi	ke-mani
his	u-mani	u-ma'i	u-mi	u-mani
	u-mwdwani	u-mwāwa'i	u-mwāwani	u-mwāwani

A few examples will serve to illustrate the use of the forms. The word for dog is $\Delta' nem \bar{o}^{\prime\prime a}$, a noun of animate gender. [The inserted -t- in the following examples is presumably the same as in $ne'taw^i$ I AM (§ 28).—T. M.] The forms of the three persons of the singular used with the noun in the same number would be—

ne'tanemōhe'ma my dog (-t- [§ 8]) ke'tanemōhe'ma thy dog uta'nemōhema'n' his dog Let the same persons remain in the singular, and let the noun be in the plural, and the forms would be—

neta'nemōhema'gi my dogs keta'nemōhema'gi thy dogs uta'nemōhema'i his dogs

The word for rock is *\(\alpha' \) sen', a noun of inanimate gender. The forms of the three persons of the singular used with the noun in the singular would be—

neta'seni'mi my rock keta'seni'mi thy rock uta'seni'mi his rock

The forms with the same persons in the singular and the noun in the plural would be—

ne'tasenima'n' my rocks ke'tasenima'n' thy rocks u'tasenima'n' his rocks

The consonant m of the suffix is often omitted with certain classes of substantives: as—

In terms denoting relationship.

no's my father ke'gy thy mother u'taiyä'n' his pet (referring to a horse or dog)

In words expressing parts of the body.

ne'tä'i my heart ke'gā'k' thy chest u'wīc' his head

In some names of tools.

netō''pwāga'n' my pipe ke'me'tä''' thy bow u'wīpa'n' his arrow

[It should be observed that under special stress the vowel of the m suffix is split into two vowels (§ 6); likewise it should be noticed that under unknown conditions t is not inserted after ne, ke, u, before initial vowels: then the terminal e of ne and ke is elided, while a glide w (§ 8) is inserted after u.

Examples of possessives with the m of the suffix, from the Texts, are—

nesīmā' my younger brother 330.16 nete'kwäma my sister 84.2, 12, etc. nesīmāhagi my little brothers 282.13

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. necīcīpemagi my ducks 284.2
 nesīmāhenāna our (excl.) younger brother 90.12; 96.1
 nōcisemenānan¹ our (excl.) grandchild (obj. case) 160.9
  kesīmāhenāna our (incl.) little brother 90.6; 96.7
 kīnemunāna our (incl.) sister-in-law 92.16 (-u-=-e-)
  ketōgimāmenān our (incl.) chief 300.24 (t inserted)
  kesīmāhenānagi our (incl.) younger brothers 122.5, 11, 18
 ketūgimāmenānagi our (incl.) chiefs 62.22 (t inserted)
 kenāpāma thy husband 162.15, 23; 178.1
 kōcisema thy grandson 290.24
 kesīmā'a thy little brother 252.1
 kete'kumag' thy foods 314.14
 unāpāmani her husband 162.23, 24
 usīman his younger brother 314.17
 usīmāhā' his younger brothers 90.14, 15
 usīma'i his younger brothers 90.10
 ucisema" her grandchildren 160.11
 utūtäma'i his sisters 208.15
 uwīnemō'i his sisters-in-law 96.11 (w a glide)
 uto'kaneman' his bones 16.5
 utūkaneman his bones 16.1
 utahīnemani his garments 274.20
 usīmā'wāwani their younger brother 156.13, 16; 160.2
 usīmāhwāwani their younger brother 94.19
 uwinemowawani their sister-in-law 92.8 (w a glide; -v- inserted)
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Examples from the Texts, of possessives without the m of the suffix, are—

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negroi' my son 182.4; 184.8
nemecomes my grandfather 206.6
necisä'a my uncle 12.14
negy my mother 38.15 (for negia; cf. ugivāwani their mother)
nī'kān my friend 14.12; 26.17
nip^i my arrow 84.20
n\bar{\imath}pan^i my arrows 290.20
nemecomesenan our (excl.) grandfather 160.5
kenātawinōnenān¹ our (incl.) medicine 308.22
ketaiy thy pet 178.14
ketötäven thy town 16.4 (contrasted with 16.18)
kequoisagi thy sons 172.6
kesesähwāwa your elder brother 294.18
ucemisan' his niece 12.17, 20
ugwisa" her sons 170.1; 238.6
uwī'kāna' his comrades 14.5, 6, 8; 20.1; 24.4 (w a glide)
```

uwītcimäskōtäwa' his people 16.6 ugiwāwan' their mother 154.9 ugwiswāwan' their son 172.17 ugwiswāwa' their sons 172.20 unītcāneswāwa' their children 160.13

It should be observed that in certain terms of relationship, u- of the third person is not used. Contrast ōcisemwāw' Their Grandchildren 154.18 with kōcisema thy Grandson 290.24; ōsan his father 208.15 with kōswāwan your father 232.5 (owing to the exigency of English grammar, Dr. Jones is forced not to be strictly literal in his translation); ō'komesan his Grandmother 234.4, 6 and ō'kumeswāwan their Grandmother 160.7 with kō'komesenāna our (incl.) Grandmother 262.3.—T. M.]

§ 46. The Reflexive Pronoun

What stands for the reflexive pronoun in the absolute form is in reality an inanimate, possessive combination. The thing possessed is designated by a-, which has an essential meaning of EXISTENCE, BEING. The forms are—

nī'yaw' myself
kī'yaw' thyself
u'wīya'w' his self
kī'yānā'n' ourselves (I and thou)
nī'yānā'n' ourselves (I and he)
kī'yāwā'w' yourselves
uwī'yāwā'w' their selves

These forms appear frequently as the object of a transitive verb; and when so used, the combination of both pronoun and verb is best rendered by an intransitive form.

netä'päne'ta nī'yaw' I am independent (literally, I own my own bodily self)

wâ'pacî'tōwa'g' uwī'yāwā'w' they are bad, sinful (literally, they defame their own bodily selves)

§ 47. The Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns occur in absolute form, and number and gender are distinguished. Some of the forms are slightly irregular in passing from singular to plural and from one gender to another. Three of the pronouns point to an object present in time and space with much the same force as English THIS, THAT, YONDER.

Pronoun.												An	lmate.	Inanimate.		
												Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.	
this												mana	māh Agi	mani	mākani	
that												ina	īnigi	īni	Inini	
yonder		•	•	•	•	•					•	ināga	ināmākagi	inām⊿ni	ināmāk⊿ni	

The demonstrative $\bar{\imath}na$ is also the third person, personal pronoun. These demonstratives are used in the following relations:

ma'na ne'niwa this man (who is in the presence of both speaker and person addressed, but not necessarily within the immediate presence of both, or within their hearing)

i'na ne'niw^a that man (who is farther removed, or who is subordinate in point of interest)

ī'nāga ne'niwa yonder man (who is farther still removed, and who can be out of hearing, but not out of sight)

One demonstrative is used in answer to a question, and corresponds to English THAT, YONDER, when both are used in a weak, indefinite sense. The object referred to is present and visible.

Pronoun.	A	nimate.	Inanimate.		
Panan.	Singular.	Plurai.	Singular.	Plural.	
that	in_ma	īnimāh 4 gi	Inima	inimāh 4 ni	

This pronoun is used when reference is made to a particular object selected from a list; as, $\bar{\imath}'nama\ ne'niw^a$ THAT MAN, as in the question, Which of the men do you wish to see?

Another pronoun has a temporal force, and refers to an object as invisible and in the past.

Pronoun.	Aniı	mate.	Inan	imate.
Fronoun.	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
that	iniya	iniyāga	Iniye	Iniyāne

I'niya ne'niwa THAT MAN refers to a man known to both speaker and person addressed, but who is at present absent, or is no longer alive.

A demonstrative performs the function of an adjective; and when one is used alone without some noun, it still retains the force of a qualifier.

ma'ni ä i cināgä'tc' this is the kind of song he sang īni ä i ciseg' that is how the affair stands

§ 48. Indefinite Pronouns, Positive and Negative

There are three sets of indefinite pronouns. One inflects for number and gender, and means other. The second inflects for number, but has separate forms for each gender; the animate answers to somebody, some one, and is used of persons; while the inanimate refers to something, and is used of things without life. The third expresses the negative side of the second set, as nobody, no one, nothing. The negatives are compound forms of the second set with the adverb āgwi no, not, occupying initial place. The three sets of demonstratives stand in the table in the order named.

D	_ ^	inimate.	Inanimate.		
Pronoun.	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.	
other	ku'taga T'wiyā'a āgū'wiyā'a	ku'tAgA`gi uwi'yähA`gi a'guwi'yäha`gi	ku'tagi kä'göi ägwi'gägö`i	ku'taga'ni kä'göka'ni ä'gwigä'göka'ni	

The first of these forms usually plays the part of an adjective, while the others often stand alone and appear as nouns.

ku'taga ne'niwa the other man u'wīyā''a pyä'wa somebody is coming āgū'wiyā''a ai'yō'i nobody is here āgwi'kägō''i a''tägi'n' nothing is left

§ 49. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronoun asks about the quality of a noun, and inflects for number and gender. There are two pronouns used absolutely.

Pronoun.	1	Animate.	Inanimate.		
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.	
who, what	wānā'a tāna	wānāh A gi tānigi	volgunä`i iäni	wāgunāh _A ni tānigi	

The first pronoun asks of quality without reference to limitation.

wä'nä tca' īna ne'niw who is that man?

wägunä pyätōyani what dost thou bring?

The second pronoun expresses quality with more of a partitive sense.

tā'na'tcā ī'na ne'niwa? which is the man? where is that man? tā'ni pyä'tōya'n'? which didst thou bring? where is the thing that thou broughtest?

The examples show the predicate use of the pronouns. The pronouns have also an attributive function.

wä'nä'a ne'niwa? what man? Also, who is the man? tā'na ne'niwa? which man? Also, which man of several?

Numerals (§§ 50-52)

§ 50. Cardinal Numbers

The numeral system as exemplified in the form of the cardinals starts with a quinary basis. The cardinals in their successive order are as follows:

ne'quti one nī'cw' two ne'sw' three *nyä'w* four nyā'nanwi five ne' gutwāci `ga six $n\bar{o}'hiq^a$ seven ne'cwāci'ga eight $c\bar{a}'g^a$ nine me'dāswi) medāswi'negu`t' medāswinegutinesīw' eleven medāswinīcwi medāswinicwi'nesī`w'\\ medā'swine\swi medāswineswi'nesīw' thirteen medā'swinyä\wⁱ medāswinyäwi'nesī`w' medāswi'nyāna`nwi medāswi'nyānanwi'nesī'w' medāswinegu'twāci`ga medāswinegutwācigā'nesī`w'\}sixteen medāswinōhigā'nesī'w' medāswine'cwāci\ga medāswinecwācigā'nesī'w' eighteen medā'swicā`ga medāswicāgā'nesī\w'\ nineteen nīwābit₄g¹ twenty nīcwābit Aginegu`t' nīcwābitaginegutinesī'w'} twenty-one neswā'bita'g' thirty neswābitaginīcwinesī'w' thirty-two nyäwā′bit∧`g¹ forty nyäwābitagineswinesī`w' forty-three nyānanā'bit`ag¹}fifty cegi`kanawⁱ nyānanābitaginyä'w' nyānanābitaginyäwinesī`w' fifty-four negutwācigā'bita`g' sixty negutwācigābit_ginyān_\nw' negutwācigābitaginyānanwi'nesī`wi nōhigā'bita`g' seventy nōhigābit₄ginegutwāci`g³ nōhigābitaginegutwācigānesī`w' necwācigā'bita'gi eighty necwācigābitaginōhigānesī`w' eighty-seven cāgā'bit'agi ninety $c\bar{a}g\bar{a}bit_Aginecw\bar{a}ci`g^a$ cāgābitaginecwācigānesī'w' ninety-eight ne'gutwā``kw' one hundred negutvā kwenegutī'na one hundred and one *nī'cwā'kw'* two hundred nīcwā'kwemedāswīnanīcwī'na two hundred and twelve *ne'swā`kw•* three hundred neswā'kwenīcwābitagineswī'na three hundred and twenty-three negutwacigataswā''kw' six hundred nōhigataswā``kw' seven hundred nacwācigataswā''kw' eight hundred cāga'taswā''kw' nine hundred me'dāswā``kw• ten hundred negutima`ka``kw• one box

medāswinegutinesīwitaswā``kw°
me'dāswā``kwe nā'`kāna ne'gutwā``kw°
eleven hundred
ne'gutima`ka``kwe nā'`kāna ne'gutwā``kw.

The cardinals from one to five terminate with the inanimate ending -i. They begin with the consonant n, a symbol that has already been shown to be intimately associated with the hand. The symbol is valuable for the suggestion it throws upon the probable origin of the numeral system. It has some connection, no doubt, with the method of counting with the fingers. Furthermore, it will be noticed that within the quinary series (viz., within one and five, inclusive) there are four different vowels standing immediately after n. What part and how much vowel-change may have played in the formation of the system is yet uncertain.

Negu'twāci' g^a , the cardinal for six, contains three elements. The first is negut-, and stands for one. The second is probably an initial stem $\bar{a}c$ -, and means over, across, movement across.

 $\bar{a}'c\bar{o}w^i$ over, beyond, an obstruction or expanse $\bar{a}'cow\bar{\imath}'w^a$ he wades across a stream

ā'ci'ta'm' again, in turn, by way of repetition or continuity

The third element is the ending $-g^a$; it is a frequent termination for words expressing quantity. It is to be found in all the series that SIX, SEVEN, EIGHT, and NINE enter; and its vowel sometimes lengthens to \bar{a} when another element is added.

medāswinegutwācigā'nesī'w' sixteen

But the vowel does not lengthen in negutwacigataswā''kwe six hundred.

 $N\bar{o}'hig^a$, the cardinal for seven, does not yet admit complete analysis. Initial n- and final $-g^a$ are the only intelligible elements that can be reduced at the present.

 $Ne'cw\bar{a}ci'g^a$, the cardinal for eight, has three parts, as in the case of the cardinal for six. The first is nec-, and stands for three; the second is $\bar{a}c$ -, and is the same as the one in the word for six; the third is the numeral ending $-g^a$.

 $C\bar{a}'g^a$, the cardinal for NINE, is difficult to analyze. The numeral ending $-g^a$ is clear, but $c\bar{a}$ - is doubtful. It is possible that $c\bar{a}$ - may be the same as $c\bar{a}$ -, an initial stem conveying the idea of freedom of movement, passage without friction, without obstruction, without impediment.

cā'powā'wa he cries out, sending his voice through space cāpu'niga'ni a needle (that is, an instrument for piercing through an obstacle with ease). This explanation is offered for the reason that, in counting hurriedly from one to ten, an adverb kwī'tci is given for ten. The adverb means the end, and cāmay possibly express the idea of an easy flow of the count up to the adverb kwī'tci, which marks the end of the series.

Me'dāsw', the word for TEN, is in the form of an intransitive verb of the third person singular inanimate. Its middle part $-d\bar{a}s$ - may be the same thing as t_{AS} -, which signifies quantity, usually with the notion of AS MANY AS, AS MUCH AS. An explanation of initial me- is as yet impossible. [The element t_{AS} - occurs always in the form t_{AS} which is an initial stem. See § 16.—T. M.]

With the cardinal TEN the numeration apparently changes over to a decimal system. After every new decimal, the cardinals take one or the other of two forms. One is a cumulative compound, wherein the part indicating the decimal comes first, and the smaller number second.

medāswinegu't' ten one (meaning eleven)
nīcwābitagine'sw' twenty-three
negutwā'kwenegu't' one hundred one (meaning one hundred and
one)

The other is also cumulative, but in the form of an intransitive verb of the third person singular inanimate. Furthermore, the combination incorporates nesi-, an element used in the word for FINGER, between the pronominal ending and the part expressing the numeral.

me'dāswi it is ten medāswinyäwinesī'wi it is ten four

The initial member indicating the decimal can be omitted, if the numeration is clear from the context. For example, negatinesi'w' can mean eleven, twenty-one, thirty-one, forty-one, and so on up to and including ninety-one. It jumps such numbers as a hundred and one and a thousand and one; but it can be used to express a hundred and eleven, and a thousand and eleven, and all the rest of the one-series, as in the instances just cited. In the same way nīcwinesī'w' can be used to express a two-series; neswinesī'w', a three-series; and so on up to and including cāgānesī'w', a nine-series.

The element expressing HUNDRED is $-\bar{a}'kw'$, the same thing, probably, as the collective suffix used to indicate things which are wooden:

cegā'kw^a pine [literally, skunk-tree.—T. M.]
ma''kwā'kw^a bear-tree
pa'sigā''kw^a board

The suffix ends with e, which is characteristic of an adverb. Numeration in the hundreds is expressed with the smaller number coming after the higher. There are two forms,—one with simply the combination of high and low number:

nīcwā''kwenī'cw' two hundred two (for two hundred and two)
the other with this combination terminated by the local demonstrative adverb ī'na' THERE, IN OR AT THAT PLACE:

nīcwā'kwe'nīcw'īna two hundred two there

The suffixed adverb has very nearly the force of Also, Too, as used thus with numerals. In the series between six and nine, inclusive, where the numeral ending is -ga, the quantitative element -tas-[taswi-, see § 16. —T. M.] comes in between the cardinal and the sign for the hundred.

negutwācigataswā''kw' six times hundred (for six hundred) cāga'taswā''kw' nine times hundred (for nine hundred)

It takes the same place in hundreds after a thousand.

medāswinegutitaswā``kw' ten one times hundred medāswinegutinesīwitaswā``kw' one ten times hundred

Both of the preceding examples mean eleven hundred.

THOUSAND is expressed in two ways,—one by the combination of TEN and the sign for HUNDRED, medāswā'kw*; the other, and the one more usual, by a compound expressing one box, negutima'ka''kw*. The word for box is ma'ka'kw*, of inanimate gender. With the meaning a thousand, it takes the form of an adverb by ending with e. The term is of recent origin. In some of their earlier sales of land to the government, the people received payment partly in cash. This money was brought in boxes, each box containing a thousand dollars. From that circumstance the term for one box passed in numeration as an expression for a thousand. The term is now a fixture, even though its form is less simple than the more logical word.

The psychological reason for the preference is not altogether clear. The fact that the word for one box stood as a single term for a definite high number may have had something to do with its adaptation. The word for ten hundred, on the other hand, represents ten groups of high numbers, each group having the value of a distinct number of units. To use one word that would stand for a high decimal number may have seemed easier than to express the same thing by the use of smaller integers in multiple form. As a matter of fact, very little is done with numerations that extend far into the thousands; yet, in spite of the little effort to count with high numbers, it is within the power of the language to express any number desired. To express ten thousand, and have it generally understood, is to say—

ne'gutima'ka''kw' me'dāse'nw' īni'tase'nw', which is, in the order as the words come, one box, it is taken ten times, that is its sum

A number like forty thousand two hundred and thirteen would be—

ne'gutima'ka''kw* nyä'wābitagita'swima'ka''kw* nī'cwā'kwä'na medā'swineswī'na. The words in their order mean one box, forty is the number of times the box is taken, two hundred plus, ten three also [Taswi is the same as the initial stem taswi.—T. M.]

The more intelligent express such high numbers in shorter terms.

Cardinals occupy initial place in composition when they stand in an adjective relation: as—

ne'guti'nenī'wa one man nī'cwi'kwä'g' two women negu'tīhi'wa he is alone nī'ciwa'g' they are two

Cardinals are used freely as nouns, and it will be observed that in this connection they do not inflect for number or gender.

ne'näwā'wa ne'gut' I saw one animate (object)
ne'näta ne'gut' I saw one inanimate (object)
nepyä'nāwa'g' nyä'w' I fetched four animate (objects)
ne'pyäto nyä'w' I fetched four inanimate (objects)

§ 51. Ordinals

The ordinals are combinations with the initial parts derived from cardinals; but the first ordinal has a separate, distinct word. Begin-

ning with the second ordinal is an incorporated $-\bar{o}n_Ameg^i$ or $-\bar{a}n_Ameg^i$, the final ending of which is the suffix $-g^i$, met with so frequently in a locative relation; that is the sense of it here. With the eleventh ordinal, and every other after, occurs the numeral element $t_{As-between}$ the cardinal and the compound ending $-\bar{o}n_Ameg^i$ or $-\bar{a}n_Ameg^i$. Ordinals do not inflect for number or gender. They are as follows:

me'ne'ta first nīcō'name'g' second nesō'name'g' third nyäō'name'g' fourth nyānanona'megi fifth negutwācigā'name'g' sixth nōhigānamegi seventh necwācigāname'g' eighth cāgā'name'g' ninth medāsō'name'g' tenth medāswinegut¹tʌsōnʌmeg¹ medāswinegutinesīwitasonamegi nīcwābitagitasonamegi twentieth negutwā'kwetasoname'g' hundredth medāswāk'wetAsōnAmegi negutima'ka'kwet48on4meg'}thousandth

§ 52. Iteratives and Distributives

Iteratives indicate repetition in point of time, as ONCE, TWICE, THRICE. They are derived from cardinals, and take the form of an inanimate, intransitive verb. With the sixth iterative occurs the numeral element -tas-, denoting quantity; it is incorporated after the cardinal elements, and is found with all the rest of the iteratives. The iteratives follow thus in order:

ne'gute'nw' first time
nī'cenw' second time
ne'senw' third time
nyā'wen' fourth time
nyā'nane'nw' fifth time
negutwācigatase'nw' sixth time
nō'higatase'nw' seventh time
ne'cwācigatase'nw' eighth time
cā'gatase'nw' ninth time
me'dāse'nwi tenth time
medāswinegutitase'nw'
eleventh time
medāswinegutitase'nw'

nīcwābitagitase'nw' twentieth time

negutwā'kwetase'nw' hundredth time

nīcwā'kweneswābitaginyäwinesīwitase'nw' two hundred and thirtyfourth time

negutima'kaīkwetase'nw'

thousandth time

medāswā'kwetase'nw'

Distributives express the number of things taken at a time, as EACH ONE, TWO AT A TIME, EVERY THIRD ONE, FOUR APIECE. The distributive idea is expressed by reduplication of the first numeral syllable. In the following are some distributive cardinals:

nā'negu't' each one nānīcw' each two näneswi or nā'neswi each three nä'nyäw' or nānyäw' each four nā'nyāna'nw' each five nānegutwāci'ga each six $n\bar{a}'n\bar{o}hi'g^a$ each seven nä'necwāci'ga each eight $c\bar{a}'cag^a$ each nine mä'medā'sw' each ten mä'medāswinegu`ti mä'medāswinegutinesī`w' each eleven nā'nīcwābita'g' each twenty nā'nīcwābitaginīcwinesi'wi each twenty-two nä'neswābita'q' each thirty nä'nyäwābita'g' each forty nā'nyānanwābita'gi each fifty nā'negutwācigābita'gi each sixty nā'nōhigābita'g' each seventy nä'necwācigābita'g' each eighty cā'cāgābita'g' each ninety nā'negutwā``kw' each hundred mä'medāswā``kwena'ka``kwe}each thousand

Examples of distributive ordinals are—

mämene'ta every first
nā'nīcōname'g' every second
nänesōnameg' every third
mä'medāsōname'g' every tenth
nā'negutwā'kwetasōname'g' every hundredth
Distributive iteratives are expressed in a similar way.
nā'negute'nw' it is once at a time

nā'nīce'nw' it is twice at a time nä'nese'nw' it is thrice at a time

These distributives are often followed by the local demonstrative adverb $i'c^i$, denoting toward, movement away toward something. The adverb adds to the distributive notion the idea of movement by groups.

nā'nīcwi'c' two at a time
nä'neswi'c' three at a time
mä'medāswinīcwinesīwi'c' thirteen at a time
nānīcwābitagitasōnamegi'c' every twentieth
nā'nōhigatasenwi'c' every seventh time

In the multiplication of two numbers, the cardinal is the multiplicand, and the iterative the multiplier.

ne'guti nā'negute'nw' one is taken once at a time nī'cwi nā'nīce'nw' two is taken twice at a time ne'swi nā'nese'nw' three is taken thrice at a time

NOTE.—Half and fourth are the only fractions made use of by the dialect. The word for HALF is expressed absolutely by $\bar{a}'pe'ta'w'$, an adverb denoting half. It forms the denominator, while a cardinal is used in the numerator.

negutā' pe'ta'wⁱ one half nīcwā' pe'ta'wⁱ two halves, two parts

The word for FOURTH is $\ddot{a}'sep_A'n^a$, an adverbial form of $\ddot{a}'sep_A'n^a$ RACCOON. The term comes from the fourth of a dollar, which was the price paid for a raccoon-skin at the trading-store. It is the denominator, while the cardinal is the numerator.

negutä'sepa'ne one-fourth, quarter of a dollar neswä'sepa'ne three-fourths, seventy-five cents

There is a demonstrative adverb *īna*' with the meaning usually of THERE, AT THAT PLACE. When it comes after such phrases as have been given, it has the meaning of PLUS; the fraction is partly broken, and the terms then express addition.

negutāpe'ta'wīna' one and a half negutäsepa'nīna' plus a fourth

§ 53. Adverbs

There are numerous adverbs that express great variety of relationship. By far the greater number of them are used as adjuncts. As adjuncts, some have great freedom of position, and others have not that freedom. Among the adverbs of free position are those expressing time.

ī'nug' ä' 'pyāyā'n' to-day was when I came pyä'wa a' cawa'iy he came long while ago aska'tcīmä'' nī'pya by and by I will come

Other adverbs are less free as to position. Such are those that do the double office of prepositions and conjunctions.

ne''kani pe'pōn' during the whole year ne''kan ä''pemātesi'tc' during all the time that he lived ä'yä'pwā'w' nā'wa'kwä'g' before noon; before mid-day ä'yä'pwāw' pyā'tc' before he came

These limited adverbs occurring in first position really perform the office of initial stems. The following examples show adverbs in composition with secondary stems:

tcī'gepyä'g' at the edge of the water a'kwitapa'kwi on top of the lodge

Some adverbs express a modal sense, and have the force of either a clause or a sentence.

kaci'wāto'w' of course it is true (said in answer to a question) kaci'wī'to'w' I don't care what happens; it makes no difference ma'sātci pyä'wa he had a hard time getting here

The qualifying force of some adverbs is so extensive as to make them into conjunctives. Amongst their many values as conjunctives are—

General connectives:

 $n\bar{a}'$ ' k^a AND, as—

 $k\bar{\imath}'na$ nā''k $\Delta n\bar{\imath}'n^a$ thou and I

ce'wäna But, in which an objection is implied, as-

ātci'mohā'p' ce'wäna wa'nī'kä'wa he was told, but he forgot

Introductives:

nahi' well, I say, as-

nahi', nīātesō''kānā'wa —— well, I will tell the story of him ——

kaho', with much the same meaning and use as nahi'

ka'cinā" why! how now! as-

ka'cinā'i, $\bar{a}'gwin\bar{a}gwai'y$ ani'n' why, thou hast not gone yet! $k_{A'}cin\bar{a}'gw^a$ is much like $k_{A'}cin\bar{a}'^i$

§ 54. Interjections

There are also numerous interjections. Naturally most of them have to do with the expression of subjective states of the mind. There are two interjections of very common use, and they will be the only ones to be mentioned. One is $tai'y\bar{a}na^{\gamma_i}$ would that I had my wish! It is used with the subjunctive to express a prayer.

Tai'yāna''i pyā'te! oh, I wish he would come!

The other interjection is tcī, expressing wonder. It can and often does occur alone, but it is more common as a suffix.

ä'pyātcitcī! when, lo, here he came!

§ 55. CONCLUSION

On account of the limitation of space, the description of the grammatical processes of this Algonquian dialect is to be taken rather as a general summary. A good deal of matter has been lightly touched upon, and much has been wholly left out. It has been the plan to point out in as few words as possible such features as would give an intelligible idea of what the grammar of this one Algonquian dialect is like. The description will close with the text of a myth that was purposely abbreviated in the telling. It is told in a straightforward idiom without any attempt at rhetorical emphasis, which often goes with the language of myths. The translation keeps close to the order of the ideas expressed in the text. There is also a short analysis of some of its morphology and syntax.

TEXT

[Cf. Fox Texts, pp. 70-74.]

Ma'kwan¹ pämine'kawātcig¹.²
they who are in pursuit of him.

Inip¹⁸ acawaiye4 negutenw¹⁵ ä·a·skime'pugi' ä'pepōgi6 It is said long ago when it was when first it had it was once winter snowed ä·a·skānwīgi® neswi neniwagi 10 äcīcāwātci 11 māmaiya 13 kegiceyāpa.13 they went to hunt for game while the first three men early in the morning. snow was on Apatä'kīgi 14 ä pe kwisasaga k^{i 15} ma'kwani 16 ä`pītci**`kawä**nitcⁱ.¹⁷ where it was thick he went in making a On the hillside bear with growth trail.

¹ ma"kwani object of the following participle (ma"kwa animate noun, nominative singular; -ni objective animate singular suffix [§ 42]).

² pdmine ka'wdici'yi third person plural, animate, transitive participle (pdmi- for pemi- [initial stem denoting MOVEMENT FAST; e of pemi- becomes d in the participle, § 33]; -me ka- a secondary stem meaning TO DRIVE, TO FURSUE [§ 19]; -w- [§ 21 (?)]; -d- refers to the animate object ma'kwAni; -leigi animate, third person, participlal plural [§ 33]).

* Inipi combination of an introductive and a quotative (I'ni [§ 47] singular, inanimate, demonstrative pronoun used as an introductive; i'pi impersonal quotative, occurring usually as a suffix [§ 41]).

* a'cawai'ye temporal adverb expressing remote time in the past (§ 53).

** ne'gute'nwi iterative (§ 52) in the form of the third person singular, inanimate, intransitive verb of the independent series (§ 28).

*ä"pepō'yi third person singular inanimate intransitive verb of the indefinite conjunctive mode (&temporal augment; pep-initial stem used to express notions of WINTER, COLD, SNOW [§ 16]; -gi suffix with a locative sense [§ 42]).

"ä'A'ski'me'pu'gi same kind of verb as in note 6 (aski-initial stem signifying EARLY, SOON, FIRST [§ 16]; me-initial stem common with words for SNOW, ICE, COLD; me'pu- TO SNOW).

* ä'askānwi'gi an impersonal verb of the intransitive conjunctive mode (ask-same as in note 7;-ānw-secondary stem denoting STATE, CONDITION; -gi suffix with locative sense).

" ne'sw' cardinal used as an adjective to the following noun.

10 ne'niwa'yi animate, plural noun, subject of the following verb (ne'niws nominative singular; -qi suffix denoting PLURALITY [§ 42]).

"! dci'cāwā'tci (cicā initial stem to Hunt; third person plural, animate, intransitive verb of the conjunctive mode [§ 29]).

12 mā'maiya temporal adverb expressing relative time.

" kegi'ceyā'pa temporal adverb referring to that part of the morning just before and immediately after sunrise.

If $ap_A't\ddot{a}'kl'g'$ independent, intransitive, verbal combination used like a noun $(ap_At$ -akin to $\ddot{a}'pe'ta'w'$ signifying HALZ, PART OF; $-\ddot{a}'ki$ -akin to $\ddot{a}''k'$ meaning EARTH, GROUND, LAND; -g' locative suffix).

¹³ $\ddot{a}pc^ikwisas_Aga^ik^i$ same kind of verb as in note 6 (\ddot{a} -vowel augment same as in note 6, but used here, as in other places of the text, with a relative force; pc^ikwi - initial stem denoting Density, Thickness [§16]; sas_Ag - reduplicated form of the initial stem sAg- [see sAg-[§ 16], which has taken on the sense of TAKING HOLD OF; $-k^i$ third person, inanimate, pronominal ending of the conjunctive mode [§ 29]).

16 ma"kwAni objective form of an animate noun used as the subject of the subordinate verb that follows.

17 ä'pitci'ka'wäni'tci third person singular, animate, intransitive verb of the conjunctive mode, used with a subordinate subject in the objective relation (pit- initial stem denoting Movement into An Enclosure [§ 16]; for the tci- of pitci- of. pyātci- under pyā-, also § 8; 'ka- secondary stem expressing the notion of Making an imprint. Sign, track, and of Moving, Going [§ 18]; -wā-connective stem [§ 20]; -si-incorporated representative of an objective relation, and parallel in construction to -ni in ma'kwani. It belongs with -tci in nitci, and so enters into a subjective relation [§ 34]).

Neguti¹⁸ ä'pītcināganātc^{1 19} ä'a'ci'kahwātc¹. ²⁰ "Wätcikesiyāgicisä wā!''²¹
One he went in following he set him to going. "To the place whence the source of cold is he going fast!"

ähinātci 22 wītāmātcini.28

him accompanied.

Wätcikesiyāgi²⁴ wäse'kag^a,²⁵ "Wätcināwa'kwägicisäwā!"²⁶ ähitc[!].²⁷
From the place
where it is cold
wase'kag^a,²⁵ "Towards the place whence the midday is he hurrying!"

"Towards the place whence the midday is he hurrying!"

Ini²⁸ nā ka²⁹ wātcināwa kwägi³⁰ wāse kag^{a25} "Ä pagicimugicisāwā!"³¹
And another to the place whence the source of the noonday way of way of the source of the noonday way of the who went round by way of the source of the noonday way of the who went round the source of the noonday way of the who went round the source of the noonday way of the who went round the who way of which we way

ähitci.27

Aiyācō'ka ä'kīwināmō'tātīwātci. 32 Askatcipi 33 petegipyäyāta 34 long did they together keep him in flight from them.

Later on it is said behind he who was coming

a'kigāhināpitc¹, 35 ā'A'skipAgāme'kwisenigitcī! 36 keyāhapaiy^u ā'pemeg¹³⁷
on the ground as he
it lay with a green surface lo,
it was the fact
to a place
above

18 ne'guti cardinal (§ 50) used as an adjective modifying a noun understood.

"" d'pitcind'gand'tci third person singular, animate, transitive verb of the conjunctive mode (pit-same as in note 17; ndqa-initial stam meaning to FOLLOW AFTER [§ 16]; -n-an intervocalic causal particle [§§ 8, 21]; -d-objective pronominal element referring to the bear; -tci pronominal sign standing for the third person singular subject, conjunctive [§ 29]).

≈ ā·a·ci'kakwāici same kind of verb as in note 19 (-'ka- secondary stem, same as in note 17; -kw- causal particle [\$ 37]; -ā- same as in note 19; -tci same as in note 19).

"" wöltcikesiyögicisöwö'' third person, singular, animate intransitive verb of the independent series (wöltcinitial stem [from wici, a locative adverb meaning whence, source from, away from (§ 16)]; kesiyöninitial combination expressing cold; -gi locative suffix denoting place. Where [§ 42]; wöltcikesiyögis whence comes the cold is an inanimate participlal construction; ici a locative adverb denoting hither, away, toward; it often occurs as a suffix [§ 52]; wöltcikesiyögici toward the place whence comes the cold takes the place of an initial stem to the rest of the combination; -isō-secondary stem expressing swift movement [§ 19]; -wol third person singular, pronominal sign representing an independent animate subject, lengthened from wa [§§ 6. 28]).

" dhindic' same kind of verb as in notes 19 and 20 (d- as in note 15; hi-initial stem meaning to SAY [§ 16]; ... as in note 19; -d- as in note 19; -d- as in note 19; -d- as in note 19.

**witimaticins' third person singular, animate, transitive participle (wi- initial stem denoting companionship [§ 16]; -4- [§ 8]; -3- secondary stem denoting CONDITION; -m- animate causal particle [§§ 21, 37].

Animate objective sign; -dicini contains both subject and object, being a possessive, transitive participial [§ 33]).

24 Explained in note 21.

** Participial (§ 33), intransitive animate: hence the termination -gs, not ta (see § 34); -'ka- a secondary stem meaning TRACK, IMPRINT (§ 18).

* wâtci- as in note 21; nawa'kwāgi (§ 53); the final i elided (§ 12) before ici- (§ 16), the final i of which is likewise lost; -iedwā as in note 21.

m hi an initial stem as in *a hindic'* (note 22); the form is the third person singular animate intransitive of the conjunctive mode ($\frac{4}{5}$ 29).

- ≥ See note 3.
- 29 An adverb (§ 53).
- ≈ See note 26.
- 31 d- prefix; pAgi-an initial stem meaning TO STRIKE (§ 14); -icieāwā as in notes 21, 26; gi locative suffix.
- ** d- prefix; kiwi- an initial stem cognate with ki-(§ 16); -n- intervocalic (§ 8); -d- a secondary stem often used to indicate filest (§ 19); -m- instrumental particle (§§ 21, 37); -d- sign of middle voice (§ 40); -t- an intervocalic (§ 8); -d- is not clear; -ti- sign of reciprocity (§ 38); -watci sign of third plural animate intransitive conjunctive mode (§ 29).
 - For AskAtci+ipi; AskAtci cognate with aski- (§ 16); ipi as in note 3.
- ²⁴ petegi- an adverb; gi locative suffix, as in notes 7, 8, 14; pyāyāto contains pyā an initial stem denoting movement hither (§ 16); yā- an initial stem meaning the same (see below $\ddot{a}y\ddot{a}w\ddot{a}te^{2}e$, note 41); from the analogy of $py\ddot{a}yAn^{2}$ (from $py\ddot{a}$) it is likely that the true stem is $y\ddot{a}$; - t^{2} termination of the animate intransitive participial, third person singular (§ 33).
- For $a^ikig^i + dhindpitc^i$; a^ikig^i on the ground; $-g^i$ a locative suffix (§ 42); $dhindpitc^i$ ($d-tc^i$ [§ 29]); -h- (§ 8); dp^i for ic^i thus (§ 12); -n- (§ 8); dp^i for see.
 - -sen- a connective stem meaning reclining, lying down (§ 20); ā—gi as in note 6; -tcī (§ 54).
- If have altered a'pemegi of Dr. Jones to a'pemegi. The first can not be analyzed; the second can, and is supported by a'pemeg of the Fox Texts (72.1). The a'pemeg of the Fox Texts at 72.2 apparently is a typographical error. The analysis is a—gi, as in note 6.

ä'i'ciweneguwātc¹³⁸ ma'kwan¹.¹ was the way along which the bear. Sasaganigi 89 ä'tetepine'kawāwātci# At the thick while round in a circle they they were led by drove him growth äyäwäte'e.41 'pemeg^{i 37} keyähapaiy^u was really the into the wh**en** they time above went.

Ini ä'kōwepyäyät^{a 42} ä'kōwātcin^{i 43} ä'kwāgōhōmātcⁱ, ⁴⁴ "Mātāpyēⁱ, ⁴⁵
There- behind he who him who was next then did he cry out to him,

"O Union-of-Rivers.

kīwātāwē!!46 A'pemegiku 47 keteciwenegonānā!"48 āhinātci 22 Mātāpyā-let us turn back! Linto the sky truly he is leading you and said he to Union-of-Rivers

hani, 40 cewäna 50 ä'pwāwipeme'tāgutci. 51 him, but not a reply did he get from him.

Mātāpyā'a tcāwine'ki pāmipahuta53 wīsagenūhāhani53 āhutaihitci.54 Union-of-Rivers space he who ran past little Hold-Tight did he have for his pet.

Tägwäginig¹⁵⁵ ämatanāwātc¹⁵⁶ ma'kwanⁱ; ¹ ānesāwātcⁱ; ⁵⁷
In the fall of the year then they overtook him bear-him; then they killed him; kīcinesāwātc¹⁵⁸ me'tegumici u'te'kunanⁱ ä'kīckīckahamowātcⁱ, ⁵⁸
after they had slain him oak boughs much did they cut them,

nā'ka⁵⁰ ma'komicyān'; ähapackinanihāwātc¹⁰⁰ ma'kwan'; kīciwīnalikewise sumachs; then they put him to lie on bear-him; when they

ici initial stem thus (§ 16); -we- variant of w_A (from $\bar{a}w_A$ [§ 16] by § 12); -n-(§ 21); -e-(§ 8); -gw-sign of the passive (§ 41); \bar{a} —wātci (§ 29).

^{**} sas Ag reduplicated form of sAg- an initial stem (§ 16), as in note 15; -A- as in pAgA- beside pAgi- TO STRIKE; -ni- (§ 34); -gi locative suffix (§ 42).

^{** &}amp;-temporal particle; tetepi-a collateral form of tetep-(§ 18), an initial stem denoting MOVEMENT IN A CIECLE (cf. pemi- and pem-); ne'ka-(§ 19) as in note 2; -w- apparently a glide (§ 8); &uodic i termination of the conjunctive mode (§ 29), showing that the subject is the third person plural animate, and the object the third person animate, singular or plural.

⁴ Third person plural animate past subjunctive intransitive (§ 29).

Compare d'kōwātcin i note 43; pyāyāta as in note 34.

A participial (see § 33).

⁴⁴ d-ātc (§ 29); -m- (§ 21, 37).

For āp cf. āpō (§ 24); the form is a vocative singular animate (§ 42); see also § 6.

⁴⁶ For kiwä+täwët; kiwä-initial stem to turn back (§ 16): -täwēt for -täwe (§ 6) sign for first person plural (excl.) intransitive imperative (§ 31).

[&]quot; ä'pemigi, explained in note 37; -ku VERILY.

^{*} For ke—quadaa with prolongation of the final vowel as in -isāwā (see note 21); ke—quadaa is the pronominal sign showing that the subject is the third person singular animate, and the object the first person plural inclusive independent mode (§ 28); teci-variant of taci-(§ 16); -wene-as in note 38.

^{*} Ani sign of the singular objective case singular animate (§ 42).

⁶⁰ See § 53.

al pwāwi- the negative of the conjunctive verb; it stands following the particles d- and wi-, and before the verbal stems (see § 35.3); -gw- sign of the passive (§ 41); d-dtci (§ 29).

⁴² A participial (§ 33); pāmi- for pemi- by reason of the change of vowel in the participle; pemi- (§ 16); pahu-same as -pahō- (§ 19).

^{58 -}Ani as in note 49; wi-sag- (§ 16).

^{** \(\}bar{a}\)—tci (\{\}29); -\hat{h}\)-a glide (\{\}8); -u\)- possessive pronoun His (\{\}45); for the omission of the suffix, see p. 852.

^{* -}qi locative suffix: -ni- as in note 39.

^{*} \bar{d} -temporal prefix; -n- an instrumental particle (§ 21); -dwdtct pronominal sign showing the subject to be the third person plural animate, and the object the third person, singular or plural, animate, conjunctive mode (§ 29); mAtA to OVERTAKE (§ 16).

⁵⁷ nes- an initial stem meaning to SLAY (§ 16); ä-āwātc i as in note 56.

⁶⁶ kici- an initial stem denoting COMPLETION (§ 16).

^{**} ä—āwātci (§ 29); -h- (§ 8); see note 91.

nihāwātc^{i 61} äwäpinenyäskwā käwātc^{i.63} Wätāpagicⁱ⁶³ ähinā käwātcⁱ finished skinning then began they to throw them everywhere.

Wätāpagicⁱ⁶³ ähinā käwātcⁱ was where they and cutting him up everywhere.

uwīci; 64 pāpōgini 65 ā'katawiwāpagi 66 anāgwagi 67 ketcīwagāpe' 6; 68 his head; in the winter time when nearly morning stars are they accustomed to rise:

īnipiyōwe 69 īni ma'kōwīci. 70 Nā'ka 29 uta'tagāgwani 71 ä'e'gi 72 it is said in times that bear-head and his back-bone also

wätāpag¹⁷³ ähinā kāwātc¹. Ä ē gāpe e 74 pepōg¹⁷⁵ nāwāp¹⁷⁶ anāgwag¹⁶⁷ to the east was where they threw. Also it is wont in the winter they are seen stars äsipōcigig^{1,77} Īnipiyōwe e 79 ini uta tagāgwan^{1,71} they that lie close and if is said of old that his back-bone.

Inipi³ nāka²º iyowe winwawa78 īnigi⁷⁰ nīgāni nyāwi anāgwagi67 they in Tront in the past these lour also ma'kwa 80 nā'ka²º ma'kwanii petegi inigipiyōwe⁸¹ īna neswi that bear and behind three they are said in bear-him the past

pāmine kawātcigi. Tcāwine kitcās īna tcagi anāgō as acitā kwagōthey who were in pursuit of him. Truly in the middle there little tiny star near to does

tcinwa. said little dog, his pet Union-of-Rivers Hold-Tight.

Tägwägigin¹⁸⁸ me'tegumicyän¹⁸⁹ nā'ka²⁹ ma'kumicyän¹⁸⁹ wätcimeck-Every autumn oaks and sumachs why they are

- For a-dwate; wapi- an initial stem denoting INCEPTION (§ 16).
- wātāpagīci for wātāpagi (note 73); ici (§§ 10, 52).
- 44 u- HIS; for the absence of the m suffix see § 45; -i (§ 42).
- Compare d'pepôg (note 6) and pepôg (note 73); the form is a locative (§ 42).
- *A locative; cf. pdcdkddawiwdpanig UNTIL NEARLY MORNING 298.2; -wdpa- is the same as the initial stem wdpa- to see; note, too, dwdba-nig at Break of day 222.15, with the common fluctuation of b and p (see § 3).
 - " Noun, animate plural (§ 42).
- For $ketciw_A gi + a_B e^i e^i$; for $a_B e^i e^i$ see § 14; $ketciw_A gi$ (- $w_A gi$ is the sign for the third person plural inanimate intransitive of the independent mode [§ 28]).
 - For ini+ipi+iyowe; see note 3 and iyowe next paragraph.
 - 70 ma'kwa+uwici (500 § 12).
 - 71 u-Ani (§ 45).
 - 72 See § 10; ä-gi as in note 6.
 - 73 A locative.
 - 74 See §§ 10, 14.
 - 75 See note 6.
- 76 ndw- an initial stem meaning to see; cf. dndwdwdtc(i) they beheld him 198.2; $-dp^i$ the termination of the third person plural indefinite passive, independent mode (§ 41).
 - 77 See -cin- (§ 20) and also § 12.
 - 78 Accidentally omitted in § 44.
 - 79 Animate plural of inc (§ 47).
- [∞] I have altered inini ma'kw∆ni of Dr. Jones to ina ma'kwa (see 72.8), as is required by the analysis (cf. §§ 42, 47).
 - si For inigi ipi iyöwe see notes 69 and 79.
 - 22 -tcā verily.
 - See § 12 for the formation of the diminutive formation of Andgua.
 - 34 -cin- (§ 20?); -wa (§ 28).
 - For ina+ipi see notes 3 and 80.
 - s shows that the noun is animate singular (§ 42).
 - er See § 45.
 - = -gin i termination of the locative plural (§ 42).
 - ** Inanimate plural (§72).

[•] kici- as in note 58; -dwdici pronominal termination of conjunctive mode (§ 29), as in notes 56, 57; -h-(§ 21); win4ni- (§ 16).

wipaga'ki so ähapaskinanicigäwätci si ämesköwigis tä'tupagön. sa Inistedat the leaf when they put to lie on top of then bloody became leaves That tägwägigini wätcimeckwipaga'ki so me'tegumicyänis nā'ka na' why the leaves became red ma'komicyäni. se

sumachs.

Inä'kwitci.95

That is the end.

[Translation]

THEY WHO ARE IN PURSUIT OF THE BEAR

It is said that once on a time long ago when it was winter, when it had snowed for the first time, while yet the first fall of snow lay on the ground, there were three men who went forth to hunt for game early in the morning. At a place on the side of a hill where there was a thick growth of shrub did a bear enter in, as was shown by the sign of his trail. One (man) went in after him and started him going in flight. "Away toward the place from whence comes the cold is he making fast!" called he to his companion.

He who had gone round by way of the place from whence comes the cold, "In the direction from whence comes the source of the mid-day time is he hurrying away!" he said.

Then another who had gone round by way of the place from whence comes the noon-time, "Toward the place where (the Sun) falls down is he hastening away!" said he.

Back and forth for a long while did they keep the bear fleeing from one and then another. After a while, according to the story, as one that was coming behind looked down at the earth, lo! the surface of it was green. For it is really the truth that up into the sky were they led away by the bear. While about the place of the dense growth of shrub they were chasing him, then was surely the time that into the sky they went.

Thereupon he who came behind cried out to him who was next, "O Union-of-Rivers, let us turn back! Verily, into the sky is he leading us away!" said he to Union-of-Rivers, but no reply did he get from him.

Union-of-Rivers, who went running between (the man ahead and the man behind), had Hold-Tight (a little puppy) for a pet.

^{**} wātci- as in notes 21, 26, 30; meckwi-blood, same as meskwi (see § 9); -pA- as in tātupAgōni LEAVES, -ga- (§ 20); -'ki (§ 29).

^{**} \ddot{a} —wātci (§29;) -gā- (§20); -ci- for, -cin- (§20); loss of n (§12); -h- presumably a glide (§8); apaskinani same as apackinani in ähapackinani-hāwātc above (see note 90).

² āmeskōwigi a variant for āmeskōwī ki; ā—'ki (\$29); meskō- for meskwi (note 90, § 12 near the end);
-wi- (20).

[™] Plural of tā'tupagwi (see §§ 12, 42); -pa- as in wātcimeckwipaga'ki.

[₩] See note 3.

⁵ For ini a'kwitci (§ 10); a-tci (§ 29).

In the fall they overtook the bear; then they slew him; after they had slain him, then many boughs of an oak did they cut, likewise sumachs; then with the bear lying on top (of the boughs) they skinned him and cut up his meat; after they had skinned him and cut up his meat, then they began to scatter (the parts) in all directions. Toward the place from whence the dawn of day hurled they the head; in the winter time when the dawn is nearly breaking, (certain) stars were wont to appear; it has been said that they were that head. And his back-bone toward the east did they also fling. It is also common in the winter time for (certain) stars to be seen lying close together. It has been said that they were that back-bone.

And it has also been told of them (viz., the bear and the hunters) that the (group of) four stars in front was the bear, and that the three behind were they who were in pursuit of the bear. There in between (the star in front and the star behind) a tiny little star hangs. They say that was a little dog, Hold-Tight, which was pet to Union-of-Rivers.

As often as it is autumn the oaks and sumachs redden at the leaf for the reason that when they (the hunters) place (the bear) on top of (the boughs), then stained become the leaves with blood. That is why every autumn the leaves of the oaks and sumachs redden.

That is the end of the story.



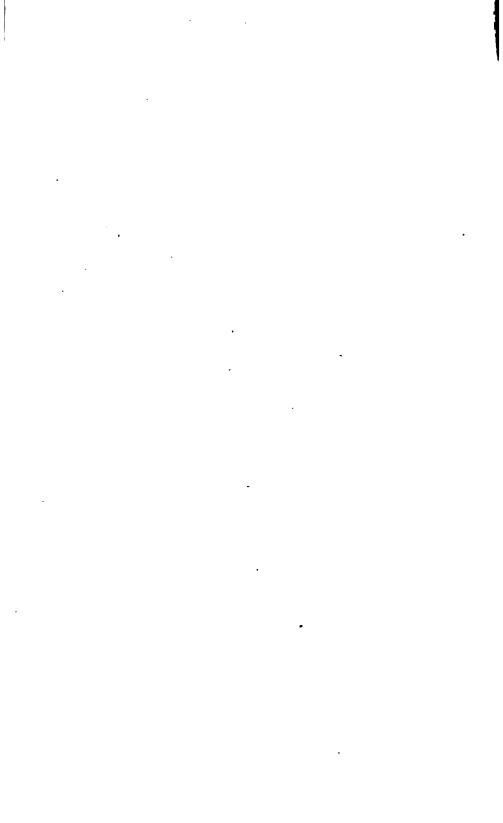
SIOUAN

DAKOTA (TETON AND SANTEE DIALECTS)

WITH REMARKS ON THE PONCA AND WINNEBAGO

BY

FRANZ BOAS AND JOHN R. SWANTON



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SIOUAN

DAKOTA (TETON AND SANTEE DIALECTS)

WITH REMARKS ON THE PONCA AND WINNEBAGO

By Franz Boas and John R. Swanton

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

The Siouan languages are spoken in a considerable number of dialects. One group of tribes speaking Siouan languages lived on the western plains, extending from the northern border of the United States far to the south. Another group of dialects was spoken by tribes inhabiting the southern Appalachian region; and two isolated dialects belonged to the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, east of the Mississippi river and the lower Yazoo river, respectively. At present the last two groups are on the verge of extinction.

The following sketch of Siouan grammar is based mainly on the Santee and Teton dialects of the Dakota language, which embraces four dialects-Santee, Yankton, Teton, and Assiniboin. Yankton are spoken by the eastern Dakota bands, Teton by the western bands, and Assiniboin by those of the northwest. The material for the present sketch is contained mainly in the grammar, texts, and dictionary of the Santee, published by S. R. Riggs (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vols. vii, ix). This account has been the basis of Dr. John R. Swanton's studies of a series of Teton Texts, in possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology, written by George Bushotter, a Teton Dakota. In the summer of 1899 Doctor Swanton revised these texts on the Rosebud Indian reservation with the help of Mr. Joseph Estes, a Yankton Dakota, who had been long resident among the Teton, and who was at that time teacher in one of the Government schools. Doctor Swanton's notes, contained in the present account, refer to the Teton dialect, while the material based on Riggs's published Santee material has been discussed by F. Boas.

The Ponca material has been gleaned from a study of J. Owen Dorsey's work, The Cegiha Language (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. vi.). The Winnebago material is based on the unpublished collections of Mr. Paul Radin. The notes on both of these dialects have been written by F. Boas. Page references in the sections describing Santee and Ponca refer to the publications by Riggs and Dorsey referred to before.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. System of Sounds

Since Riggs, in his grammar and dictionary, does not distinguish the aspirates and surd stops, which were first discovered by J. Owen Dorsey and which are of such frequent occurrence in American languages, we give here the description of the Teton as obtained by Doctor Swanton. In order to preserve as nearly as possible the usage employed in printing Dakota books, Riggs's alphabet has been adhered to; but p', k', t', and t' have been added to designate the aspirates of the corresponding surds. Doctor Swanton also distinguishes a fortis t' and t' and t' is an obscure vowel, related to short t' and t'.

TABLE OF SOUNDS OF TETON

				•			Stops				Continued					
							Sonant	Surd	Aspirate	Fortis	Sonant	Burd	Fortis	Na a l	Lateral	Bemi- vowels
							·b	p	p	Ŗ	-	_	_	m	-	w
•		••					d	t	t	ţ	z	8	ş	\boldsymbol{n}	l	_
							<u>-</u>	-		_	_	_	_	_	_	y
							-	ć	ć'	ć	_	_	_	_	_	_
							_	_	_	_	ź	é	ś	_	_	_
							g	\boldsymbol{k}	k	ķ	_	_	_	_	_	_
							ġ	_	_	(?)	-	ħ	_	_	_	_
g	•	•	•		•	•	_	_	-	_	h	-	-	-	-	-
					v	ow	ELS			A	Į					
		•				g			pung pung de	Depth Part Part	VOWELS			The property of the property o	Towers Towers	The property of the property o

ê

Pure

¹See F. Boas, Notes on the Ponka Grammar (Congrès International des Américanistes, xv° session, Québec, 1907, vol. II, pp. 317-337).

The affricatives have been placed in the group of stops because they are closely associated with them. It is doubtful whether the fortis yelar occurs.

The affricative \acute{c} series corresponds to the English cH in CHURCH; the \acute{z} , \acute{s} series to z in AZURE and to sH in SHORE; \acute{h} to the velar CH in German.

The phonetic system of Santee is quite similar to that of Teton, except that l is absent and is replaced by d and n. Teton n is either initial or follows k or q.

In Ponca, y of the series of sounds enumerated before is absent, and is throughout replaced by ϕ (English sonant TH). According to Dorsey, this sound approaches the l and r of other dialects; i. e., it is pronounced slightly laterally and with a tendency to a trill. The sonant of the affricative series, f, occurs in Ponca, and l is absent. In Kansas, which is closely related to Ponca, the Teton g is replaced by l.

In Winnebago the Teton y is replaced by a weakly trilled linguapical r. Two n sounds are found, one, n, more strongly sonant than the other n. In the velar series the sonant continued sound γ occurs besides the surd \hbar .

In the printed Ponca texts published by Dorsey an alphabet is used that does not conform to the Dakota alphabet used by Riggs and in later publications based on Riggs. Dorsey's alphabet agrees in many respects better with the systems of transcription used in rendering American languages than Riggs's alphabet. Nevertheless we have adhered here to the Riggs system and have avoided the awkward inverted letters used by Dorsey.

•	
Riggs	Dorsey
p, t, k	d, q, q
s, ś	8, o
ć	1 0
p', t', k''	p, t, k
8, §¹	(?)
ć'¹.	tc
p, t, k	p', t', k'
¢¹	tc
ź	\boldsymbol{j}
j ¹	dj
\hbar	q(?)
\dot{g}	$\hat{x}(t)$

We are not quite certain whether the sounds s and s occur in Ponca. The sounds s and c of Ponca have been rendered here by analogy by s and s, but their character has not been definitely ascertained.

In Santee consonantic clusters in initial position are common, while they are absent in terminal position. In these consonantic clusters three groups may be distinguished,—clusters with initial surd stops; those with initial m and h; and those with initial s, s, h. The first of these groups never occurs in Ponca, the second shows a remarkable variability in different dialects, while the third seems to be common to Dakota, Ponca, and Winnebago.

The following table illustrates these three groups of consonantic clusters:

i t	Second consonant of cluster										
Initial consonant	$\stackrel{\perp}{p}$	t	\boldsymbol{k}	8	8	ć	d	n	ъ	m.	
p	i -	pt	_	· ps	pś	pć					
t	tp	_	ik	-	_	-	ĺ				
k .	kp	k·t	_	ks	kś	kć					
m							md	mn			
h	i						hd	hn	hb	hm	
8		st.	sk:		_	sć	sd	sn	вb	8m	
ś	śp	$\acute{s}t$	$\acute{s}k$	_	-	8ć	sd	śn	śЬ	$\pm m$	
ħ	hp	ĥŧ	hk		_	ħć	hd	ĥп	ħЪ	ħm	

Besides these clusters which belong to the stem, or to pronominal forms, others are admissible. These originate by composition of a stem ending in a consonant with another stem beginning with a consonant. We have found in this series—

and it is likely that others occur.

It will be noticed that in the stem, sonants, affricatives, and n do not occur as the first sound of a consonantic cluster; that sonants, except d and b, and k, do not appear at the end of a consonantic cluster. Fortes occur neither in initial nor in terminal position. No sound except

s and s occurs with another one of the same class. Clusters of three consonants may occur when a stem beginning with a biconsonantic cluster follows a stem with terminal consonant, but these combinations are rare.

In Ponca and Winnebago stems the following consonantic clusters occur, which, however, are never terminal.

con-	Second consonant of cluster										
Initial con- sonant	p	t	k	8	é	ć	¢	d	n	ь	n
ь	ı						b¢				
$egin{smallmatrix} g \ h \end{matrix}$	Ì						g¢		,		
	·						<u> </u>		hn	<u> </u>	
8', 8 8', 8	s'p'		s'k'						sn		
8', 8	s'p' hp'	ś`t` ht`	&`k`			ś'ć'			$ \hat{s}n $		
ĥ	hp'	ħt'				hć'	h¢				

-	<u></u>	Second consonant of cluster									
	Initial con- sonant	$\frac{d}{d}$	<i>g</i>	8	**************************************	'j	ć				
-	ć k		ćg	ks	kś	kj					
_	8 \$ h	sd	sg sg kg		liś	śj ħj	ść				

WINNERAGO

§ 3. Syllables and Accent: Teton

Syllables of Teton may consist of single vowels, a consonant followed by a vowel, or two consonants followed by a vowel. In the last case the first consonant is never a sonant or fortis (see p. 882). In other instances an obscure vowel sound is heard between the two consonants, which may either be inserted for euphony or be a sign of composition. On the other hand, such stems may be considered as having been originally dissyllabic.¹

¹ This view, expressed by Doctor Swanton, does not seem to be supported by the phonetic characteristics of other dialects. It has been pointed out before that the consonantic clusters beginning with the surd stops, p, t, t, do not occur in Ponca and Winnebago; while those with initial s, t, t, are quite common in these dialects. Winnebago has a strong tendency to repeat the vowel of a syllable between certain consonantic clusters (see pp. 888, 923), but it does not seem probable that this is an original condition from which the consonantic clusters of Dakota and Ponca have originated.—F. B.

The sounds s and l are almost the only consonants found closing a syllable in which no contraction is known to have taken place, although it seems significant that both these sounds result from supposed contraction of syllables.

The placing of the accent is said sometimes to constitute the only difference between words, but it is possible that other vocalic modifications, not hitherto observed, may be involved.

§ 4. Phonetic Changes

In this section we give a summary of the phonetic changes occurring in Teton, Ponca, and Winnebago.

TETON

1. After a nasalized vowel or the syllable ni there is a strong tendency for the following vowel to be nasalized; and this tendency is particularly marked in the causative auxiliary ya, as in the following cases:

kin'yan to fly
tohan'hunni'yan as long as
icitehan'yan far apart
tan'yan well
watin'yanpi they trusted to him
niyan' he cures him (literally, causes him to live)
wiyuskin'yan in a holy manner
hpanyan'pi they caused it to be softened with water
teun'yanpi we caused him to die

Ya to go sometimes changes similarly, as— $u^n y a^{n'} p i$ we go.

2. After o, u, o^n , u^n , the semivocalic y is apt to change to w, especially in the imperative forms, as—

 $u^n \acute{c}i, \ u \ wo$ be coming, O grandmother! $ta^n y a^{n'} \ e \acute{c}a' n o^n w e$ well have you done

Here may belong forms like-

no"wa" he swims lowa"pi they sing

3. The final a of most verbs is changed into i^n when followed by na and, or k^*ta (the future particle).

```
\acute{c}'eya'-u<sup>n</sup>pi'' na you roast and— (instead of \acute{c}'eya'-u<sup>n</sup>pa' na) ya^{n'}k'^{n} na he sat and— (instead of ya^{n'}ka na)
```

keyin' na he says that and— (instead of keya' na) yu'zin k'ta he will take her (instead of yu'za k'ta)

Final a^n is usually treated similarly.

hed'o'n' hin na she was doing that and— (instead of hed'o'n' han na) e'to'nwin na he looks at and— (instead of e'to'nwan na)

4. Terminal a very often changes to e, but it is not certain that this change is of a purely phonetic character. It occurs before the sounds of the e and e series:

```
slolaye' śni he knew not (for slolaya' śni)
yuzi" k'te śni he will not take her (for yuzin k'ta śni)
kini' k'te se'će he will revive perhaps (for kini' k'ta se'ć'e)
ki" ye şe it flew, as it were (for ki"ya şe)
ye hćeha" he went just then (for ya hćeha")
```

This change also occurs when the following word begins with e:

uⁿyiⁿ' k'te eći'ya she said to him, "We will go" (for uⁿyiⁿ' k'ta eći'ya)

k'te ec'in' "I will [travel]," he thought (for k'ta ec'in') le ehan'tan's if you go (for la ehan'tan's)

It occurs before the articles ki^n and ko^n , and before the conjunction keya's. In all these cases it is connected with a change of the initial k sounds of these verbs into the corresponding affricative. Examples are given under 5.

Since verbs change into nouns by a transformation of final a to e (or by change of suffix a to suffix e), it is not certain that these phenomena can be considered as purely phonetic in character.

The change from a to e usually accompanies word composition. Examples are:

```
tuwe'ni whoever (for tuwa' ni)
tuwe'wak'a'' what is holy (for tuwa' wak'a'')
hoeha'' just then (for hoa-ha'')
a'k'ap'eya to throw beyond the bounds (from a'k'ap'a the outside)
ak'a'sp'a and ak'a'sp'eya to be provoked
```

The rules relating to terminal a suffer many exceptions. The verbal stem ha to have, and some verbal stems, like ma and ta, seem to be invariable:

```
baluha' śni I have not wić'a'yak'u'wa k'te you will treat them (wić'a them; ya thou) iya'kita śni he did not cause him to behave
```

5. The palatals k, k, and k, when preceded by e or i, change to the corresponding dental affricative.

 $le\acute{c}'o''$ he did thiskak'o'' he did that $le'\acute{c}'a$ this sortto'k'a that sort

This happens most frequently in the case of the articles ki^* and ke^* , and the conjunction keya's EVEN, THOUGH.

ista'gamuze ćiⁿ the eyes closed (instead of ista'gamuza kiⁿ)
k'te ćiⁿhaⁿ' if he will (for k'ta kiⁿhaⁿ')
yuⁿka'he ćoⁿ he was lying in the past (for yuⁿka'ha koⁿ)
hi'yuye ćoⁿhaⁿ' he caused it to come forth (for hi'yuya koⁿhaⁿ')
yaⁿke' ćaya'ś although he sat (for yaⁿka' kaya'ś)

This change is regular only when the preceding e stands in place of a of the independent forms of the verb; but the change also takes place at times, although not regularly, when the verb ends in e.

k'te ćin kill the (for k'te kin)

According to Riggs, the same change takes place after i, in verbs, when the k is followed by a vowel.

ićalu fan (from i-, prepositional prefix [see §12]; kalu' to blow away with hand)

ićaśla a scythe (from i-; kaśla' to cut off)

kićableća to break for one by striking (from ki- for; kableća to break by striking)

The analogous changes occur throughout in Santee.

6. Contraction. Words ending in certain consonants followed by a, when compounded with other words that follow them, and when duplicated, lose their final a and change their consonants as follows:

p	to	b or m	$\dot{m{g}}$	to	li
ć, i	t to	l	z	to	8
ŀ	to	q	ź	to	ś

Examples:

tob p'asala'tapi they stick four into the ground (for to'p'a) wasa'g-icila' he thought himself strong (for wasa'ka) kah-wi'c'asi he told them to make (for ka'ġa) yus-ige'yin holding him, he sent him (for yu'za) p'ansp'an'ża soft (reduplicated from p'an'ża) ap'si'l and ap'si'ca to jump on oyu'l and oyu'ta to eat

When a word ending in one vowel is compounded with another one beginning with the same vowel, the two vowels are generally contracted.

hiyotanka to come and sit down (for hi iyotanka)

Terminal a before the particle bo (see p. 933) changes to e because it requires a preceding particle ye, which with a is contracted into e.

bala'he lo I am going

PONCA AND WINNEBAGO

Ponca and Winnebago have vocalic changes analogous to those of Dakota.

The negative auxiliary, the future, the quotative, and the plural of Ponca change terminal e and ai to a.

ik'ágewişai I have you for friends 711.13

ik'ágeawá¢a-máži I do not have them for my friends 711.13 §k'áje thou doest

¢í šk' áġa-bážĭ thou doest it not 711.19

né t'ai you will go 689.6

ná-baží you (plural) do not go 689.3

The same change takes place in verbs followed by -bi, -biama it is said.

ai he said 60.8

á-biamá he said, they say 60.7

in¢éşk'ağe thou makest for me 640.1

gaġá-biamá he made, they say 60.5

 $a\acute{e}\acute{e}$ he went 9.1

 $a\phi ab$ he went, it is said 9.10

żug¢e with him

źúg¢a-bi he with her, they say 331.18

danbái-gă see him! 60.6

danbá-biamá they saw, they say 58.10

The change of terminal e to a occurs also in Winnebago in the plural, when the verb is followed by the negative and is in the present tense, and when followed by $\bar{a}'n_A\bar{n}ga$ AND.

de I go da'wi we go (-wi plural ending)
rahe thou buriest raha'wi ye bury

In Winnebago, r changes regularly to n when following a nasalized vowel. This n differs in the strength of its nasal aspiration from the ordinary n.

hinu'gas he tears me by pulling (for hin-ru-gas)

The dialects here treated demonstrate a close relationship between certain groups of sounds. These are notably—

These relationships appear partly in consonantic changes required by the rules of euphony of each dialect. It has been shown before that, in cases of contraction in Teton, p may change to m, t and ℓ to n; and that k and k after a transformed into e, and in a few other cases, change to ℓ and ℓ .

When discussing consonantic clusters, we called attention to the peculiar groups of clusters which occur in Santee, beginning with m and h. These show a great variability in different, closely related dialects, and exhibit some of the relationships of sounds to which attention has been called. Thus we find the corresponding groups in Santee, Yankton, and Teton:

Sa	ntee	Yan	kton	Te	ton	Pon	011
\overline{md}	\overline{mn}	\overline{md}	mn	$\overline{bl^1}$	mn	b¢	_
hd	hn	kd	kn	gl^1	gn	g¢	_
hb	hm	(?)	km	gb	gm	_	_

The close relationship between t and k appears in Santee whenever the sound precedes a p. Thus we find—

inkpa and intpa end of a thing wakpa and watpa river

The relations between n and l in Santee and Teton, and those between y, ϕ , r, l, in Santee, Ponca, Winnebago, and Kansas, have been mentioned before.

An important phonetic law relating to the Winnebago was formulated in 1883 by J. Owen Dorsey in the following words:²

"A triliteral monosyllable in Loiwere (and often the corresponding ones in Dakota and Cegiha) is changed into a quadriliteral dissyllable in Hotcañgara (Winnebago), when the first letter of the monosyllable is a mute, a palatal spirant, or a spirant sibilant, and the second consonant is a labial or dental mute, or a dental spirant. The first consonant of the Hotcañgara dissyllable is always a surd; the second is, as in the corresponding Loiwere word, a labial or dental mute, or else a dental spirant; and each consonant (in Hotcañgara) must be followed by the same vowel sound. In no case, as far as examples have been gained, can any mute stand next to one of the same order; e.g., a labial can not precede a labial."

¹ Swanton hears here an indistinct vowel between the consonants of the cluster. This is true of a great many groups of two consonants.

²J. Owen Dorsey, The Comparative Phonology of Four Siouan Languages (Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1883, p. 923).

Examples illustrating this law are:

&a'ra&i& thou breakest with mouth &a'r-equals Ponea &a'r-; ra- Winnebago with the mouth)

śuru'śiś thou breakest by pulling (ś-r- equals Ponca śn-; ru- Winnebago by PULLING)

haku'rugas I tear my own (k- one's own, followed by the vowel of the first syllable of the verb; ru- by pulling)

haka'rasis I break my own with mouth

Compare also—

kawā'nañga for kêwê a'nañga and he entered hît'at'ā'nañga for hît'êt'ê ā'nañga and he spoke

§ 5. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

Grammatical relations are expressed by juxtaposition, composition, and reduplication. The limits between juxtaposition of words in a fixed order and of word composition are ill defined, since the independent words that enter into the sentence are liable to considerable phonetic modification, which is due entirely to the closeness of the connection of the adjoining elements. The phonetic decay of different words, under these conditions, is not the same everywhere; and certain elements appear exclusively in combinations, so that they may be considered as affixes. Prefixes, suffixes, and in some cases infixes, occur, although the latter may have been originally prefixes which appear now as incorporated in a compound, the parts of which are no longer discernible. The total number of affixes, however, is small, the entire number not reaching thirty-five. Composition of independent words is resorted to with great frequency. In these compounds the subordinated element is usually modified by the elision of the terminal vowel and the correlated modification of the preceding consonant, so that the component parts form a very firm unit. Modifications of terminal sound of one word and initial sound of the following word occur in many cases, and express the syntactic relations of parts of the sentence. Phonetic modification of prefixes and of suffixes, particularly of the pronominal elements, and irregularities of their positions, make the verbal forms of the Siouan languages very irregular in appearance. Far-reaching substitutions in the labial and dental series occur in all dialects.

Duplication of stems occurs in verbs and in some nouns derived from them. It is almost always confined to the principal stem. The final consonants, which in the unduplicated word are followed by terminal a, are modified as in other types of composition (see § 4).

The syntactic relation of words is often expressed by position. On the whole, there is a strong tendency to place particles indicating the function and relationships of groups of words following those groups.

§ 6. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The categories of noun and verb are clearly distinct, although in some cases the same word may be used both as a noun and as a verb. In other cases there is at least a slight modification of form, which consists in a change of suffixes. In the Dakota dialects there is no classification of nouns, except in so far as verbs of existence imply form; but in Ponca the classification, which is expressed by particles, is elaborate. Animate and inanimate—the former at rest and moving; the latter as round, upright, horizontal, etc.—are distinguished. Plurality of the noun is expressed, not by means of a nominal plural, but rather by a device which expresses the plural idea of the whole sentence. In the possessive pronoun the ideas of inalienable and alienable possession are distinguished. Distributive forms of verbs expressing states or conditions are often expressed by reduplication.

The subjective and objective personal pronouns are clearly distinguished. The former are the subjects of all verbs expressing activities; the latter are the objects of transitive verbs, and the subjects of verbs expressing conditions. The Siouan languages have the tendency to include in the former class all declarative terms, even those that imply only a slight amount of action.

The pronouns are not well developed. There are only three fundamental forms,—I, THOU, THOU AND I. Forms with incorporated object are generally composed of the subjective and objective forms of these elements, but a few cases occur of combinations that can not now be explained as compounds of subjective and objective pronouns. The pronominal forms give rise to new combinations, owing to the marked exactness with which the action directed toward an object possessed by the subject is differentiated from other actions directed toward objects not so possessed.

In the verbal stem a few instrumentalities and locatives are expressed. Complex ideas are expressed very frequently by means of composition. Some of the elements entering into such composition

appear with great frequency, and might be called auxiliaries. To these belong verbs like to cause, to become, and nominal classifiers like ruminant. Temporal and modal ideas are almost wholly rendered by means of enclitic particles.

Demonstratives seem to have designated originally four distinct positions, but these are no longer clearly recognizable. The demonstrative ideas are very closely associated with some verbs with which they enter into composition.

While in Dakota there is no indication of the existence of a grammatical distinction of the nominal subject and object, the Ponca differentiates these forms through the use of distinct particles.

The local relations of nouns are expressed with great nicety by means of post-positions, in which Doctor Swanton finds the ideas of rest and motion clearly and sharply distinguished.

Adverbs of various kinds, and a few special adjectival ideas, are expressed by means of suffixes.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 7-47)

Juxtaposition and Composition: Santee (§§ 7-10)

§ 7. Verbs

In the Dakota sentence the component elements are often placed side by side without any connective elements, but so closely connected that two successive elements influence each other phonetically. Compositions of this type appear with great frequency when a number of predicative terms enter into combination. Whenever an element of such a series, that is followed by another element, ends in the vowel a, preceded by one of the consonants p, t, c, k, g, z, z, contraction (see § 4, no. 6) takes place.

snayek yumden iyeya it snapped and broke suddenly IX¹ 88.9 (sna ringing sound; yumde'ća to break to pieces; iyeya to do suddenly)

wased ti he lived and was rich IX 95.1 (wase'ća rich)

ikpihnag u he came putting them in his blanket IX 88.14 (ikpi-hnaka to put in blanket)

ikpihnag un it was in the blanket IX 88.26

wanyag nazin to stand and see (wanya'ka to see)

§ 7

¹These references indicate page and line in Vol. IX of the Contributions to North American Ethnology.

When the first verb ends in a syllable that can not be contracted, the two verbs stand simply side by side.

itimani hi to come and visit IX 87.22 (i'timani to visit; hi to come)

ode' i he went hunting IX 117.2 (ode' to hunt; i to go) ape yanka he stayed and waited IX 117.3 (ape' to wait) teya wiwakonza she cried and wailed IX 117.16

When the first and second verb end in the same vowel, contraction may take place.

hdiyotaⁿka to come home and sit down (hdi to come home; iýo-taⁿka to sit down)

hihu"ni to come to the shore (hi to arrive; ihu"ni to land)

While ordinarily the terminal a in verbs that can not form contractions remains, and the two verbs appear simply in juxtaposition, a few verbs, which otherwise do not differ in their usage from those discussed heretofore, require the change from a to e, and thus indicate a more intimate association of the component elements of the group. These are iyeya suddenly; ya (ya^n) to cause; kiya to cause; u^n to be; i to go; u to come.

The following forms are analogous to the preceding groups, and show contraction:

kaptuś iyeya to put down (from kaptuża)
yuokłog iyeya to open out IX 83.15 (from yuokłoka)
kak kiya to cause to do (from kaġa)
sam ya to blacken (from sapa)
pus ya to dry (from puza)
wanya'g ya to cause to see (from wanya'ka)

No change of the first verb occurs; for instance, in—
nażin kiya to cause to stand

Changes of a to e in words in which contraction is impossible are found in—

te kon to wish one dead

ye kiya to cause to go (from ya)

niwe kiya to cause to swim (from niwan)

niwe un he is swimming

bakse i he went to cut (from baksa) IX 115.10

wanase aya they went buffalo-hunting IX 88.11

hihnaye au they came to marry him IX 144.3

aniće waćin to forbid he intended IX 111.17 (this should be, according to analogy, anin waćin)

Judging from the published texts, the usage is not quite regular, and some verbs seem to take both forms.

§ 8. Verbs and Nouns

In many compounds of this group an intimate phonetic relation of the noun and verb exists, so much so that the noun sometimes appears in a fragmentary form which never occurs alone, or, at least, with a termination that has undergone far-reaching modifications.

cante' HEART. From this word are formed—
canţi''za to have courage (with ţi''za staff)
canze' to be troubled (with ze disturbed)
ca''to' hnaka to love (with ohna'ka to push in)

The complete word appears in-

cante'asni to recover one's mind (with asni' to recover)

hanye'tu night

han mani to walk in the night (with ma'ni to walk) han wan ka to remain over night (with wa'nka to be)

win'yan female

wi'hdastaka to strike one's wife (hdasta'ka to strike one's own) wi'inahma to conceal a woman (with ina'hma to hide) wiki'sdeya to molest a woman (with kisde'ya to molest) wita"sna a virgin (ta"sna alone)

The terminal a of the noun does not change to e, but contraction takes place in compounds of this type.

 $makki'\acute{c}a^nya^n$ to till a field (from ma'ga field; $ki\acute{c}a^{n\prime}ya^n$ to cultivate)

maki'puskića to lie on the ground (from maka' ground; ipuskića to press on; with contraction of a-i to i)

In still other cases the noun modifies the initial sound of the verb.

tića' ja to pitch a tent (from ti dwelling; kaja to make) mi'ni¢api a well (from mi'ni water; ka to dig)

The transition between these forms and others consisting of object and verb, or subject and intransitive predicate, is quite gradual. A number of nouns are used like classifiers, when the sense of the sentence does not require the noun. Thus we find, from—

ćan wood

ćanka'ska to tie wood together ćanba'sdeća to saw wood

wića Human Being

wićata ** śna bachelor (compare the true compound wita ** śna virgin)

\$da\$da\$da' bare\$ni\$ni\$sni' cold\$na\$nasna' to ring, to rattle\$ipu\$ipuhpu' to pick off\$(yu) hpa\$(yu) hpahpa to throw down

Bisyllable words ending in a lose this ending in the reduplicated syllable and modify their last consonant in accordance with the rules described in § 4.

ko' ka śokśo'ka thick keza keskeża smooth ćosćo'za warm, comfortable ćo'za ki'nza ki'nski'nza to grate keġa kelike' ja to scrape ye'ga yeliye'ga to shine te'patemte'pa worn off ġo'pa ġopġo'pa to snore hamha'pa to make a rustling noise ka p**a** sa'npa samsa'npa more sa'pasapsa'pa black će'pa ćemće' pa or ćepće' pa fat ĥota hotho'ta gray (ya) po'tpota or (ya) po'npota to tear (ya) po'ta to pieces (with mouth)

When the terminal consonant and the initial consonant form inadmissible clusters, the former is omitted.

dopadodopa miry $(ya) \, \delta u' \dot{z} a$ $(ya) \, \delta u' \dot{s} u \dot{z} a$ to crush (with teeth)ka'kakaka'ka to make a dull noise bybreathingko'kako'kakoko'ka to rattle

In bisyllabic words beginning with a consonantic cluster the consonant of the terminal syllable is not repeated:

(yu)hda' ta (yu)hda'hdata to scratch (ka)hde'éa (ka)hde'hdeća to tear mdeća mdemde'ća broken psi'ća psipsi'ća jumping psapsa'ka(ha*) broken psa'kahdo'ka hdohdo'ka to make a hole tku'ġa tkutku'qa to cut short ptuptu'ża cracked ptuźa 8nu'n∕za śnuⁿśnu'nża indistinct kśi'ża kšikši'ža to double up

hmu'nza hmu'nza slimy ksa' pa ksaksa' pa wise śko' pa śkośko' pa crooked

An exception to this rule is—

(ya)sma'ka (ya)sma'gsma'ka to indent (with teeth)

When the consonant of the second syllable is a dental or affricative (t or \acute{e}) and the first consonant a sibilant (z, s, \acute{z} , \acute{s}), the dental or affricative is transformed into a k (g).

so'tasokso'ta clearsuta'suksu'ta hardźataźagźa'ta forkedśiżaśikśi'ża bad $(wa^nźi'$ one $wa^nźi'gźi$ some)

In compounds, only the stem is reduplicated; prefixes and suffixes remain unaffected.

s'in in sight	kas'in	kas'ins'in to appear in sight
mdu pulverized	abo'mdu	abo'mdumdu to bubble up (a- on; bo- by blowing)
$\dot{g}u$ to burn	aġu	$a\dot{g}u'\dot{g}u$ to burn out something
hde to plan	i ^l ćiyah d e	i'ciyahdehde to reach one to another
<i>§a</i> red	ai'de\$a	ai'deśaśa in the red flames (a- on; idé to blaze)
ton to give forth		aho'tonton to cry out (ho voice)
(ptan) to roll		po'pta ⁿ pta ⁿ to shake head ([po] head)

The following examples illustrate the use of reduplication of words with suffixes:

to' keća tokto' keća different
yukta'nkiya yukta'nktankiya to cause to bend
yupta'nyan yupta'n ptanyan to roll over

It would seem that in a limited number of cases the component elements have lost their independence—both the reduplicated stem and the prefix. Instances of stems that do not seem to occur alone will be found in the preceding list. The following cases illustrate the occurrence of prefixed elements that have apparently now no independent meaning:

koʻska koʻskaji youth gu'nga gu'ngaga proud sdoha'* tkitka' sdoha'nhan to crawl tkitka'tka slushy

Reduplicated numerals show very clearly these principles of reduplication:

wanzi' one
ya'mni three
za'ptan five
śa'kpe six
śako'win seven
śakdo'ġan eight
napċi'nwanka nine
wikte'mna ten

vanzi'gżi a few ya'mnimni by threes za'ptanptan by fives śa'kpepe by sixes śako'winwin by sevens śakdo'hdogan by eights napzi'nvangwanka by nines wikte'mnamna by tens

PONCA

In Ponca, monosyllabic words ending in a vowel, pure or nasalized, are doubled:

Apparently most stems ending in a consonant are reduplicated without the terminal consonant:

bihu'hut'a" blowing on 260.15

u¢a'eut'ude he bit holes in them 267.7

pu'puliálit'i drawn up much 282.16

gagígige coiled up 282.16 (gagígije 320.3)

u¢u'k'-ihehébe one after another 307.9

a" şa" şa" dema" shake me repeatedly 310.3

jijinga little ones

waşi'şige active 9.14

hiliige to crush often 20.3

bit'it'i'je to break in by pressing 20.4

na" jájaje kicking out with the legs 24.1

nágigi¢a made people afraid to carry 756.5

wakekega sick ones (wakega sick)

Since the suffixes of Ponca are not well known to me, it is quite likely that some of these stems may be monosyllabic. We find also examples of reduplication, including the terminal stem-consonant.

vá¢ab¢aze 267.6

wá¢ab¢ábçaze 267.13

In compounds, only the stem is reduplicated; prefixes and suffixes remain unaffected:

```
iéan'éan suddenly and regularly 9.5
win'éanéan one by one 314.7
éiép'áép'a pulled to pieces 17.3
ukiliéaliéae they run unequal distances 756.16
usk'an'ék'an in a line with 261.4
dk'igéingéin sitting on one another 320.4
iéisk'i'ék'i much tangled 591.16
uga'haha floating in little waves 279.5 (see uga'ha 282.4)
éan'éanht'i without stopping 261.8
pipia'ji bad ones (pi good)
ukigéiéanéan he turned round and round 260.8.
```

WINNEBAGO

Monosyllabic stems with terminal vowel are doubled:

sten	ı t'e	hit'êt'e' to talk
66	p'o	<i>rap'ôp'uā'n₄ñga</i> to puff
	\mathbf{k} 'o	hiwak'ok'o' to skip about
66	ri*	$wari^n ri^n na$ the ball
66	hgi	nañhgihgi to walk over something
"	kśi	rukśikśi to disturb
66	zi	ruzizi to point at
"	$\gamma'e$	$\gamma'e'\gamma'e$ earring
66	hgû n	nañhgûn'hgûn to hear often

Bisyllabic stems with repeated stem vowel (see p. 888) are treated in the same manner as monosyllabic stems:

stem k	ri ri	kirikiri he comes again and again
" p	rînî	rupînipîni to turn
" 6	ara	śaraśara bald
" p	rônô	worupônôpônô to smell
" p	oro	poroporo round

Almost all stems ending in a consonant do not repeat the terminal sound:

stem	huć	$horuhar{u}'hu\acute{c}$ he looked again and again
66	γak	γαγā'kśê to shriek
66	zić	hoizi'zićśê to strain one's eyes
"	gas	ruga'gas to tear in pieces
66	kounć	ruksûñksû ⁿ ćśê to shake
66	ćaś	hiraćaćaś to chatter
"	ร์เz	bośiśiz to shoot
"	si ⁿ ć	<i>sîⁿsîⁿć</i> to sweep
66	γić	ririć to squeak

stem kšap mašikšakša' pšê to slit open
" jih jiji'hjišônun 1" to whisper
" sak hosa'sak to shoot
" huh wašhuhu'lišê to smash

In the same way is treated

stem s'urutcîn s'urus'urutcîn naked

In the following the terminal consonant is repeated: stem gih gihgih to touch

Prefixes (§§ 12-14)

§ 12. Prepositional Prefixes

TETON

There are three prefixes, consisting of the pure vowels a, i, and o, which have very general meanings of prepositional or adverbial character. Since these elements have no influence upon the structure of the following word to which they are attached, they might be considered as proclitic particles.

 a signifies on. It is also employed to indicate that one thing is accompanied by another, and therefore becomes a kind of plural.

au"pi they put on (many sticks)
wi'tayuta he looked at them
ana'tan she ran (thither)
ate'ti he put on the fire
awa'k'eya he covered it (with a robe)
awi'tac wa-u I bring them
aka'stanpi they poured on him

2. indicates that an action has taken place with some definite object in view, and therefore often occurs in words denominating instruments; it also forms ordinals. Sometimes it may be translated by FOR.

ipa't'a sewed with
iya'han he was going to (a hill)
iye'wića'k'iya' he passed it to them
ilowan'pi they sing of it
ina'zin he stood there (to look into the lodge)
iya'kaskapi they hid it there
ia'pe thing that they strike fire with
ica'salohe stone balls
§ 12

iza'p'ta" the fifth time ito'pa the fourth iyu'ha all ina"kab above it

3. o signifies in, within, inside of. It is frequently employed with verbs signifying to speak; and also when indefinite actions are to be expressed, when it becomes partly antithetical to i.

osalo'he coasting (into the water)
opa'wićalita' she packed them up
oma'hinkpa'ya I fall into
ao'nawićat'a'ka he closed them in
ohan'hepi night-time
ożu'ha place for a certain article (bag)
oya'te people
oya'sin all
ohun'kakan myth
o'gale coat
obala'ye level place
oma'ni he walked (about)

PONCA

The corresponding elements are also found in Ponca:

- 1. a (Dakota a) on
 - á¢e to glue on 84.19 ág¢iⁿ to sit on 84.6 á¢i^sá to drop on 234.18 ágig¢a'ht'aⁿ he poured on his own 234.19
- 4 (Dakota i) from, with, out of, by means of igagá to make of it 97.22
 it in to hit with 433.3
 ik ide to shoot with 369.10
 ite to die from 690.11.
- 3. u (Dakota o) in, into ubáġan to push into 232.6 uága úde I broke a hole in it 96.17 ugásne split inside by hitting 81.18 ubásnan to push into 75.8 ug¢in to sit inside 85.17

¹Probably in oma'ai one is represented as traveling about within a certain area, for the word for PRAIRIE OF LEVEL PLACE is obala'ye.

§ 13. Instrumental Prefixes

TETON

- na- to do a thing by means of the foot.
 nalita'ka he kicked (the ground)
 naho'to" he made it cry by stepping on it
 naṭa'pi they trampled her to death
 na'zi"pi they stood
 nabu'bu stamping often
- wa- (Santee ba) to accomplish by cutting.
 vabala'zapi they cut it open
 wahu" hu" she cut it in many places
 vaśpi" she cut it out (i. e., the ground)
 vak'śa' he cut it off
- 3. wo- to accomplish by shooting or punching, also by blowing, and derivatively by the falling of rain.

wogala'kinyan to cause to glance (as a bullet)
wohin'hpaya to make fall by shooting
woko'kela to make rattle by shooting

This prefix seems to be used less often in Teton than does its corresponding form bo in Santee.

4. pa- to push with the hands.

pasala'tapi they drove it into the ground o'pawićahta' she packed them up pahalo'kapi they punch a hole e'pata he cut it up or butchered it pauwkapi they pushed it down

5. ka- to accomplish by striking; also applied to other actions by derivation.

 $kahu^n/hu^npi$ they gashed it in many places kahu'ja he broke it up kako'ja he made a grating noise $kapo'ja^n$ it puffed out.

6. ya- to accomplish by means of the mouth.

aya'stan he stopped singing
ai'yapi they talk about it
iya'kaskapi they tied it there by means of the mouth
iwo'galakapi they spoke about their own (here the y of ya has
either been omitted before l or changed into it)

7. yu- to accomplish by any means, but more especially by handling.
yu'za she took hold
yuu'kapi they pulled him down
yuha' he had him
ayu'sta' she let him alone
yuzu'zu he pulled apart
fiyu'ta I choke you to death

Most of these have come to have uses varying considerably from the significations given above, which seem to be the original meanings.

PONCA

In Ponca have been found nine instrumental prefixes, all of which form transitive verbs, like the analogous Dakota prefixes:

- nan- (Santee na-) by pressing with the foot.
 nanhá he kicked 314.16
 wanan't'e stepping on them 235.19
 wanan'hihige crushing them with the foot 235.19
 nanháha he slipped in walking 97.14
 nangáge to make cry by kicking 96.11
- ma- (Santee ba-) by cutting.
 ma'sa he cuts head off 11.1
 wémab¢ázai-ga rend it for us with a knife 76.6
 umásnai-ga split it with a knife 318.14
- 3. mu- (Santee bo-) by shooting.

 mú¢iñge to exterminate by shooting 628.6

 umú¢t'a to remain from shooting 399.14
- 4. ba- (Santee pa-) by pressing with the hand.
 basnú he pushed along 318.3
 bakía¢á he pushed down 80.14
 ubásna* to push (a tail) into (a tree) 75.8
 basíbe he forced a way out 369.13
 bahí¢é¢a he pushed it away 331.3
 baçúťa* to make straight by pushing 234.14
- 5. ga- (Santee ka-) by striking (and by action of wind and water).

 gaté to die by falling 163.9

 ugásne he split by hitting 81.18

 ugák'iba he made a crack by hitting 81.12

 gasátu to strike a rattle 315.10

 gasnú wind blows 324.7

 gamú to empty by pouring out 17.11

 gap'úk'i to make sound by hitting 266.10

6. ϕa - (Santee ya-) with the mouth, by blowing.

¢ahú to drink 266.18 ¢asniⁿ to swallow 79.12 ¢ahek'i¢a he made him put it in his mouth 99.7 wá¢ab¢áb¢azá he bit and tore them in many places 267.13 ¢aé¢aⁿbá he made it emerge by biting 124.9

7. **#i-** by pulling.

¢isnú to drag 306.3
¢iṣp'áṣp'ai he pulled pieces apart 17.7
¢ipan'de he shook by pulling 318.8
¢idañ'-ga pull on it! 96.9
¢ili¢úda he pulled it out 131.5

8. **na-** by heat.

náțe to die by heat 232.7
náșabe blackened by fire 259.5
názițá made yellow by heat 237.2
náținge it is consumed by fire 673.6
nálițin it burns brightly 235.15
nádadáze fire sends out sparks 234.18
nátubewáțe he cooked them to pieces 232.19

9. bi- by pressure.

bić'ić'ije to break in by pressing 20.4 bihúhut'an blowing on 260.15

WINNEBAGO

In Winnebago eight instrumental prefixes have been found:

- naⁿ- (Santee na-, Ponca naⁿ-) by pressing with the foot.
 naⁿsi's he breaks by pressing with the foot naⁿsja^{n'} to accomplish with the foot (to dance) naⁿt'a^{n'} p to push with the foot.
- mAⁿ- (Santee ba-, Ponca ma-) by cutting.
 mAⁿśi'ś he breaks by cutting
 mAñga's he tears by cutting
 mAⁿégu'h to cut to pieces
- bo- (Santee bo-, Ponca mu-) by force, by blowing.
 bo'sis he breaks by shooting
 boci'p he pushes
- 4. wa- (Santee pa-, Ponca ba-) by pushing with the hand. wa'śiś he breaks by pushing with the hand waćgi's he saws

- 5. gi- (Santee ka-, Ponca ga-) by striking. gi'śiś to break by striking gisa'k to kill by striking. gitgi's he cuts by striking
- 6. ra- (Santee ya-, Ponca ¢a-) with mouth.

 raśiś he breaks with the mouth

 raśja" he accomplishes with the mouth (he sings).
 - 7. ru- (Santee —, Ponca ¢i-) by pulling. rū'śiś he breaks by pulling ruga's he tears by pulling
 - 8. da- (Santee —, Ponca na-) by heat.

 dasê'p'i to blacken by heat

 dat'ékîⁿ to wither by heat

The pronominal forms of all these prefixes show certain peculiarities, which will be treated in § 32.

§ 14. Modal Prefixes: Teton

Two elements may be mentioned here which are difficult to classify. The one (1) might seem to be better classed as a proclitic particle, while the other (2) is closely related to syntactic forms of the verb that will be found treated on p. 909.

- 1. hin-indicates that an event happened suddenly, as—
 hinhpa'yapi they dropped it at once
 hinna'pa he came out quickly
 hingala' it became suddenly
 hinhan'ni early in the morning
 hin'yanka po now wait ye!
- 2. wa-. Verbs, especially when used with other verbs, sometimes take on a passive or infinitive form by prefixing wa-. It is probable that this prefix is equivalent to something or thing.

Thus we have-

waya'tapi k'ta you will have something (just referred to) to eat tahu' aka'nl nahta'g waćin' what he wanted was to kick on her neck "mi'ye" t'oke'ya wana'gi "wae'miye'cigana'kin k'te" eya' the ghost said, "You will have something put down for me first" u'ma salohan' wata'kpe hiya'ya the other went slipping along

Often this is used in the formation of nouns and adjectives, as-

wwiste' good, beautiful (from ste to esteem highly) wakin' yan the thunders (from $ki^{n'}ya^n$ to fly)

```
wana'gi ghost (from na'gi soul, spirit)
wak'i' a pack of goods (from ki' to carry)
wak'a' holy
wap'a'hta bundle
wap'a'ha war-bonnet (from p'a'ha human hair [?])
With the prefix o- it forms wo-:
wo'yuha property (from yuha' to have)
wo'sića cause of trouble (from si'ća bad)
wok'oya'ke clothing
```

§ 15. Verbal Suffixes: Teton

Although the existence of verbal suffixes is not so readily recognized, a careful examination of the language renders it almost certain that several verbal elements exist which are analogous in form to the verbs kiya and ya, which will be referred to later (p. 931). These are ka, pa, ja, ta, za, and za (or g, b, k, l, s, and s), and are identical with those referred to in the section on phonetics as undergoing certain morphological changes. The za there mentioned I do not include, because it is nothing more than za after a weak vowel. Of the remainder, I can only suggest the significance of the first two or three with any plausibility, and am obliged to infer that the others were of similar character merely from the similar manner in which they are used.

-ka (or ća) is practically equivalent to the English то вк; as—

ya"ka she sat
yu"ka he lay
t'a"ka it is large
c'i"ka (however) he did wish
owa'sakapi they have no strength
o"sika poor
ta'kuka whatever it is (ta'ku what)
żi"gżi"ća snorting
wawa'tećala gentle
p'te'hćaka they were real bison
sića'ka it was bad (si'ća bad)
oya'ka he told it (ya to say)
tehi'ka difficult
niya'ka alive (niya caused to live)

wikimića'pi they scrambled for them ana'p'teća to hinder or obstruct

-pa probably means to GO AND DO; or, at any rate, some sort of motion.

unkon'i'yuspapi we two take hold of you
t'ate'yanpa the wind blows
evoi't'aunpa'pi they lay them down (i. e., they go and lay them
down)
kavoi't'awapa I excel them in it
yuo'gipa it (branches) closed on his hand

-ĝa appears to mean to MAKE or to Do, although it is used so often in referring to a harsh noise or rough action that something of that sort may be connoted. Examples are—

tin' ja he grunted
nahuhu' ja he broke it with his foot
yamenu' ja making a crunching noise
oma' jon' ja I awoke
wajo' japi they gashed it
ka' ja he made
kake' ja to make a grating noise
inyun' ja he asked her a question
yakogahan' pi they were gnawing the hard substance
owa' kahanije śni I did not understand
igalagale' japi they painted themselves in all styles
patku' ga to break in two by striking

-ta is exemplified in the following:

wato'papi they paddled

pakin'ta he brushed it
pasala'tapi they set the pole in the ground
naja'lġata he kicked out his feet
ogalużun'ta he put his hand in his
ayu'ta he looked at it
wita'yuhala'tapi they pinched them
yupo'ta she cut to pieces
kaski'ta to press
olo'tapi they borrowed
każa'ta to make forked with an ax
kapo'ta to tear in pieces

-za.

wobala'za it burst oi'yokpaza dark wahu'k'eza war-spear kagwe'zapi they painted in many lines iua'za he went to each one kamada'za to make burst by throwing down içi'éonza she determined for herself akalu'syela caused to flow out rapidly (from akaluza) éante' tin'za brave heart naiçi'baleza po stir yourselves by running

-ża.

dunydktunzapi you forget us p'eśani'za a flash of fire (from pdta fire; śani'za dried up) oi'galukśi'za he tucked it around himself (from kśi'za bent) wak'anyeza children kakśi'za to bend up by striking (from kśi'za bent) kanhe'za poor, distressed (from kan aged?) kata'za to make waves as the wind does (from ta'za rough water)

Personal Pronouns in Dakota (§§ 16-20)

§ 16. Subjective and Objective Pronouns

The development of the personal pronoun in the Siouan language is very weak. Distinct pronominal forms occur only for 1, thou, thou and 1. The first person is designated by a labial sound, the second person by a dental, and the inclusive by a nasalized vowel.

Subjective pronouns, which designate the subject of an activity, are differentiated from objective pronouns, which express the object of an action or the subject of a condition or state. In Santee these forms are—

						Subjective pronouns	Objective pronouns
1st person					•	wa	ma (mi or m)
2d person						ya	ni (or n)
Inclusive						<i>าเ</i> ฑ	u^n

There is no pronoun of the third person. The plural object of the transitive verb is expressed by wića. This term, however, is not a pronoun, but signifies PERSON, as is evidenced by the occurrence of the terms wića MALE, HUMAN BEING, and wićaśu MAN. The plurality of the pronoun is expressed by the suffix (or enclitic) pi, which will be discussed in § 39. Added to the inclusive, this element forms the inclusive and exclusive first person plural.

¹This attempt to reduce the bisyllabic words of Sioux to compounds of two monosyllabic elements, each ending with a vowel, does not seem to me quite successful. The unity of idea claimed for the groups in -ka, -ta, etc., is not convincing. It seems to me more plausible that we are dealing here with stems ending in a consonant which are amplified by the terminal vowel a, so that the so-called contracted forms are rather the stems. There is good evidence that -ka is a suffix of very weak meaning, since many words occur with and without it. I doubt, however, if this element occurs in tan'ka, yan'ka, yun'ka.—F. Boas.

Examples in Teton are—

t'i he dwells

wa't'i I dwell

un't'i thou and I dwell

un't'ipi we (he and I, or plural) dwell

t'i'pi they dwell

maśi'ca I am bad

oma'hinhpa'ya I fall into

nit'a" kapi ye are large

munka I lie

 $uu^{n}ka$ he lies

eća'mon I do it

 $u^n k u^{n\prime}$ we live

§ 17. Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs with pronominal subject and object form combined pronominal forms in which the first person always precedes the second. The combination I—THEE is expressed by $\dot{e}i$. The object $wi\dot{e}a$, expressing the third person plural, precedes all pronouns.

	1	thou	we
me	_	maya-	-
thee	ći-	_	$u^n n i$ -
us	_	$u^n y a$	-
them	wićawa-	wićaya-	wićaun-

Examples in Santee:

k'te to kill.

maya'k'te thou killest me

maya'k'tepi ye kill me

wića'k' tehan she was killing them

maya'kaśka thou tiest me (from kaśka to tie)

wiću" kaška you and I tie them

ćića'ska I tie thee (kaska after i changed to ćaska [see § 4.5])

§ 18. Pronouns of Verbs in y-

Verbs beginning with ya or yu in the third person—with very few exceptions—have pronouns of a different form. These are—

	Teton	Santee
I	$b_A l$ -	md-
thou	l-	d-
he	y -	y -

§§ 17, 18

Examples are—

Teton: yu'za he takes

balu'za I take lu'za thou takest

yawa he counts bala'wa I count

la'wa thou countest

ya he goes

bala' I go

la thou goest

Santee: yustan he finishes

mdustan' I finish

dustan' thou finishest

yaksa' he bites in two

mdaksa' I bite in two

daksa' thou bitest in two

The most important exception is the verb ya to cause, which occurs in last position in compounds, and which has always the pronouns as described in § 16.

Santee:

napsi'nya he makes jump napsi'nwaya I make jump

§ 19. Other Exceptional Forms

Other exceptional forms may be grouped as active and neutral Irregular active verbs are the following: verbs.

	то а	RRIVE	то со (future)	TO START	TO SAY	
	Teton	Santee (regular)	Teton (Riggs)	Santee	Teton and Santee	
1st person.	. $m A n i'$	wahi	mni kta	hibu'	e'pa	
2d person.	$. \mid ni$	yahi	ni kta	hidu'	e'pa e'ha	
3d person.	. hi	hi	yin kta	hiyu'	e'ya	

The Santee verb yanka to weave basketry, to weave snow-SHOES, is analogous in its forms to Teton mani':

1st person: mna'nka 2d person: na"ka

It will be noticed that in all these forms, except in dha thou sayest, the labials and dentals, respectively, appear for the first and second person pronouns. In the forms in mn for the first person we have apparently verbs in y, in which for the regular l (Santee d) the nasal n is substituted; while in hibu' I start to come and dpa I say, the dental element has been lost. Perhaps all the forms of the verbs in y may be explained as a transformation of the pronominal labial and the stem-dental into bal- (Santee md-) in the first person, and as a loss of one of the dentals in the second person, so that instead of yy-, l- (Santee d-) remains. As pointed out by J. Owen Dorsey, this theory is substantiated by the correspondence of the following forms:

Santee: da- (2d person of verbs in ya-)

Ponca: śna- hna-Winnebago: cara-

All verbs beginning with yu- generally drop this prefix (see § 13) in the inclusive. yu'ta to eat drops it also in the first and second persons.

Two Santee verbs— $yuka^{n'}$ THERE IS and $yako^{n'}$ —are defective, and similar in their treatment to hiyu'.

yukan there is unkan pi we are dukan pi ye are yakan pi they are daka'non thou art daka'nonpi ye are unya'kon, unya'konpi we are yako'npi they are

Among the neutral verbs the following have to be noted: The verbs beginning with a vowel use m- and n- instead of ma- and ni-. The few neutral verbs beginning in y drop this sound in the first and second persons; those beginning in wa- and prefixing the pronoun change wa- to u- in the first and second persons. Examples in Santee are—

			TO USE	TO SMOKE	то ве	TO LIE DOWN
1st person			mu^n	$u^n m u^{n\prime} p a$	manka'	mu ⁿ ka'
2d person		.	nu^n	unnun'pa	nanka'	nu^nka'
Inclusive		•	$u^{n}ku^{n'}$	unkun pa	unya'nka	u ⁿ wa'nka
3d person		.	u^n	$u^n pa'$	ya^nka'	wa^nka'

¹Comparative Phonology of Four Siouan Languages (Smithsonian Report for 1883, p. 924). See also §§ 21 et seq.

Quite irregular are the following Santee verbs:

					TO DO 1	TO THINK 2	TO WEAR
1st person.	•				-kamon	-ća ⁿ mi	hi*mi'
2d person.					$-kano^n$	-ća ⁿ ni	hi*ni'
Inclusive .		,			$-ko^nku$	u ⁿ -ći ⁿ	$u^n k i^{n\prime}$
3d person.					-k·on	-ći ⁿ	i' ⁿ

§ 20. Verbs with Indirect Object and Reflexives

Whenever a verb takes an indirect object or when the object belongs to the subject, one of two peculiar forms is used. One of them is regular, and is characterized by the introduction of the element ki after the compound pronoun expressing subject and object. When the pronoun ends in an i, this form changes to $\dot{\epsilon}i$. Thus we have—

bawa'kiksa I cut off my own ćićidowaⁿpi I sing for you IX 110.14 (from dowaⁿ to sing)

A second set of forms is irregular. The forms are in Santee-

	1	thou	\mathbf{he}	we
to me	_	maye-	mi-	_
to thee	ći-	_	ni-	u ⁿ ni-
to him	we-	ye-	ki-	$u^n k i$ -
to us	_	$u^n ve$ -	$u^n ki$ -	_

The k of the third person seems to be characteristic of most Siouan dialects; but it seems doubtful whether it is justifiable to explain the forms we-, ye-, mi-, ni-, as originating through contraction of waki-, yaki-, maki-, niki-, as Riggs does. The Ponca forms are not in favor of this theory.

The uses of these two forms are peculiarly irregular. It seems that etymologically both must be considered as distinct, since their relation to the pronouns as well as to the stem is different. The ki which enters into regular composition with the pronouns forms exceptional forms with certain stems.

(1) Before stems beginning with k and y (and hi in Teton) it forms gal (Teton) and hd (Santee).

¹ With the demonstratives e, he, ke, to, this verb forms eton', heton', ke'ton, to'kon (see § 43). It does not occur alone.

²With the demonstratives c, hc, kc', and wa, awa, this verb forms c'tin, hc'tin, kc'tin, wa'tin, awa'tin (see § 43). It does not occur alone.

(2) Before stems beginning with p, it forms kp.

According to Riggs's Dictionary, these forms always indicate that the object belongs to the subject.

Swanton gives the following Teton examples of these forms before yu., ya., and hi:

galuha' they had their own gala'ha" he was going back

gala'ska he tied his own gali' he got back

The forms in ki which form an irregular pronominal series, according to Riggs, express sometimes the same relation:

3d Person	1st Person	
kića'	weća	to mean one's own (from ka)
kića'ġa	weća ja	to make one's own (from kaġa)
kića'kća	wećakća	to count one's own (from kakća)
kiću'wa	<i>we</i> ćuwa	to follow one's own (from kuwa)
kikte'	wekte'	to kill one's own

Ordinarily these forms express an indirect object with the meaning of our preposition to or for:

ki'cahi to rummage for one (from kahi) kihna'ka to keep for one

There are, however, many cases in which the ki that does not form irregular pronouns is used in this sense.

e'ya to say

eći'ya to say to some one ewakiya I say to him emayakiya you say to me

dowan to sing
wakidowan I sing for him

In still other cases both forms are in use with the same meaning:

kito" to wear
kiso" to braid for one's self
kihma' to look like

weto" and wakito" I wear weso" and wakiso" I braid wehma and wakihma I look like

It would seem, therefore, that a considerable amount of confusion between these morphologically distinct forms has developed.

Related to the pronoun ki, which tends to become assimilated by the stem, is the reflexive $i\acute{c}i$, which, before verbs beginning with k and y, assumes the forms igl (Teton) and ihd (Santee), while before verbs beginning with p it becomes ik. It will be seen that this form is simply the first ki with the prefix i.

bai'ciksa to cut one's self in two (from ksa)
ikpa'ptan to turn one's self over (from paptan)
ihda'ksa to cut one's self off

The following Teton examples are given by Swanton:

oićiya'pi they paint themselves mići'çağa I have made myself u"'kićiya' we two exchange between ourselves

These forms are neutral verbs, and take the objective pronouns.

Derived from the second ki is also the form $ki\ell i$, meaning almost always for, which forms the pronominal forms $we\ell i$, $ye\ell i$.

ki'ćiyuśna to make a mistake for one ki'ćison to braid for one

Another form $ki\acute{e}i$ means with, together, and is generally followed by the pronoun:

8d person	1st person	
ki'ćitida ⁿ	$ki\acute{c}iwatida^n$	to ride with one
kići'yuta	kićiwata	to eat with some one

Swanton considers COMPANIONSHIP as the original significance of the form, which occurs also as a post-positive meaning with, ACCOMPANIED BY. Teton examples are—

oko'lakićiye society (literally, friends to one another) oki'ćiyusića they two got into trouble with each other kići'k'tepi they killed each other

Personal Pronouns in Ponca (§§ 21-29)

§ 21. Subjective and Objective Pronouns: First Class

The two classes of pronouns, subjective and objective, occur here in the same way as in Dakota, but the modifications of their forms with various classes of verbs are more numerous. By far the majority of verbs may be combined in one group, which show what may be called the normal pronominal forms.

							ubjective p ronoun	Objective pronoun
1st person singular		•					a-	a*-
2d person singular		•					¢a-	¢i-
Inclusive dual	•		•	•	•	•	a*-	wa-

The plural of all these forms is made by the suffix -i, corresponding to the Dakota -pi. The inclusive, by addition of this suffix, is transformed into the first person plural. While the object, third

person plural, is expressed by wa-, this form does not occur as subject of the neuter verb. Examples of verbs of this class are the following:

Subjective pronouns:

and an I heard it 670.2 (from ná an to hear) at I have arrived 671.6 (from t'í he arrives) tat I thou hast arrived 715.3 tand an thou hearest it 665.1 anmantini we walk 713.5

Objective pronouns:

an¢iñ'ge I have none 715.2 (from ¢iñgé he has none) anwanhp'ani I am poor 719.2 (from wanhp'ani poor) ¢i¢iñ'ge thou hast none 70.17 wawák'egaí we have been sick 662.1 (from wák'ega sick)

§ 22. Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs with incorporated object appear in the same forms as in Dakota. The object has the same form as the subject of the neutral verb. In the combinations of subject and object the first person precedes the second and third, and the third person precedes the second. As in Dakota, the combination of the first person subject and the second person object is expressed by a special form, wi. The object of the third person plural after the inclusive dual and first person plural is always wa^n . The plurality of the object is expressed by the suffix -i.

	I	thou	we
me	_	a n¢a -	_
thee	wi-	-	ançi-
us	_	wa¢a-	_
them	awa-	wa¢a-	a^nwa^n

Examples:

I-THEE:

winátan I hear thee 87.14 uwit'in I hit thee 62.3 witi I give you 706.10

I-THEM:

awána^eaⁿ I have heard about them 676.1 awá^ei I gave them 652.14

THOU-ME:

andásidáji thou dost not remember me 652.6

THOU-US:

wa¢áşi¢a¢á-bi it is said you remembered us 687.5 uáwa¢akan'i you have aided us 751.9

THOU-THEM:

wa¢ána^caⁿ thou hearest about them 692.7

WE-THEE:

 $a^n \phi i'^{\epsilon} i$ we give it to thee 439.3 $a^n \phi i' s i \phi a i$ we remember you 687.4

WE-THEM:

 $a^nwa'\tilde{n}ga^n\phi \dot{a}i$ we desire them 750.7 $a^nwa''da^nba'$ we saw them 705.10

§ 23. Pronouns of Verbs in c: Second Class

Corresponding to the Dakota inflection of the verb beginning with y, we have the following forms of the verb in ϕ :

1st person singular	•		•	•			b¢-
2d person singular						٠.	śn-, hn-, n-
3d person singular		•					¢-
Inclusive dual							and-

According to Dorsey, 1 δn - is the oldest form of the second person, while hn- and n- are more modern forms. The sound hn- has not an oral h, but expresses a very full breathing through the nose with n closure of the tongue.

Examples of these forms are the following:

b¢ízě I receive 670.1	nízě thou receivest it 745.3
$ka^{n'}b\phi a$ ² I wish 704.4	$ma^nni^{n'3}$ you walk 744.5
$ma^nb\phi i^{n'3}$ I walk 706.2	hnístani ye finished 436.9
kanb¢éyan² I hope 706.4	hnaí ye go 436.8
eb¢égan4 I think that 706.6	$ga^{n'} \not e a^2$ he wishes 50.8
śne you went 738.2	$e \phi \acute{e} g a^{n4}$ he thinks that 757.13
uśné thou tellest 58.17	$a^{n'} e^{i^n}$ we were 727.5
$\frac{\hat{s}ka^{n}}{n}a^{2}$ thou wishest 741.10	$a^n da^{n'} dai$ we think 727.8

§ 24. Pronouns of Verbs in b, d, g: Third Class

Verbs in b, d, and g, provided the pronoun is not infixed, are treated in the following manner:

1st person singular				p-	t-	k'-
2d person singular				§`p`-	§`t`-	<i>§`k</i> '-
3d person singular		•		b -	d-	g-
Inclusive dual .				$a^{n}b$ -	$a^{n}d$ -	añg-

¹See the Cegiha Language, note on page 534.

³ Infixed pronoun.

² Double conjugation. See § 24. ⁴ Compound verb.

The second persons of this group reveal their close relationship to the verbs in ϕ , a relationship which is still clearer in Winnebago (see § 32). Following are examples of this class:

 $p\acute{a}\acute{g}u$ I write 488.8 $k`a^n'b\notea^1$ I wish 704.4 $p\acute{g}a^n$ I blow it 575.7 $\noteat{k}`a'je$ thou makest 582.14 $i\noteat{f}p`aha^n$ thou knowest $ga^{m'}\notea^1$ he wishes 50.8 aid^nbe he saw 116.3 aid^nda^nbe we see 132.8

In verbs beginning with ϕ -, b-, d-, g-, the objective form, and also the combined form wi I—THEE, are prefixed to the subjective forms, which take the pronominal subjective according to the second and third classes, as described before (p. 916).

Examples:

wita" be I see thee 644.16
wibéaha" i I pray to you 775.4 (from ¢aha" to pray 189.14)
wibáġu I write to thee 750.11
wáb¢i" I have them 751.2
waśt'a" be you saw us 752.6
wak'a" b¢a I desire them 751.3

§ 25. Pronouns of Verbs in i-: Fourth Class

In verbs beginning with i we find modified forms of the pronoun, due principally to the insertion of an intervocalic e in cases in which the inserted pronoun begins with a vowel:

	SU	BJE	CTI	VE	PRO	NO	JN					
1st person singular Inclusive dual .												i¢a'-
Inclusive dual .				•	•			•		•		an¢an-
	0	BJE	CTIV	/E I	PRO	NOU	'N					
1st person singular												<i>a</i> •¢ <i>a</i> •-
1st person plural		•				•	•	•	•	•	•	roea-
				овј	ECT							
3d person plural												we-
SUBJ	EC	r a	ND (OBJ	ECT	СО	MBI	NED	,			
I—them				•							•	wea-
All other persons are i¢ámaje I ask him a		_				_	les	ar	-			

i¢áp'ahaⁿ¹ I know 659.12
aⁿ¢aⁿwañk'égai I am sick on account of 714.8
aⁿ¢aⁿ'bahaⁿ¹ ke knows me 475.6
aⁿ¢aⁿ'bahaⁿ¹ we know it 657.9
weábaha^{n'}i¹ they know us 389.13
weáṭa¢aí they hate us 679.19
wéṭai they found them 40.5
wéṭai they found them 440.14
weáṭa-máżĭ I do not find them 151.20
wea^{n'}¢ai we found them 440.15

Other regular forms are-

iwip'ahan I know thee 728.4 ibahan'i they know him 728.8

§ 26. Pronouns of Verbs in u-: Fifth Class

In this class the following modifications occur:

Examples are—

 $a^n w a^{n'} bit`a^n$ he presses me down 23.15 $a^n w a^{n'} n a^i a^n$ he heard about me 39.19 $a \bar{n}' g u i \bar{n} k a^n i$ we aided him 748.3

Other regular forms are-

ubit'an he pressed him down 23.15 unátan he heard about something 40.8

§ 27. Irregular Verbs

The following verbs are irregular:

p'i I arrive 453.6 if thou arrives 555.7 if he arrives 555.7

 $ma\bar{n}k'\acute{a}$ we who $na\bar{n}k'\acute{a}$ 667.8 $\}$ ye who $hna\bar{n}k'\acute{a}$ 231.5 $\}$ ye who $\ell a\bar{n}k'\acute{a}$ they who 624.3

ehé I say 665.6 eșe thou sayest 674.12 e he says 194.5 miñk'e I who 13.4 niñk'é thou who 758.1 ¢iñk'é he who 11.5

 $a^n \phi a^{n'}$ we say 678.6 $e \phi a i$ ye say 678.18 a i they say 667.4

Here seems to belong the negation

mážĩ I not bážĩ thou not ažĩ he not

Examples of its use are—

ik'ágeawá¢a-máži I do not have them for my friends 711.13 ¢í ‡k'áġa-báži thou dost not do it 711.19

§ 28. Forms Expressing Object Possessed by Subject

Possession of the object by the subject is expressed by forms analogous to those of the Dakota.

1. In most verbs gi- is prefixed. Examples are—

'in he carries 306.6

 $gi^{\epsilon}i^{n'}$ he carries his own 296.13 $agi^{\epsilon}i^{n}$ 1 carry mine 45.15

¢agi^ein thou carriest thine 45.11

zúg¢e with him 305.5

zúgig¢e with his own 305.3

uhá he follows 289.4

u¢úgiha he follows his 306.14

ak'ipa he met him 50.1

ágik'ípa he met his own 299.3

 $a^{n'} \notin a$ he abandons 84.3

aan'b¢a I abandon it 50.5

agíanbéan I abandon mine 756.2

2. Verbs in ϕ - have the form $g\phi$.

¢ize to take 298.3

g¢íze he took his own 298.16

¢in to have 288.15, 290.11

ag¢áb¢iⁿ I have my own 755.10

- 3. Verbs in ga-have probably also forms in $g\phi$, but I have not been able to discover examples illustrating this point.
 - 4. Verbs in b-, d-, g-, have the forms gip-, git-, gik-.

 da^nbe he saw

agitaⁿba-máži I do not look at mine 756.2 aitaⁿbai she saw her own 306.7

iabahan he knows

igipaha^{n'} he knew his own 295.1 wégipaha^{n'} she knew them 289.8

 $ga'\dot{g}e$ to make

gika'ge he made his own 299.9

ubet'an he wrapped it

ugipet'an he wrapped his own 208.4

utan' to put on 47.3

úagitan I put on my own 43.9

§ 29. Verbs with Indirect Objects

I give here only a series of the most important forms, since the total number of modifications and combinations is very large, and it is hardly possible to reconstruct from the texts each separate series.

1. The indirect object is ordinarily expressed by the following series of forms:

	1	thou	\mathbf{he}	we
for me	-	$i^n \phi e$ -	i ⁿ -	-
for thee	wi-	_	¢i-	$i^n \epsilon i$ -
for him	<i>e</i> -	¢e-	gi-	i ⁿ -
for us	-	wege-	we-	_
for them	ewe	we¢e-	we-	rean-

Examples:

I FOR THEE:

wipage I make for thee 723.10 wik'arbea I desire for thee 725.3

I FOR HIM:

ek'anbée I desire for him 778.3

I FOR THEM:

ewéb¢iea I fail for them 673.8 ewék'anbte I wish for them 663.8

THOU FOR ME:

in¢éşk'age thou doest it for me 726.2 in¢éwaşk'an' thou makest an effort for me 758.2

THOU FOR HIM:

 $\ell g a^n \phi e'^{\epsilon} a^n$ thou doest so for him 439.5

THOU FOR US:

we¢éşk'aje thou doest it for us 752.7 we¢éni'ai thou hast failed to do it for us 752.8

THOU FOR THEM:

we¢e'şk'anna thou desirest it for them 767.3

HE FOR ME:

 $i^{n'}t'ehi$ it is difficult for me 755.4 $i^{n'}te$ he dies for me 775.1

HE FOR THEE:

¢ígan¢ai they work it for thee 741.11 é¢i¢in he has it for thee 741.6 ¢ít'ehi it is difficult for thee 517.10

HE FOR HIM:

git'ehi it is difficult for him 729.4 giudan it is good for him 758.5

HE FOR US:

wéudan it is good for us 758.4 wét'ehi it is difficult for us 752.12

HE FOR THEM:

wegájai they do it for them 767.3

WE FOR THEE:

in¢ihuka we sing for thee 439.4 in¢ihajúi we wish for you 680.13

WE FOR HIM:

 $i\tilde{n}'ga^n \epsilon a$ we wish for him 758.13

WE FOR THEM:

weangap'ai we wait for them 454.16

2. Verbs in u- have the following forms:

	Ι	thou ·	he	we	\mathbf{they}
to me	_	$i^nwi^{n\prime}\phi a$ -	$i^{m{n}}wi^{m{n'}}$ -	-	$a^n w a^n$ -
to thee	uros-	_	u¢í-	añguí¢i	u¢í-
to him	ué-	u¢é-	uí-	ş	uí-
to us	-	úwa¢agi-	uáwagi-	_	uáwagi-
to them	uáwakʻi-	úwa¢ak`i-	uwagi-	3	uwagi-

Examples:

uwib¢a I tell thee 755.10

uéb¢a I tell him 443.7

uáwak'ia I say to them 437.17

inwin'¢aná thou sayest to me 671.1

inwin'¢ahná thou sayest to me 500.6

u¢éhna thou sayest to him 497.8

úna¢agiśná thou sayest to us 633.1

úwa¢agihná thou sayest to them 507.4

inwin'šte it remains to me 501.2 (from ucté 501.2)

u¢ik'ani he helps you 508.3

uí¢a he says to him 656.8

uáwagi¢e he says to us 503.1

anwan'k'ie they say to me 670.2

u¢í¢ai they say to thee 678.12

3. Verbs in g- lose their g after the pronominal forms.

	\mathbf{he}
to me	$a^{n\prime}a\dot{g}e~39.12$
to thee	¢iáġai 735.13
to him	giája 152.9
to us	wágai 735.13

Personal Pronouns in Winnebago (§§ 30-34)

§ 30. Subjective and Objective Pronouns: First Class

The principles of classification of the verbs are the same as these found in the Ponca dialect. The most common forms of the subjective and objective pronouns are as follows:

					ubjective pronoun	Objective pronoun
1st person singular			٠.		ha-	hin-
2d person singular					ra-	ni^{n} -
Inclusive dual					$hi^{n_{-}}$	wañga-

The plural of all these forms is made by the suffix -wi, except the third person plural, which has the suffix -ire. By addition of this suffix the inclusive dual is transformed into the first person plural. The third person plural object is wa. This does not occur as subject of the neuter verb. Examples are:

hāhe' I bury
rahe' thou buriest
hi^nmangā's you and I tear with a knife
hi'sibre I am falling
ni'nsibrê thou art falling
wa'ngasibra'wi we are falling

§ 31. Transitive Verbs

The transitive forms of the Winnebago verb resemble those of Ponca and Dakota in the development of the combined form I—THEE, and the occurrence of the third person plural object. The forms for the first person plural subject has the same pronominal forms as the corresponding singular forms, from which they differ by the plural ending -wi. The forms HE—THEM and I—THEM differ in accent. I—THEM, evidently originating from wa-ha-, is always accented wa'-, while the third person has the accent on the stem. wā'he I BURY THEM, but wahe' he buries them.

	I	thou	we
$\mathbf{m}\mathbf{e}$	-	hina-	-
\mathbf{thee}	ni^{n} -	•	ni^n - wi
us	-	hina-wi	-
\mathbf{them}	wa'-	wara-	wa'-wi

Examples:

nin'he I bury thee hi'nahe thou buriest me

niñha'wi we bury thee
wa'rahe thou buriest them
hiñha'ire they bury me
ha'ninp'a I hit thee (from ha'p'a he hits)

§ 32. Pronouns of Verbs taking s in the Second Person: Second Class

Verbs corresponding to the Dakota verbs in y- and to the Ponca verbs in ϕ -, and those corresponding to the Ponca verbs in b, d, and g, are treated alike, thus suggesting a later differentiation of the second and third classes in Ponca. Verbs of this class begin in the third person with a vowel w, r, or with f, f or g. If we indicate the first vowel of the word by v, the pronominal forms may be represented as follows:

\mathbf{Type}	v	w	$m{r}$	j	t'	\boldsymbol{g}
1st per. sing	hv-	p' v -	dv-	ćv-	ć`v-	λ∙v-
2d per. sing	śv-	śvicv-	śvrv-	šćv-	έć`ν-	8yv-
3d per. sing	<i>v</i> -	wv-	rv-	jv-	ťv-	gv-
Inclusive dual.	hi^nv -	hinuv-	hinnv-	hi'ngv-	hint'v-	hi^ngv -

The plurals are formed as in the verbs belonging to the first class—by the suffix -wi in the first and second persons, by -ire in the third person. The first person plural, instead of being formed from the inclusive, as in the first class, is formed from the first person singular by suffixing -wi. The repetition of the vowel in the second person which is characteristic of the first three types of this class in Winnebago has been referred to before.

ha'û"' I do
s'û"' thou doest
wa'égis he saws
p'a'égis I saw
sa'waégis thou sawest

 $^{\prime}\hat{u}^{n}$ he does

hiwu'sûnć he is near hip'u'sûnć I am near hiśu'wusûnć thou art near

we'win he thinks
p'e'win I think
se'wewin thou thinkest

 $ha'\hat{u}^{n'}wi$ we do $hi^{n'}\hat{u}^{n'}$ you and I do

p'acgizwi we saw hiwacgis you and I saw

hip'u'sûnjwi we are near hiwusûnjirê they are near

p'ewin'wi we think
hin'wewin you and I think

rašiš he breaks with mouth da'šiš I break with the

mouth

śa'raśiś thou breakest with the mouth

ru'gas he tears by pulling du'gas I tear by pulling su'rugas thou tearest by

rê he goes dê I go

serê thou goest

pulling

da'sizwi we break with the mouth

hi'nasis you and I break with the mouth

duga'zwi we tear by pulling hi'nugas you and I tear by pulling

da'wi we go hi'nê you and I go

Verbs belonging to the second division of this class are rather rare.

haja' he sees

haća' I see haśća' thou seest

t'enan he is dead

&E & nAn thou art dead

 $gu'nA^n$ he comes $k'u'nA^n$ I come

\$qu'na* thou comest

hata'wi we see
hima you and I see

Ca'wina* we are dead
hi*t'e'na* you and I are dead

k'una'wi we come

hiñgu'na" you and I come

To this class belong also the verbs expressing the position in which the act is performed, as sitting or lying; while standing belongs to the first class of verbs.

rasis to break with mouth

To break with mouth Sitting Lying or walking Standing

1st p. sing. . . daśiźzna'ñkśznaⁿ daśiźzna'ñkśznaⁿ daśiźzna'ñkśznaⁿ

2d p. sing. . . śáraśiźzśa'nañkśznaⁿ śáraśiźzśa'wañkśznaⁿ śáraśiźzrajenaⁿ

3d p. sing. . . raśiźzna'ñkśznaⁿ raśiźa'ñkśznaⁿ raśiśje'naⁿ

Verbs of this class take their objects, including the composite form ni^n - i—thee, preceding the subjective pronoun, which is treated as described before.

niⁿp'a'tgis I saw thee (from watgis he saws)
hiⁿwatgis he saws me
niⁿp'e'wiⁿ I think of thee (from we'wiⁿ he thinks)
hiⁿtu'rugas thou tearest me by pulling (3d per. ru'gas)
hiⁿtu'wusunt thou art near me (from hiwu'sunt he is near)

¹Occasionally the verbal forms expressing a lying position are formed with mi'atte, which belongs to the first class of verbs.

§ 33. Contracted Pronominal Forms

In many cases the verb begins with a prefix which forms contractions with the pronominal forms here described. Contractions also occur with infixed pronouns. These may be grouped under the following rules:

1. Verbs in gi with preceding pronoun lose the g in the first and second persons.

ha-gi becomes hai ra-gi becomes rai

hai'égis I cut in two by striking rai'égis thou cuttest in two by striking giégis he cuts in two by striking hi'ngiégis you and I cut in two by striking

2. Verbs with prefixes ending in a or a^n and followed by a pronoun beginning with h lose the pronominal aspirate. At the same time two a's that are thus brought into contact form a single accented (or long?) a, while a and i form a diphthong. When one of the vowels is nasalized, the contracted form is also nasalized.

ma'ñgas I tear with a knife
mañga's he tears with a knife
mai'ñgas he tears me
maina'gas thou tearest me
na'néis I break by pressure
na''éis he breaks by pressure
nai'néis he breaks me by pressure
nai'na'sis thou breakest me by pressure

3. Verbs with prefixes ending in o (except ho- and wo-) also eliminate the h of the pronoun, but form no diphthongs.

boa'sip I push down bo'sip he pushes down boisi'p he pushes me down roa'gûn I wish rogûn' he wishes roigûn he wishes me

4. Words with the prefix ho-contract:

1st person subjective.				ho-ha-	into	wa-
1st person objective .				ho-hi ⁿ -	into	hun-
Dual inclusive				hin-ho-	into	ho'-
3d person plural object				wa-ho-	into	<i>100-</i>
1st person plural object				wañga-ho	into	พ aกี g o
						§ 33

wa'jin I strike
hojin' he strikes
ho'jin you and I strike
hun'jin' he strikes me
wodjin' he strikes them

5. Verbs with the prefix wo-contract:

First person subjective wo-ha- into wo-. I have no example of the treatment of the first person objective.

wa'hi I win
wora'hi thou winnest
wo'hi he wins

6. Verbs in which the pronoun follows an initial hi form contraction illustrated by the following examples:

yape'rêz I know (for hi-ha-perêz)
hinpe'rêz you and I know (for hin-hi-perêz)
ninpe'rêz I know thee (for nin-hiperêz)
hini'perêz thou knowest me (for hina-hiperêz)
hi'nperêz he knows me (for hin-hi-perêz)
wia' perêz I know them (for wa-hi-ha-perêz)
wa'ñgiperê'zirê they know us (for wañga-hi-perêzire)

The third person plural object wa- is always contracted with hi to wi.

7. Verbs in which the pronoun follows an initial ' a^n - contract the first person ' a^n -ha into ' uwA^n -:

'úwañgi'gi I compel (for 'ûn-ha-gi'gi)
'u'inagi'gi thou compellest me (for 'ûn-hina-gi'gi)

8. The causative suffix hi has the forms ha and ra for the first and second persons, respectively.

t'e'ha I killed him t'e'ra thou didst kill t'e'hi he killed

The causative suffix gi'gi is regular.

rea'gigi'naⁿ I send him rera'gigi'naⁿ thou sendest him régigi'naⁿ he sends it

§ 34. Indirect Object and Reflexives

The indirect object is expressed by the same forms that are used to express the direct object, but the indirect object is indicated by the prefix gi which follows the pronoun. The initial g of this prefix is never elided.

§ 34

ni'ñhe I bury thee
hiṇai'égis thou cuttest me in two
boisi'p he pushes me down
hiṇa'p'ā thou hittest me
ninp'é'win I think of thee

nigi'ñhe I bury for thee
hinaigigéis thou cuttest it in
two for me
boigi'sip he cut it down for me
hina'gip'a thou hittest for me
niñgip'e'win I think for thee

The reflexive forms take the regular subjective pronouns followed by the prefix ki. In these forms the prefixes are contracted in the usual manner with the pronouns; ki- and the prefix gi- by striking combine to form ki-.

haki'he I bury myself
haki'tgis I cut myself (for ha-ki-gi-tgis)
boa'kisip I push myself (for bo-ha-ki-sip)
mañki'gas I tear myself (for man-ha-ki-gas)
yakipe'rêz I know myself (for hi-ha-ki-pe'rêz)
waki'jin I strike myself (for ho-ha-ki-jin)
hakip'a'tgis I saw myself
hakidu'gas I tear myself

The last two examples show that in the reflexives of verbs of the second class the stem takes its pronominal forms in addition to the pronominal forms prefixed to ki.

The forms indicating that the object belongs to the subject are formed by the prefix kara- in all verbs of the first class, while verbs of the second class take kv- when v indicates the first vowel of the stem. All these verbs have the ordinary subjective pronouns which are contracted with the pronouns in the usual way. The prefix kara- and gi- by striking combine to form karai-.

haka'raĥe I bury my own
hakarai'égis I cut my own (for ha-kara-gi-égis)
boaka'raŝip I push my own (for bo-ha-kara-ŝîp)
mañka'ragas I tear my own (for man-ha-kara-gas)
ha'karap'a I hit my own (for hi-ha-kara-p'a)
ya'karape'rêz I know my own (for hi-ha-kara-perêz)
waka'raĵin I strike my own (for ho-ha-kara-jin)

Examples of the second class are the following:

haka'wacgis I saw my own (from wacgis he saws)
yaku'wusûnc I am near my own (from hiwu'sûnc he is near, for
hi-ha-ka-wusûnc)

haka'raśiś I break my own with mouth (for ha-ka-ra-śiś) haku'rugas I tear my own (for ha-ka-ru-gas)

§ 35. Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronoun is derived from the objective forms of the pronoun. In Teton we find—

mi'ye I ni'ye thou i'ye he u"ki'ye thou and I

The suffix -pi is added to express the plural. It stands either with the pronoun or with some following word. Emphatic pronouns are formed with the ending δ (see δ 41): $mi\delta$, $ni\delta$, $i\delta$, and $u^nki'\delta$ or $u^nki'y\delta\delta$.

The independent personal pronouns in Ponca are:

wi I 736.3, 715.5 ¢i thou 711.18 añqu we

Position of Pronoun (§§ 36, 37)

§ 36. Position of Pronoun in Dakota

Ordinarily the pronouns are prefixed to the stem, other etymological prefixes preceding the pronouns; but there are a number of cases in which the pronoun precedes other prefixes. A number of verbs of more than one syllable that can not be reduced to compounds of an etymological prefix and a monosyllabic stem place the pronoun after the first syllable, so that it appears as a true infix.

According to Riggs's Grammar and the material contained in his dictionary and texts, the following groups of forms may be distinguished:

- 1. In monosyllabic words the pronouns are always prefixed. Examples of this class have been given before (§ 16).
- 2. Verbs of more than one syllable, that can not be shown to be compounds, prefix or infix the pronoun, the position being determined to a certain extent by the initial sound of the word.

Verbs beginning with l or k prefix the pronoun:

TETON EXAMPLES

laka to consider in a certain way lowan to sing kaja to make

walaka I consider

walowaⁿ I sing yakaġa thou makest

§§ 35, 36

Verbs beginning with \acute{c} , \acute{s} , m, or n, or a vowel, often infix the pronouns after the first syllable:

SANTEE EXAMPLES

ćapa to stab
ćeti to build a fire

copa to wade suta to miss manoⁿ to steal ma'ni to walk opa¹ to follow asni¹ to be well cawa'pa I stab
cewati I build a fire
cewatipi we build a fire
cowapa I wade
suuntapi we miss
mayanon' thou stealest
mawani I walk
owapa I follow
anisni thou art well

Although Riggs states that verbs with initial n belong to this class, I have not found a single instance of this kind. On the other hand, some verbs, apparently not compounds, beginning with other sounds, infix the pronoun.

SANTEE EXAMPLES

palita² to bind tokśu to transport toⁿhaⁿ to be toⁿwaⁿ to go to see pawakta I bind towaktu I transport to"waha" I am wato"wa" I go to see

Prefixed pronouns before the sounds here enumerated are, however, not rare:

SANTEE EXAMPLES

ćeka to stagger
ćeya to cry
śkata to play
nuni to wander

maćeka I stagger waćeya I cry waśkata I play wanuni I wander

In verbs of this class the first person dual is often prefixed, even when the other persons are infixed.

unkopapi or ounpapi we follow (from opa)

3. Verbs containing the prefixes ka- and pa- (see § 13), and Teton verbs in kpa- (tpa-), gla- (Santee hda-), and glu- (Santee hdu-) (see § 20), prefix the pronouns.

In this word the vowel is not a prefix.

In this word, pa- is not a prefix (see § 13).

SANTEE EXAMPLES

kaksa to cut off kahu'ga to break by striking pagan to part with a thing pasipa to break off with the hand $kpa\dot{g}a^n$ ($tpa\dot{g}a^n$) to part with one's own kpapuza to dry one's own by wiping hduta to eat one's own

wakaksa I cut off (from ksa) wakahu'ga I break by striking (from ħuġa) wapagan I part with a thing $(from \dot{g}a^n)$ wapaśi pa I break off with the hand (from $\dot{s}i'pa$) wakpagan I part with my own $(\text{from } \dot{g}a^n)$ wakpapuza I dry my own by wiping (from pu'za) wahduta I eat my own

TETON EXAMPLE

about one's own

glukćan to form an opinion waglukćan I form an opinion about my own (from kćan)

4. Verbs which take the prefixes a-, i-, -o- (see § 12), and prefix the demonstrative e, have the pronouns in the same position in which they would be if the verb had no prefix.

SANTEE EXAMPLES

apahta to bind on inahni to hurry

apawahta I bind on (from pahta) inawahni I hurry

5. Verbs with the prefixes wa- (Santee ba-), wo- (Santee bo-), and na- (see § 13) have the pronouns following the prefix.

wak'sa (Teton) to cut off

wayak'śa thou cuttest off (from

boksa (Santee) to shoot off

k'éa) boyaksa thou shootest off (from ksa)

6. Compound verbs consisting of two verbs of equal order either take their pronouns each independently of the other, or the second verb is used without pronoun.

SANTEE EXAMPLES

hdiyotanka (contracted from hdi and iyotanka) to come home and sit down iyo'hpaya (from i- on account of; o- in) to alight in something § 36

wahdimdotanka I come home and sit down; but also wahdiyotaⁿka iyowahpamda I alight in something

hiyo'hpaya to come and alight in hiya'kapta to come over a stream iyaya to have gone kiyu'se to hate one kiyu'ska (from yuska) to release

wahiyowahpamda I come and alight in; also wahiyohpaya wahiyawakapta I come over a stream imdamde I have gone wakimduse I hate him wakimduska and wakiyuska I release

7. Compounds having the auxiliary verbs kiya, ya, ya^n , place the pronoun preceding these, while the first verb is often used in contracted form.

SANTEE EXAMPLES

iya' pa(ka) to be offended
 iyamapaka I am offended
 iya'pe to wait for
 i'yawape I wait for

sdoća' to know

waⁿya'ka to see waⁿmda'ka I see iya'paya to offend
 iyapawaya I offend
 iyapeya to cause to wait for
 iyapewaya I cause to wait
 for

sdonya' to know sdonwaya I know wanya'gya to come to see wanyagwaya I came to see

§ 37. Position of Pronoun in Ponca

The position of the pronoun in Ponca is quite similar to that found in Dakota.

1. Most monosyllabic verbs prefix the pronoun.

*\(i^i\) he gave it to thee (\(^i\) to give) 739.9

*\(va^i\) he carried them (\(^i\) to carry) 10.7

*\(at\) i die (\(t'\) to die) 630.9

*\(at\) I have arrived 671.6

2. Verbs of more than one syllable, that can not be shown to be compounds, prefix or infix the pronoun, the position being determined by the initial sound of the word.

Verbs beginning with j, δ , k, m, or n, or a vowel, often infix the pronoun after the first syllable.

júgge to be with somebody
305.5
jahe to stab
sigge to unload
nanpe to fear
mange to fear
mange to follow
kuhe to be frightened

juwigee I am with thee 739.6

ja¢ahe you stab śiag¢e I unload nan¢ape you fear manb¢in I walk 706.2 uaha I follow kuahe I am frightened

Modal Suffixes and Particles (§§ 38-40)

§ 38. General Characteristics

The Siouan languages have a large number of elements which may be in part considered as suffixes, while others are undoubtedly enclitic particles, which express modalities of the verb. These are evidently related to similar particles that appear with the noun and with adverbs, and which will be treated in §§ 41 and 42, and from which they can not be sharply separated.

§ 39. Plurality

TETON

Plurality of animate objects is indicated in both verbs and nouns by a suffix, -pi.

ta he died slo'laya he knows k'oska'laka young man · ća'p'a beaver ta'pi they died slo'laya'pi they know k'ośk'alaka'pi young men ćap'a'pi beavers

There is, however, an evident disinclination to employ -pi with nouns, except possessives, and it is by preference placed upon a following adjective.

k'ośkalaka' yamani'pi three young men ćap'a' tank'a'pi large beavers

This seems to indicate that the suffix is properly verbal, and that when it is employed with nouns the signification is THEY ARE YOUNG MEN OF THEY ARE BEAVERS. It might be said that this element pluralizes the whole sentence. Examples in Santee are—

wikośka nom kupi they gave him two maidens IX 86.6 śiyo keya hiyahaⁿpi grouse of that kind alighted IX 99.24

PONCA

The corresponding element in Ponca is -i.

 $\phi i \bar{n} g \dot{e} - h n a^n i$ they have none regularly 335.12 ($\phi i \bar{n} g \dot{e}$ there is none; $h n a^n$ regularly)

It is not used with nouns, since the articles (see § 42) express plurality.

§§ 38, 39

§ 40. Particles Expressing Tenses and Modalities

TETON

Temporal and modal relations are marked in Dakota by particles placed after the verb.

1. Future. For the future, k'ta is used.

bala' I go bal

bala' k'ta (Teton) I shall go.

(According to Riggs, the Santee use ke instead of kte [the a of kta being changed to e] before $e \dot{c} i^n$ and $e p \dot{c} a$.

"ito de wa'ka ke," eći" "lo! this I will dig," she thought IX 83.13 "mda ke," epća "I will go," thought I)

- Habitual. Habitual action is indicated by *a.
 iha'kab iya'ya *a he went after it habitually
- 3. Regular repetition is expressed by \$na.
- 4. Imperative. The imperative is expressed by four elements:

ingular	Plure
yo	po
ye	pe

ye sni yo go not thou!

wakta'ya unpo' on guard be ye!

- The forms yo and po are used by men; while ye and pe, which seem to express a milder form of request, are used by women.
 - "lena' awan'unkiciyakapi ye," eya' "watch these for us, please," she said
- After u and o, yo and ye change to wo and we, respectively, in accordance with the phonetic tendencies mentioned in § 4. Probably po and pe contain the plural particle pi; and it is possible that yo and ye are derived from the pronominal prefix of the second person, ya-.
- 5. **Declarative Particle.** Declarative sentences in direct forms of address are generally closed by *lo*. This is usually preceded by *ye*.

uⁿko'kiċiyaka'pi k'te śni ye lo we will not tell it to her hośi'ć'iċa hi ye lo I have come to tell you the news

(In Santee this ending is generally used by young men without preceding ye.

wahi kte do I will come

In this dialect, ye is sometimes used instead of dv by women and older men.)

6. Interrogative. The particle he indicates the interrogative.

warzi'hcir ć'upe' mit'ar'kapi he is there one with large marrow?

When the person addressed is at a distance, hwo (compounded of he and wo) is used.

to'kiya la hwo whither do you go?

Riggs mentions also to in the same position in Santee.

duhe' sni to? why dost thou not have it?

The particle ϵ_{ℓ} (Santee ϵ_{ℓ}) is an interrogative particle, calling for an immediate reply.

7. Negative. The negative is expressed by the particle śni.

slolaye' śni he knew it not

tuwe'ni èl nonwe' śni no one swims there

8. Optative. The optative exclamation tokin on if requires a terminal ni, which in position and form is analogous to the other particles here discussed.

tokin' pagi' etan' iye'waya ni oh that I might find some sunflower roots! (iye'ya to find)

A number of other particles appear in the same position. They
seem to merge gradually into adverbial expressions and conjunctions.

se'ca (Teton) evidently.

tiyata'ne hpe'ya wahi'yu se'éa lo evidently I have come to an abandoned lodge (t'i lodge; ya'ta at; hiyu' to come to)

naće'će (Teton) perhaps.

once kinahans he nita kuyepi nate te lo perhaps those are your relatives (owe kinahans perhaps; he those; taku ye relative) Kinta very (see § 41.3).

kinhan (Santee) when, if.

yahi kinhan when thou comest

ca, eca (Santee); can, cannahan (Teton). According to Riggs, this particle is used "when a general rule or something customary is spoken of, and is generally followed by ce or ece at the end of the sentence."

yahi ća piwada će when thou comest, I am glad waniyetu ća wapa eće when it is winter, it snows

kehaⁿ (Santee), **ko**ⁿ**ha**ⁿ (Teton), when; according to Riggs, this particle always refers to past time.

con (Santee) when.

keś although.

The corresponding forms in Ponca are as follows:

PONCA

1. Future. t'e [t'a, t'ai] designates the future.

ga tế t'e he will die from a fall 236.1 śnế t'e ha you will go 230.3 wá¢at'e g¢in't'á ak'á he will be sitting eating them 235.16 užéti śk'áġe t'ai ye will make a hole for a pole 615.1 śan'ś'k'áġe t'ai á¢a indeed, ye will do enough 144.14

t'e changes, according to a general phonetic rule, to t'a before the article and also before the plural -i. Thus t'ai is the regular plural future.

By the use of a double future, t'at'é and t'ait'é, the idea of futurity with certainty of the event happening is expressed.

gan'ht'i t'at'é it will be that way 227.4
an sp'anan' t'at'é you surely will gaze on me 230.5
ist'á éižíde t'aít'e hā your eyes will (shall) be red 578.2
agéi'bázi san san t'ait'é they shall not come back continually 235.5

2. Imperative. ga and a express the imperative, ga being used by men, a by women.

ita-gā! send it here! (said by a man) 702.15
ihétai-gā! lay ye it down! (said by a man) 231.19
gigtat-a! enter your lodge! (said by a woman) 614.1
g¢i"k'itat-a hē cause ye him to sit! (said by a woman) 591.18

- 3. Oral Stops. A number of particles perform the function of oral stops. As in Dakota, some of these have distinct forms, according to the sex of the speaker. Their principal function seems to be to give a certain tone or modality to the predicate, and for this reason they might be more properly considered with the modal particles.
 - a and é are used to mark emphasis. They occur either as stops or within the sentence.

ha and he express the period.

 $\acute{a}ha^n$ and $\acute{e}ha^n$ express the exclamation.

In all of these the a-forms are used by men, the e-forms by women.

an¢in' i¢ánahin' à! truly, I am fat (said by a man) 567.9 ¢íṭaṭĕwáṭĕ i¢anahin' i é truly, you hateful one! (said by a woman) 152.2

śan zaní wib¢ahan' i ha now I petition you all (said by a man) 690.1

wak'a'nda wá¢igĕ śt'ĕwan' agík'an b¢a-mázi hĕ I do not desire to take any mysterious power for my husband 614.12 gát'ĕ śt'i gan'-nan áhan she has done that regularly! (said by

a man) 591.7
wanăn'de¢ag¢ážĭ ehan! you do not loathe him! (said by a woman)
591.18

ha and he are frequently used following imperatives.

mañg¢iñ'-gā há begone! (said by a man) 620.17 gig¢aí-ā hĕ enter your lodge! (said by a woman) 614.13

They are also used as interjections. Since $h\acute{a}$ and $h\acute{e}$ are found printed occasionally instead of ha and he, it seems justifiable to consider the exclamations $h\acute{a}$ and $h\acute{e}$ as the same particles.

há, tuśp'á! ho, grandchild! (said by a man) 620.9 hé, śp'a¢an! ho, grandchild! (said by a woman) 589.7

4. Interrogative. ă marks the question.

gá¢iⁿ edégaⁿ a? what does that one say? 233.1 t'í a? has it come? 709.2 eát'áⁿ ¢anáźiⁿi a? why do ye stand? 23.4

ádan (commonly translated THEREFORE) occurs also apparently as an interrogative particle.

 $e^{t}a^{n}/ht^{i}$ i ésnin á da^{n} ? what great (person) are you? 23.12 eát'an á da^{n} ? why? 27.20 $\ddot{c}b\dot{c}di^{a}i^{n}$ ¢é da^{n} ? to whose lodge does she go carrying it? 591.3

§ 41. Adverbial Suffixes: Teton

1. - is an emphatic suffix. Its use with the personal pronoun has been noted in § 35.

Very often emphasis is added to a word or clause by means of a suffixed δ , and this sometimes involves a change of meaning.

wa'na now

ak'e' again ke'ya those or some

to yes

táku what

th'a but he'éèl so or in that way eéa'nl as soon as, during wana's now the story runs as follows

ak'ê's again (with emphasis)
keya's although
tos yes, indeed!
taku's oh, bother! or, my goodness!

tk'aś but then he'cèlèś therefore

eca'nlês at that particular moment

mi'ye I (independent pronoun)
unki'ye we two
i'ye he

miś I (emphatic)

u*ki'yêś or u*ki'ś we two

iyê'ś he himself

2. -la is usually given as a diminutive suffix; but its use is very much broader, and sometimes it seems to be rather intensive than diminutive. The English adverb quite translates it best, though at different times it is found equivalent to almost or little. Possibly the independent adverb lila very is this same suffix doubled.

Examples:

wića' hćala an old man hok'śi'la a small boy kita"'la a little more hake'la youngest hena'la enough wi"ći"'ćala a girl iwa'stela nicely, in good order isna'la slone, or only ite'yela exceedingly t'oye'la bluely a'tayela directly ićik'i'yela near to each other

3. **Réa, **Réi**. Although their proper meaning is REAL, TRUE, or GENUINE, more often they have the force of VERY. Originally their difference in form was probably nothing more than a euphonic change, but it has now been seized upon to mark a distinction in use; **hca** being always employed after nouns either expressed or understood, and **hci** after adverbs and connectives. They occur independently or in composition. **li** la, which also means VERY, always depends directly on a verb, or an adjective used as such.

Examples of the use of hca are the following:

& a'pa wan t'an'kahka a very large beaver (beaver, a, large, very)

waste' hœ ćin the very beautiful (beavers)

wase' kćaka' kin the real red paint

Examples of the use of hci^n :

eha'kelićin lastly eće'hcin just in the same way e'nalićin right there icantula'hćin just then ma'za kta'ka real iron (i. e., steel)
mila wan ġi kta a very rusty
knife
wita'ktala an old man

ta'hća deer (the real ta, or animal of the deer genus)

wanzi'hćin whether there is one iye'ć'elićin just like he'ćenalićin immediately lićeha'nl as soon as

4. -l. When it is desired to express motion to the situation which demonstrative adverbs and post-positions indicate, -l is suffixed: viz..

 $aka^{n'}$ on eha" lehan then something was hehan' tohan' when (state)

aka'nl on to eha'nl leha'nl then something was done **h**eha'nl toha'nl when (something is done; e. g., under one's own volition) coka'nl into the middle t'eha'nl over a long space

t'ehan for a long time or over a long space, more often the former eć'an' then

eć'a'nl then (something was done)

somebody passed

5. -na. Some adverbs appear to have a separate suffix, -na, for the stationary form, but it is probably only an adverb meaning THERE, which never occurs independently.

 $\binom{e'na}{le'na}$ here (something was) he'na there (something was) eć'e'na \being in this condileć'e'nal tion heće'na | being in that conka'k'enas dition to'k'ena being in an indefinite to'k'êl going along in that indeficondition

 $\frac{\partial l}{\partial \ell}$ here (something went) ${h \hat{e} l \choose kal}$ there (something went) $e^{\hat{c}}\hat{e}^{l}l$ going along in this way he'é'êl \ ka'k'êl going along in that way

I have tried to translate these rather in accordance with the evident intent than in the most literal manner, they being among the hardest words in Dakota to render properly.

nite way

6. -ta to, at, or into, is possibly identical with the -l just considered, into which it would change according to the laws of euphony.

Examples:

mak'a'ta to the ground t'iya'ta to the lodge tok'a'ta in future wanka' taki' ya upward

wana'giya'ta to the spirit land coka'ta to the middle wazi'yata at the north ohala'teya under

7. $-ta^n$ FROM.

Examples:

etan' from this ehan'tan's or ehan'tanhan's if (literally, from being in the preceding position) etan'han from hetan' from that time hetanhan from that time on akatan'han from on the outside

Many independent post-positions appear to contain a suffix -kab; but this is probably nothing more than the verb ka'pa to excel, sur pass, go beyond, contracted in composition.

iha'kab behind or after it'o'kab before

iwa" kab above ako' kab before the time

§ 42. Articles

These important elements are only weakly developed in Dakota, while they are very important in Ponca.

In Dakota we find three articles— ki^n (after an a or a^n transformed, including the preceding vowels, into $e \, \acute{e} \, i^n$); ko^n (after an a or a^n transformed into $e \, \acute{e} \, i ko^n$ [Santee], $\acute{e} \, o^n$ [Teton]); and wa^n . The following Santee examples illustrate their use:

kin expresses the idea of the definite article.

wića" hpi kin iye'ga wanya'kapi they saw the stars shining IX 83.2 (wića" hpi star; iye'ga to shine; wanya'ka to see)

ki'taⁿna iye'hya yaⁿke' ćiⁿ the one that shines a little IX 83.4 (ki'taⁿna a little; iye'hya to cause to shine; yaⁿka' to be)

kon indicates the definite article in the past.

uⁿ ma koⁿ the other aforesaid one IX 83.8
ni'na iye'ge ĉikoⁿ the one aforesaid that shines much IX 83.7
waⁿ is the indefinite article.

oya'te wan a people IX 83.1 mako'ée wan a country.

The articles of Ponca are much more highly developed. We have to distinguish between inanimate and animate articles; and the latter are differentiated as subjective and objective, singular and plural.

Following is a general review of the forms that I have found:

- I. Inanimate articles.
 - 1. k'e horizontal objects.
 - 2. t'e standing objects, collective terms.
 - 3. ¢an rounded objects.
 - 4. ge scattered objects.

II. Animate articles

- A. Subject.
 - 1. ak'á singular animate object at rest.
 - 2. amá singular animate object in motion; plural.

B. Object.

- 1. $t'a^n$ singular animate object standing.
- 2. ϕi^n singular animate object moving.
- 3. ma plural animate objects.
- 4. \$\psi i\bar{n}k' \psi' \text{ singular animate object sitting.}
- 5. ¢añk'a' plural animate objects sitting.

III. Indefinite article.

win.

Following are a number of examples of the use of these articles: $\mathbf{k}'e$ (I. 1) is used regularly of horizontal objects.

t'an' de k'ë the ground 24.4

man' ge k'ë the sky 26.4

ni k'ë the water (i. e., stream)

555.1

u*an' he k'ë the cradle 560.14

wahi k'ë the bone 564.8

pahi k'ë the neck 564.10

źibe k'ë the leg 564.10

uhé k'è the path 566.6

ti k'è a line of lodges 289.7

man k'è the arrow 50.6

si k'è the foot 35.3

máṣan k'è the feather 52.8

pahé k'è a long hill 28.11

niaṣinga k'è a line of dead persons 10.7

The following animate nouns appear used with the inanimate article $k'\ddot{e}$:

wéșta k'ě the snake 27.1

\$i\tilde{n}ga\(\)i\tilde{n}' \(ga\) k'\(\)a ehild lying down 560.13 (in this case, the child being dead, the article may refer to the body of the child stretched out)

The following expression is peculiar:

 $a^{n'}ba$ k'ě the day 611.6

- t'ě (I. 2) is used with several classes of nouns.
 - (a) It denotes standing objects.

tí t'ě the lodge 555.17

h¢abé t'è the tree 277.2

tížebe t'ě the door 46.12.

(b) It is used to express plurality and collectivity of inanimate terms. According to Dorsey, it expresses in this sense a single rectilinear collection of horizontal objects. This idea, however, is not brought out clearly in the examples.

kande t'è the plums 559.4 te-ánit'a t'è animal limbs 565.1

pá t'ë the heads 123.12 mášan t'ë the feathers 26.19 şihi t'ë the feet 570.9 şibe t'ë the entrails 279.4 wá¢aha t'ë the clothing 559.12 ¢éze t'ë the tongues 123.12

(c) It denotes abstract nouns.

téşĕ t'è the killing 16.8. iwaşk'an t'ĕ strength 611.3 waźin' t'ĕ disposition 583.2 gúda t'è that (pile) yonder 33.16 waṣin t'è pile of fat 33.18 uman'e t'è provisions 10.11

ie t'è the word 667.14 wa¢it'aⁿ t'è work 699.2

(d) It denotes acts "as past and as seen by the speaker" (see Dorsey, The Cegiha Language, note 246.6, p. 250).

gáje t'é he did the (act) 554.13
i''ja'' t'é he lay for me 561.1
gí'a''i t'é he did to him 583.7
wai'' t'é he wore as a robe
595.17

hút'an t'è he cried out 600.14 át'ai t'è he exceeded 609.1 agia¢ai t'è they went for him 246.6

¢aⁿ (I. 3) denotes rounded objects and parts of objects.

(a) It denotes rounded objects.

ukian¢e ¢an the snare 13.12 mi^n ¢an the sun 13.12 ict à ¢an the eye 171.7 na k i ¢an the head 91.6 wahin ha ¢an paper 773.1

tíi ¢aⁿ the camp-circle 16.13 páhe ¢aⁿ the (round) hill 15.3 $hi^nbé$ ¢aⁿ the moccasin 279.12 $maźa^n$ ¢aⁿ the land 508.12

(b) It denotes part of an object.

başan ¢an the bent part 598.8

sindéhi ¢an part of the rump-bone 611.5

 $indé ¢a^n$ face part 624.10

waiin' hahâge ¢an the part of a buffalo-hide towards the feet 469.7

ge (I. 4) denotes a collection of scattered objects.

tenan'de gë buffalo-hearts 33.4

waśin' ge pieces of fat 572.2

 $tati^{n'}\dot{g}e$. . . $g\check{e}$ (scattered) scum 593.9

wahí gĕ bones 278.16

mikáha gě raccoon-skins 559.3

na"za gĕ fences 735.7

ak'á (II. A. 1) denotes the animate singular subject at rest (see Dorsey, note 633.3, p. 634).

Iṣt'inik'e ak'á iki¢á-biamá Ishtinike awoke, it is said 549.4 taśniñ'ge ak'á "tsi-tsi-tsi!" á-biamá the chipmunk said, "tsi-tsi-tsi," it is said 549.9

wain ak'á... agí-biamá the robe (considered as possessed of voluntary action) had returned 549.6

á-biamá Usní ak'á the cold said 9.6

páhe-wátahuni ak á íbahaw-biamá the hill that devours knew him, it is said 32.6

With numerals ak'a is used in a plural sense.

¢áb¢in ak'á, the three 164.14

- amá (II. A. 2) denotes the animate singular subject in motion, or the plural subject, both at rest and in motion.
 - (a) It denotes the animate singular object in motion.

maść iň ge-in amá a¢é amáma the rabbit was going, it is said 9.1 Išť inik e amá a¢á-bi Ishtínike went, it is said 549.1

źábe amá niáta a¢á-bi beaver went to the water 553.9

ki wiuhe amá watú and the woman was following close behind 615.15

amá is also used when the predicate does not express motion, but when the subject is conceived as moving.

i¢ádi amá ígipahaⁿ'-biamá, it is said his father recognized him 610.18

á-biamá maść iñn' ge-in amá rabbit said, it is said 10.2

- (b) amá denotes the animate plural subject, both at rest and in motion.
 - ważiñ'ga amá $gia^{n'}$ a¢á-biamá the birds went flying, it is said 588.3

e-naⁿ'-biamá níaṣiⁿga amá the people said often, it is said 574.9 P'añ'k'a amá ag¢ii the Ponca have come back 723.2

Umáha amá u¢úgig¢aí the Omaha are sorrowful for their relations 772.4

ník'agáhi amá gí¢a-baźii the chiefs are sad 649.2

- t'a" (II. B. 1) denotes the animate singular object standing.

 núżiñga t'a" é wagik'á-bi the boy meant that his own 556.2

 şiṣt'e, héga ¢ét'a" fie! this buzzard! 549.5

 te-dige t'a" . . . naźi" a scabby buffalo was standing 582.5

 şyú ṣét'a" k'ida-gā shoot at this prairie-chicken 117.19
- ein (II. B. 2) denotes the animate singular object moving.

 dádan ¢in pígan ¢in áhan! I'll blow that into the air 575.7

 hiệá ¢in śet'an amá the eagle was that far, it is said 581.3

 edádan ¢in śt'ewan té¢e-nan biamá whatsoever he usually killed, it is said 586.6

 enitando śin adin ain hing my sonin-law here 589.3

witande ¢iⁿ a¢iⁿ' giigă bring my son-in-law here 589.3 niașiⁿga ¢iⁿ wașișige áhaⁿ! he is active! 9.14 niașiⁿga ¢iⁿ i¢áṭab¢é hā I hate that person 13.9 káġe ¢iⁿ ĕdihi the crow reached there 599.8

¢in is sometimes used with generic or collective terms.

wanit'a ϕ in the quadrupeds 628.6 P'an'k'a ϕ in the Ponca 748.9

ma (II. B. 3) denotes the animate plural object. This form is regularly printed as a suffix. The examples, however, do not indicate that it differs in character from the other articles.

wanít'a-ma wéban-biamá it is said he called to the animals 571.5 tañgá-ma á¢ut'an wa¢izá-bi an he took the large ones at once, it is said 578.4

ważinga-má wéban-biamá it is said they called the birds 580.1 ważinga-ma . . . míważi he put the birds in his belt 586.4 ník'aśinga-ma wać'igaże ewék'anbéa I wish the people to dance 601.5

wagáh¢an-ma win one of the servants (obj.) 616.2

wáhe-ma úṣk'aⁿ etaí k'ĕ aⁿ¢aⁿbahaⁿ-báźi we do not know the customs of the white people 629.2

ník'aşin'ga-ma ¢é-ma şk'an mançin'-ma watan'be hà I have seen these people walking about 756.1

zábe ¢iñk'édi b¢é t'á§e I must go to the beaver 552.2

égi¢e itañ'ge ¢iñk'é walip'ánilit'ian ¢iñk'é amá and behold! his sister was very poor 144.18

wu'ú ¢iñk'é ená-hć'i uṣt'é amá only the women remained, it is said 11.5

pank'à (II. B. 5) denotes the animate plural object in sitting position.

ut¢a-biamá Ist'inik'e ak'á níasinga ¢añk'á it is said Ishtinike told the persons 64.17

iźiñ'ge ¢añk' é wawagik'á-biamá meaning his sons, it is said 100.4

ak'içaha maşt'iñ'ge ¢añk'á win wa'i-gă ha give them one of the rabbits 119.16

é wa^eú ¢añk'á úwak' ie gaⁿ' ¢ai t'ĕ he desired to talk to the women 624.3

wágaží śínuda" ¢añk'á he commanded the dogs 111.8

The two forms $\phi i\tilde{n}k'\dot{e}$ and $\phi a\tilde{n}k'\dot{a}$ are not true articles, although they seem to perform their function. They are true verbal forms, as is proved by the occurrence of the pronominal forms.

1st person singular mink'e2d person singular nink'e2d person plural nank'a

b¢ć t'á mink'e I who will go 13.4 p'í t'á mink'e I who will arrive there 496.2 Pá¢iⁿ ník'agáhi nañk'áṣ́e ye who are Pawnee chiefs 685.2

It would seem that these forms correspond to the Dakota verbs $ya\tilde{n}k'\dot{a}$, $wa\tilde{n}k'\dot{a}$.

win (III) denotes the indefinite article.

\$aan' win a Dakota 367.8
nía\$inga win a person 267.1
wa'ú win a woman 166.1
t'anwaña\$an tañaâht'i win a very large village 166.14

§43. Demonstrative Pronouns

TETON

The demonstrative pronouns proper are e, le, he, ka, and to. The first of these always refers to something that has just been said, and its use is more syntactic than local; le corresponds very nearly to English this, and he to English that; but when an object is very remote, the proper form is ka. to indicates that what is referred to is indefinite; and it would not have been classed as a demonstrative had it not been employed in a manner absolutely parallel with that of the other demonstratives. Plurals are formed for all of these by suffixing -na.

The demonstratives are employed regularly as prefixes to the verbs meaning to say, to think, and to do.

to say e'ya le'yahe'ya ke'ya (not found) leć'in' heć in ke'ć`in tok'in' to think eć'on leć'on heć`on' kak'on to do tok'on

The forms with e are used after the statement of what is said, thought, or done; and the forms with le or he, before. keya'pi they say is employed like a quotative, though there is a true quotative $\delta k'e$. The element to occurs rarely with these verbs.

In addition to these forms, there is a syllable t'e, meaning FAR in space or time, which is employed in an analogous manner.

t'c'han a long time t'ehanl far

The definite article ki^n is probably formed from the demonstrative ka by rendering the phonetic change to i^n permanent. To indicate something which happened in the past or some person or thing spoken of in the past, this article takes the form ko^n or $\hat{c}iko^{n'}$, but the latter rarely in Teton (see § 42).

In the plural, and when combined with certain particles, to performs the function of an interrogative pronoun.

to'na how many to'kelicin however much

In fact, the regular interrogative and relative pronouns tu'wa or tu'we who, and ta'ku what, are properly indefinites, and so related to to; and from these, or parts of these, other relative and indefinite pronouns are compounded: viz.,

tuwe'ni whoever (probably who lives)
tuk'tê'l somewhere
tuk'tê'k'têl sometimes
ta'ku keçe'yaś whatsoever

PONCA

The most common demonstrative pronouns are $\phi \hat{e}$, $\phi \hat{e}$, $\phi \hat{e}$, and \hat{e} . The first three of these are very often followed by the article; and in this case they are always printed in the texts as one word, although there is apparently no difference between the use of the article with the demonstrative and that with nouns. Demonstratives also take enclitic adverbial terms in the same way as nouns, and in these cases also the demonstrative and the adverb appear in print as one word. The demonstrative e does not seem to be followed by the article. As in Dakota, they form part of a few verbs.

1. fe refers to what is near the speaker.

¢e égiman I do this 9.6

¢e aⁿśt'aⁿ'bai t'ĕ this (is) as you see me 26.14

¢éak'á ¢áb¢in zaní téwa¢á-biamá it is said he killed all three of these 46.16

¢éamá na" ¢ip'aí these fear thee 23.17

¢éma júba these few! 28.9

han ¢ë'hć'i agitanbe k'an'b¢u I desire to see mine this very night 367.5

 $eq ega^n$ and, thus they say 35.2

2. *é refers to what is near the person addressed.

ść égijan you do that 26.14

ść uệui you told him that 26.19

§é wiwita that my own 89.4

śéak'á maść iñge-in ak'á páde wágaźi that rabbit told us to cut it up 23.10

ść¢iñk'e k'ida-gã shoot at that! 109.1

śé¢u there where you are 640.4

mažan' šěta ¢an the land yonder by you 487.7

3. gá refers to the unseen, also to what follows; it designates probably originally what is near the person spoken of.

gá taⁿ be t'á I shall see that 28.2 gágĕ hnát'e t'ai-éde you should have eaten those 28.10 gániñke házi ¢í¢ade t'aí (that) you shall be called grapes 550.7 gá¢in Ilágige is añ'ga ţek'i¢aí that one Hagige killed his brother for him 235.8

gá¢an in¢iñ'g¢añ-gă put that on something for me 121.14

4. é refers to something referred to before.

é ní that water (referred to in line 2) 559.12 é gí¢a-biamá it is said she rejoiced at that 21.1 é šť i man¢an' i ť č that too they stole 85.8 égan gaġa-baźii-gă há do not ye do thus! 618.8

5. du is a form which is comparatively rare, and seems to designate what is near the speaker.

dúak'a this one here 58.5 uhp'é t'è dúat'è the bowl on this side 574.1 dúda this way 191.8, 192.15 dúdiha this way 553.3, 556.5

6. gu is also comparatively rare, and designates what is farther off than du.

gúdiha that way 587.15, 614.1, 630.20

§ 44. Possession

TETON

Inalienable or at least very intimate possession is indicated by prefixing the objective personal pronominal prefixes, and suffixing -pi for plural forms. The dual is distinguished in the same manner as in the subjective and reflexive pronominal prefixes.

Examples:

mićin'k'śi my son hu his leg t'anke'yapi their sister unć'an'te our two selves' two hearts unć'an'tepi our hearts (more than two)

Sometimes ma is used instead of mi; and, according to Riggs, this is when those parts of the body are referred to which exhibit no independent action.

ma'p'a my head

mano' je my ears

Alienable or more distant possession is indicated by another prefix, t^*a , which occurs in conjunction with the prefixes above given.

t'awi'ću his wife

nit'a'sunke your horse

t'avo'waśi his servant

Often, however, these forms are prefixed to a syllable wa placed after the noun.

wo'k'oya'ke t'a'wa her clothing

The noun to which t'a'wa, etc., refers may be entirely omitted; as, winon'kcala t'a'wa kin iyo'tan waste' the old woman's was exceedingly good
nit'a'wapi kin iyo'tan lu'ta yours is exceedingly scarlet

Terms of relationship take in the third person a special suffix -ku.

hu'nku his mother
hingana'ku her husband
atku'kupi their father
sunka'ku her younger brother
tibalo'ku her elder brother
kun'ku his mother-in-law
tak'o'sku his son-in-law or daughter-in-law

This suffix is probably identical with the ku in taku what, which is used entire in t'ita'kuye his relations and taku'wićaye KINDRED.

After i or e, pure or nasalized, the k of this suffix either changes to e in conformity with the tendency already noted, or a t is inserted just before it.

t'awi'ću his wife lekši'tku his uncles

k'un'sitku his grandmother tinkiye'tku his master

Many terms of relationship have a syllable δi , which evidently had once some special significance, though it is now impossible to say whether it is properly an affix or part of a descriptive term. Such are $lek\delta i'tku$, $ku''\delta itku$, and probably $tak'o'\delta ku$, above given; as also—

micin'kśi my son hokśi' boy t'ank'śi' younger sister tanhan'śi my cousin (male) han'kaśi female cousin tun'kaśila grandfather t'awo'waśi his servant

PONCA

The following independent forms were observed in Ponca:

wita my 633.11, 635.6 wiwita my own 477.9, 492.12, 493.1 ¢ita thy 485.2, 635.4

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¢iţita thy own 485.5,6, 492.9, 495.7
etá his 491.8, 642.2, 679.11
[añguta thy and my]
añgútai our 16.19, 678.1, 679.9
tan'wañgţan añgúta-ma our own gentes 502.12
[ţitai]
ţiţitai your own 495.8, 630.8
etai their 633.6, 675.3, 642.7, 523.5
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The possessive pronoun appears without the suffix -ta as a prefix in terms of relationship.

wi- my ϕi - thy i- his Examples:

wikan' my grandmother 9.3
witimi my father's sister 9.3
winégi my mother's brother 10.16
witan' de my daughter's husband 349.12
winiśi my child 44.13
¢inégi thy mother's brother 10.15
¢ihan' thy mother 348.3
¢ik' áge thy friend 487.4
igáh¢an his wife 348.13
iżin' ge his son 345.2
iżan' ge his daughter 345.1

With the words father and mother the first person possessive has an exceptional form.

*i*ⁿ'*na*ⁿ*ha* my mother 481.1, 638.1 *i*ⁿ*dádi* my father 26.5, 151.15

§ 45. Adverbs: Teton

Adverbs may be divided into several classes. Some are quite simple, and are used much like corresponding adverbs in English:

wana' now hca and ak'e' again k'o also li'la very nak'o" also hci" very

while others are compounded from other parts of speech; notably, verbs and demonstratives. The former of these are usually changed into adverbs by using the auxiliary ya.

su'taya firmly
hanke'ya at last
tanyan' well
wanka'takiya upward

a'taya entirely kaa'beya in all directions uⁿgana'haⁿkeya suddenly ka'kiya there $wa^n \dot{c}a'g$ AT ONCE appears to be compounded of $wa^n \dot{c}a$ one and the auxiliary ka.

Others take la either alone or in conjunction with ya.

iśna'la alone oće'la only uⁿqana'haⁿla suddenly ungana'hanyela suddenly ite'yela exceedingly

Demonstratives are usually adverbialized by means of another particle, $\dot{\epsilon}$ a (or \dot{k} a) sort or kind; as,

he'c'el that sort he'c'ena right off to'k'el how
to'k'esk's in what way

 $\mathcal{E}'a$ is also used after entire clauses, where it may almost equally well be described as an adverbial particle or a connective.

§ 46. Connectives: Teton

Connectives are so closely related to adverbs as to be at times indistinguishable. $Yu^{n'}k`a^n$ and then, and $c`a^nk`e'$ so, are most often used to introduce sentences; while na and, nai`s or, and tk`a but, are the ordinary co-ordinate conjunctions. Subordinating conjunctions, such as $c`a^n$ or $c`a^{n'}na$ when, k2s or keya's though, follow the subordinate clause, and are to be correlated with the post-positions like o^n on account of, for the purpose of; ob with; mah2'l into. The definite articles ki^n and ko^n , and the adverbial particle c`a sort or kind, are employed in such a way as to suggest a relationship to these.

Nearly all of the simple subordinating conjunctions and post-positions are given above. The rest—and there is a very large number of them—are principally compound. Some are formed by means of demonstratives; as,

eca'nl during (from e, c'aⁿ, and l) ∂l at (from e and l) $eha^{n'}$ then (from e and ha^{n}) ek'ta' to (from e and ta)

eta" from (from e and ta")
heo" therefore (from he and
o")
toha'nl when (from to, ha",
and l)

Another long series contains the verbal prefixes a, i, and o (§ 12), and are in some cases, probably the majority, taken from verbs. Among these are—

ai'nam on the other side of aka" on i'tehanl far from

iwaⁿ kab above iyệ' ć'êl like ik'i' yela near to okala'teya under o'p'ta across ogana' in (a stream) o'peya among o'han among

 $ki\acute{c}i'$ with or together (see § 20, p. 914) is also used as a post-position; while the suffix -l (see § 41. 4) appears in that rôle after t'i lodge; as,

t'il into the lodge

From ni'ća to be destitute of is formed the post-position wani'ća without.

§ 47. Interjections: Teton

ho is introduced when there comes a change in the thread of the narrative, and so may be said to mark a paragraph. The following are used quite frequently in Teton:

it'o' suppose!
iho' well!
yun oh! (indicating pain)

hunhe' alas!
howo' now!
wan now! why!

For a long list of Dakota interjections, see Riggs's Dakota Grammar, p. 54.

§ 48. VOCABULARY: Teton

The simplicity of grammatical forms in Dakota is necessarily accompanied by the use of great numbers of stems.

Verb-stems usually consist of single syllables such as the following:

t'i to dwell
ya to say
k'te to kill
hi to arrive coming
ha to have, possess
źin to stand
k'śan to bend
ta to eat
ka to dig
u to be on route coming
ton to cover

un to live, or be accustomed to ya to go
p'a to flee
i to arrive going
si to command
p'son to break off
ni to live, exist
p'ta to answer
k'sa to break
gi to rust
o to wound

The stems with terminal a have been treated in § 15.

The causative ya may be placed after any of these, as also after nouns.

hpaya'pi they were caused to lie kaki'syapi they made him suffer waste'ya to cause to be good §§ 47, 48

```
wani'lya caused to be without
kahya' caused to be made

$\frac{\psi_Ana'ya}{a}$ he had it for a robe (\frac{\psi_Ana}{a}$ robe)
$\frac{\psi_awi\cutesaya}{a}$ he caused them to be red (\frac{\psi}{a}$ red)
$\cutesin^i_acawi\cutesayapi$ those that they had for children
$\frac{\psi'^n_ga}{a} nap' eyapi$ they caused the horses to be frightened
```

Very naturally it is often used in the formation of adverbs.

```
sogya' thickly (literally, caused to be thick)
t'oye'la bluely (literally, caused to be like blue)
kultkiya' caused to be down, or downward
to'kiya anywhere, or caused to be in an indefinite direction
```

A considerable number of substantives consist of but one syllable. Such are the following:

t'a general name for animals	p'te bison; specifically, female
like deer	bison
ho voice	t' i lodge, dwelling
p'a head	\dot{c} ' a^n tree
$t'o^n$ robe	<i>hi</i> n fur
hu leg	ī mouth
we blood	mni' water
<i>hi</i> ⁿ hair	wa snow.
•	he horn

A much larger number, however, have two syllables:

,	,
$wi'\acute{c}`a$ male	<i>wi</i> n∕yan woman
mak'a' ground	si'ha foot
$no^{n\prime}\dot{g}e$ ear	$\epsilon'a'pa$ beaver
ma'za iron	$p`a\bar{h}a'$ hill
<i>ć`aⁿte'</i> heart	mat'o' grizzly bear
p' e ' ta fire	$a^{n'}p$ 'a daylight
$i^{n'}ya^n$ stone	<i>iśta</i> ' eye
<i>siⁿte</i> ' tail	ma'ya cliff
$wi'k'a^n$ rope	ć'uwi' small of back
ć'upe' marrow	t' ahu' neck
p'aġe' diaphragm	\$iyo' prairie-chicken
p'eżi' grass	$k'a^{n'}ta$ plum
ć'in'ca child	t'ate' wind
mi'la knife	<i>ć`oku'</i> flesh
<i>8o'ta</i> smoke	<i>t'o'ka</i> foe

It is quite possible that many or all of these were originally compounded from simpler words, as is still done in numerous cases.

```
p'ehin hair of the head, or head-hair é'abo't'i beaver-house (literally, in which dwell beaver)
```

bi

de

ė,

tu

W

ίψ

h

tđ

ta

ćη

hi hi

to

to

```
ma'za wak'an' supernatural iron (i. e., gun)
śun'ka wak'an' supernatural dog (i. e., horse)
ma'za waha' ć'an'ka iron shield
wićitegale'ga raccoon (literally, spotted face)
tat'a^{n'}ka buffalo bull (literally, big ta)
wić'a'hćala old man (very much of a male)
winćin'ćala girl (literally, female child)
hupa'wakigalakela bat (literally, little leather wings)
p'asu' nose (literally, head-seed)
wića' ho human voice
mani' wak'an' supernatural water (i. e., whisky)
ma'za wa<sup>n</sup>hi' ośta<sup>n</sup>' pi iron arrow-head fitted in (i. e., flintlock gun)
wić'o't'i many lodges (where people go after death [literally, in
  them they live])
ta'h¢a deer (literally, true ta)
wino"hća old woman (very much of a female)
heha'ta elk (literally, branching [ha'ta] horns [he])
```

In those descriptive terms which contain a substantive and adjective, the latter may be regarded equally well as a verb. Many other nouns, however, are taken from verbs (or adjectives) in a much more direct manner, as follows:

```
kaĥami' an inside corner, a bend; verb the same, meaning to BEND BY STRIKING

olo'wan song (from lo'wan to sing)

teĥi'ka hardship (from te'ĥi hard)

woć'an'teśića sorrow (from ć'ante' heart, and śi'ća bad)

oi'yokpaza darkness (from kpa'za it is dark)

wama'k'aśkan animals (from mak'a' earth, and śka to move; i. e.,

things moving on the earth)

wića'ganakapi or ganaka'pi burial-scaffold (from gana'ka to lay

up)

ohun'kak'an myth (from hitun'kak'an to tell tales)

hla'hla rattle or bell (from kla to rattle)

wakin' a pack of goods (from kin to carry)

wakin'yan the thunder-bird (from kinyan to fly)
```

Verbs ending in a, when they become substantives, sometimes change the a into e:

```
ak'a'hp'a to cover
e'ya to say
waa'tonwan to be observing
waa'skap'a to stick on
a'p'a to strike
obala'ya it is flat
k'nya'ka to have on
```

ak'a'hp'e covering
oe'ye a saying, verse, sentence
waa'toⁿwe an observer
waa'skap'e a sticking-plaster
oa'p'e strokes, beatings
obala'ye a level place or prairie
wok'oya'ke clothing

Stripped of their affixes, the terms of relationship are the following (see Riggs's Grammar, pp. xviii-xx):

tunkan grandfather kun grandmother koîźa grandchild ate father and father's brother hu^n mother and mother's sister tunwin father's sister lekši mother's brother ćinye man's elder brother timdo woman's elder brother tanke man's elder sister ću we woman's elder sister sunka younger brother tanksi man's younger sister ta*ka woman's younger sister *ćiⁿkši* son ćunkśi daughter han man's brother-in-law śiće woman's brother-in-law hanka man's sister-in-law ićepan woman's sister-in-law tonska woman's sister's son toška woman's brother's son tunžan man's sister's daughter tożan woman's brother's daughter koś son-in-law and daughter-in-law hihna husband win wife or woman

In direct address several terms are used slightly different from the above; as, $u^n \dot{c}i'$ Grandmother.

TETON TEXT

SPIDER'S ADVENTURE WITH THE WATER MONSTER

[Originally transcribed by George Bushotter, a Dakota]

	e'ć'êś² wana'³	ka'k'ená4 in a certain place	iśna'la oma alone travel	'ni-ya'ha ^{n (} ling was going	sk'e.' it is mid.
	ana' ć'on'śoke now forest	ya'za v from one to another	wol-ya'ha ⁿ . 10, 6 eating was going.	Yu ⁿ 'k'a ⁿ And then	again
wak'pa'la 11 river	o'huta ¹² êl ¹³ ins shore or there he s edge		nani' k'owa'ka water on the oth	ata ⁿ ha ^{n 15} y erside të	78-6' i ^{n 16} go wished
although the	k'ani ¹⁸ iya'ye re was he might st o way				ro'ki ^{n 21} Oh that
kowa'kata ^{n 18} on the other side	ma ⁿ ka ^{/22} ni ²⁸ I sit might		nawa'zin,'' 25 I stand,''		(u ⁿ /k'a ⁿ And then

¹A shortened form of *Ik'to'mi* (the Spider), who is the great trickster and charlatan among the Dakota.

1

^{*} he'c'c's HE THAT; c'a sort; -s emphatic.

^{*} wana' perhaps contains the passive prefix wa-.

^{*}ka demonstrative indicating something that happened at a remote time or in a remote place; *ke &a sort or KIND; na probably a locative particle used instead of ·l to indicate that he was already at the place where the event happened.

⁶ la- diminutive suffix.

^{*}o- prepositional prefix meaning in, the idea being that the traveling was done within a certain region; when there is a definite object in view the form is itima'ni; ya motion away in general. as distinguished from starting and arriving; -han continuative suffix.

¹ sk'e quotative.

Introductory connective.

^{*}c'on an altered form of c'an woods; so'ka THICK, the final yowel being altered in nominalizing.

¹⁰ wol wa- SOMETHING, and yu'ta TO EAT, contracted into l.

¹¹ wa- perhaps passive prefix; -la diminutive.

¹² o- prepositional prefix; hu'ta shore.

Be demonstrative; I motion to that place.

^{14.} prepositional prefix indicating purpose; na-instrumental prefix indicating action done with the foot; tin to stand.

¹⁶ L'owa'ka on the other side of the river; -tan from; -han continuing to be.

¹⁶ A compound verb; c'in to wish.

[&]quot;keya's; ke'ya usually equivalent to something and the emphatic suffix -s.

[&]quot;to indefinite demonstrative; $\dot{c}a$ sort or kind, which is altered to $\dot{k}'a$ after o, and a syllable m often suffixed to adverbs of this kind when the verb is followed by the negative particle. It may be the stem of the verb m to Live.

¹⁹ This seems to contain the ordinary stem of the verb to go and the causative auxiliary. Final a is altered to c before in.

no he demonstrative referring to what follows; ya to go; -han continuative.

²¹ to indefinite demonstrative; kin perhaps the definite article.

ma- objective pronominal prefix before yan'ka.

The sign of the optative.

^{*} e demonstrative; c'in to wish, duplicated to show repetition of the mental process.

[&]quot; na to do with the foot; wa- subjective personal pronominal prefix; # to stand.

[≝] e demonstrative; stem ya.

"

lo,

eva'.

said he.

k'te

will

wau^{n/53}

I am

we

indeed

ta'ku²7 wan he han'skaska28 ć'a nonwan/29 mani' êl13 tato'heva³⁰ that was swimming against the water there what horns long 8 (or something) sort current heya', 20 "To'kin 21 k'owa'katan 15 maka'22 ni 23 he sald as "Oh! that on the other side I sit might hiya'ya.31 Yun'k'an8 ak'e' passed by. And then again follows, eć'in'ć'in 24 nawa'źin," 25 thinking often I stand," eya'.26 he said. kin 83 ina'źin Yuⁿ'k'a^{n 8} ić'a'nl 33 ta'ku he han'skaska e'na 34 And then just then something horns the there stood (or long stopped) " Ho, k'ta. tk'a heći'va. 25 mani' kin le o'p'ta* ać'i'vin 37 na " Hol said to him this water the across I take you will. but and as follows, iwa'ktać'iyi" 38 lo,"40 eći'ya.41 k'te 80 wanźi' Yun'k'an ta'ku Ik'to' certain one I cause you to be on guard against will he said to And then thing kin heya', "Ho'wo! misun',42 to'kśa43 ta'ku eć'on'-ma'yaśi'44 kin 45 my younger said as "Come! by and by what to do you command follows, brother, lo," C'ank'e'48 êć'ê'l 46 eć'a'mon 47 k'te eya'. wana' heći'ya, 80 I do it will said he. 80 DOW as follows, p'a tanka'l 40 hiyu'ye 50 śni mani' ogana'51 nonwan'- . "Ho! to'hanni send it " Hot whenever fiead outside not water in swimming

Ho he'c'ês wana' "To," eya'.
So it happened now "Yes," said he.

lo.

wamiye'cikita'

you be on the watch

for me

■ The final syllable of haw'sk'a Long is duplicated for the plural of he.

He'ć'êl

- was is probably the causative auxiliary ya altered to was after on.
- ** tale' WIND AGAINST THE CURRENT, AGAINST THE WIND; ya causative: he perhaps a contraction of haso.
 - 31 ht to arrive at a place approaching one.
 - ≈i- the prepositional prefix; &a conjunction; -l suffix indicating motion.
 - Definite article referring to ta'ku he han'skaska.
 - Alternate form with &, indicating something already in place.
 - "he demonstrative; ki-changed to di after e, indicating that the verb takes an object; ya stem.
 - Post-position containing the prefix o- and referring to le.
- ma-prepositional prefix, which indicates here that the subject of the verb went in company; & i-you; ya to go, altered to yi before kta, the sign of the future.
 - #i- prepositional prefix; wa'kta to BE ON GUARD; &'i I-YOU; causative ya, changed to yin before k'te.
 - Future participle k'ta altered to k'te by incorporating the ye of ye lo.
 - wye lo is usually employed in closing declarative sentences in direct address.
 - 41e demonstrative referring to what has just been said; ci for ki to or FOR; stem ya.
 - omi- possessive prefix, first person singular.
 - 4 Probably the indefinite demonstrative to.
- We demonstrative; &on To Do (probably compounded of a prefix &a and on); ma-objective, first person singular; ya-subjective, second person singular; # то соммано, то выс.
 - #It will be noticed that kis is used referring to the entire preceding sentence.
 - ■e demonstrative; c'a sort, KIND; -l indicating motion.
 - "e demonstrative; é'a (see note 44); ma- first person objective; on (?).
 - Conjunction introducing the next sentence.
 - Contraction of tanka'ta.
- hi to arrive coming; u to be coming along with a continuous motion; ya causative, changed to ye before ini.
 - 110- verbal prefix.
 - wa- first person subjective; un usual or customary condition or state.

Tused indifferently as an interrogative pronoun meaning WHAT? and an indefinite pronoun meaning SOMETHING.

```
leva'53
                                       "Toba'nl 54
                                                                                    tuk'tê'l s
   C'ank'e'
                 wana'
                                                         mahpi'ya
                                                                          wa<sup>n</sup>źi'
                  now he said this.
                                          "When
       80
                                                            cloud
                                                                           one
                                                                                     somewher:
ći'kala 56 tanin' van 57
                            va<sup>n</sup>′ke
                                       ćin 58
                                                           oma'kiya'ka yo. 60 thou.
                                                ećin/59
                                                                                       He′&'êl
                visibly
                                         the in that case
                                                                                           80
                                                                                        ć'e,
ećin' nawa'p'in e1 k'te na mani' śme e'ltkiya e2 waki'yakin e3 k'ta
in that
           I flee
                        will and water
                                            deep
                                                     thither
                                                                  I go back to
 CASA
         Yun'k'an heya'
                               "Misu" heć'a'non 65 kinhan' 66 miś 67 to'keśke'
eva'.
                      he said as "My younger follows, brother,
said he.
           And then
                                               you do that
                                                                  if
                                                                                   in what way
           k'ta he"69
waha"
                                                     "to'kśa
                           eći'ya.
                                       Yu<sup>n</sup>'k'a<sup>n</sup>
                                                                  tohan' omayakila'ke no
                           he said to
I under-
           shall
                                        And then
                                                      "in that
                                                                   when
                                                                              you tell it to me
  take
                             him.
                                                         case
                   ehe'<sup>71</sup>
                            ćinhan'
                                       wan'ćag 72
                                                      kipa's ibala'bale 73 cin to'k'sa
ći<sup>n</sup>ha<sup>n</sup>′
          lećê'l
  when
           in this
                                                      doubling
                                                                                 the by and by
                   you say
                                          at once
                                                                I start to go so
            WAY
                                                         up
                                                                                (when)
o'huta ek'ta'<sup>74</sup> iya'hpayi<sup>n'75</sup> k'te lo," eya'.
                                                              "'Misu" nitu"/k'a"sila 76
 shore
             at.
                     you fall then
                                       will
                                                    said he.
                                                             "'My younger
brother
                                                                             your grandfather
               lo,'
                       ehe'
                               ć'inhe' 77
                                             wakin'van 78
                                                                ć'a
                                                                       hoto<sup>n</sup>'pi <sup>79</sup>
                                                                                        kinhan'
        We
is com-
        in-
                      you say
                                  when
                                                Thunders
                                                               that
                                                                           TOAT
                                                                                         when
 ing
       deed
                                                                sort
           k'te lo," eya'.
hehin'80
```

63 le THIS: Va.

you say

that

said he.

^{*}to the indefinite demonstrative; has continuative; -l suffix indicating motion.

^{*}tu indefinite particle, also found in tu'wa who; b suffix indicating motion,

⁵⁶⁻la diminutive suffix.

stanin' VISIBLE; adverbialized by means of the auxiliary ya, which is here nasalized after the preceding nasalized vowel.

⁵⁶ The \dot{c} in $\dot{c}in$ has been changed from k after the vowel c.

[≈]c- the demonstrative; kin article altered as above.

^{#0-} prepositional prefix, often used with verbs meaning to say; ma- first person objective; kidative sign; ya; ka auxiliary; yo imperative particle singular.

and instrumental prefix, indicating action by means of the foot; was first person singular objections. tive; p'a changed to p'in before k'ta.

erobably edemonstrative; -t suffix indicating motion; t--ta ro; ki- the dative sign; ya causative in waki'yakin.

[&]quot;wa- pronominal prefix; ki- the dative sign; ya to go; ki- ka to be.

Evidently c'a altered before he e in eya'.

^{*}he THAT; &a (see note 2); ni- pronominal prefix; on stem.

^{*} kin article; -han continuative particle.

[&]quot; Emphatic form of the independent personal pronoun, - the emphatic suffix.

sto indefinite pronoun: k'e-c'a sort.

[·] Interrogative particle.

no- prepositional prefix; ma- objective pronoun; ya- subjective pronoun; ki- dative sign; ya to sat. la in the second person singular; ka, auxiliary. In this case both the final vowel is altered to c, and the initial consonant of the succeeding word is changed from k to c in sympathy. This often happens where there is no apparent necessity.

⁷¹ Second person singular of eya to say; e demonstrative.

⁷² wan'ća one +g, perhaps the contracted form of the auxiliary.

mi- perhaps from the verb i to arrive, though the sense of this verb is quite distinct; bala' first person of ya, which is doubled.

He demonstrative; -ta post-position; k' inserted for emphasis.

¹⁸ i- prepositional prefix; ya- pronominal subject; \$pa stem; yis probably causative, altered before Fta. "mi-possessive pronominal prefix, first person; -la diminutive suffix.

[&]quot;Here has is contracted to he without the usual phonetic reasons.

⁷⁸ The wakin'yan are the famous thunder-birds. The word means literally FLYING THINGS (from kin'yan to PLY, with the passive prefix wa-). Possibly the final syllable of kin'yan is the causative

[&]quot; ho voice; to stem; -pi plural suffix.

mhe demonstrative that; second person singular of the verb ya to say, the final vowel being furthermore altered to in before kte.

ing

C'ank'e' o'p'ta kin ka'k'êl 81 mani' kin ak'a'nl 82 wana' he DOW in that way water the along horn the ik'i'yela 83 van'kin Yun'k'an wana' mani' o'huta yе na. ya. And then water ahore WAR he sat and WAS now near to going. going au'.80 C'ank'e' "Misu" ćin leha'nl 84 śabye'la85 mahpi'ya heya', the at this time clouds blackly were 80 he said as " My younger coming. follows. brother. lo," Ćʻankʻeʻ nitu"/k'a"si'la 87 eva'. mani' u we agana' your grandfather is com- indeed said he. 80 all at once water ing śk'an'sk'an 89 hingala'.90 kon 91 hmunve'la 88 Yun'k'an Ik'to' to'ki 92 suddenly did. And then the roaringly moving about Spider (in the past) i'tehanhćehan' 94 Yun'k'an ćin a'taya kik'su'ye 98 śni. iva've And then he started the altogether remembered not. very long afterward a'op'e'va 96 he 96 ehan' 97 m Anio'huta ek'ta' le'će mani' hpa'ya edge of water at. behold water partly in he was lying e'tonwan.98 Yun'k'an hehan' ekta' Yuⁿ'k'an mani' kik`su'va. mani' he remembered. And then then , water at he looked. And (then) water kiⁿ wankan'tkiya 99 holve'la 100 hin he han'sk'ask'a kon na. te/ku the upward grayish being and somehorns long the thing (in past) nahon'. wanya'ke 101 êl nako" wakin'yan hoto" pi śni na. he saw and there Thunders not also roared he heard. hetan' 102 he'ć'êlêś 108 Ho Ik'to' kin ak'e' oma'nilêl wana' from that Now in this now Spider the just as usual again was travelplace han Lehan'vela 104 wek'su've. 105 śk'e.

⁵¹ka demonstrative, indicating something distant; &a sort, changed to k'e; -l suffix indicating motion.

ss a- prepositional prefix; -l suffix indicating motion.

Only this far

- * i- prepositional prefix; ya causative altered to ye; -la diminutive.
- * le demonstrative; -han continuative particle; -l suffix indicating motion.
- * \$a'pa (also \$a'pa) DIRTY OR BLACKENED, contracted to \$ab; ya causative; -ia diminutive.

I remember.

- =a- before u- indicates that a cloud was coming accompanied by others, and thus indirectly plurality.
 - ™ ni- THY; -la diminutive.

it is said.

- * Amus to Buzz or Hum; ya causative; -la intensive auxiliary.
- Duplicated to express the distributive.
- * hin- indicates rapidity or suddenness of motion.
- ⁹¹ Article used in referring to some past action or aforesaid person.
- = to indefinite demonstrative.
- Although kik'su'ye is now used as a whole, it is probably to be analyzed in ki- one's own; k'su stem; ye causative.
- * i- prepositional prefix; ie particle indicating something far off in time or space; -han continuative suffix; hain or hac really, truly; -han continuative suffix employed a second time.
 - ≈ a- and o- prepositional prefixes; p'a to Follow or Pursue; ya auxiliary.
 - #-han changed before e.
 - " e demonstrative; -han continuative.
 - ≈ e demonstrative.
 - This word contains -ta to, contracted to -t; ki- the dative sign; ya causative.
 - me hol contracted form of the adjective ho'ta gray; ya causative; -la diminutive suff
 - un wan probably a prefix; ke an auxiliary.
 - 103 he demonstrative; -tan from, After.
 - he demonstrative; &a; -l suffix indicating motion; -s emphatic suffix.
 - 184 le demonstrative; has continuative particle; ya causative; -la diminutive suffix.
 - 106 toe- FOR MR.

[Translation]

Spider happened to be traveling along alone in a certain place, it is said. And he was going along through a forest, eating. Then he stood on the edge of a river; and, although he wanted to get across, there was no way; and he said, they say, "I stand thinking continually, 'Oh that I might sit on the other side!'" Then something with long horns came swimming up against the current. And he said again, "I stand thinking continually, 'Oh that I might sit on the other side!'"

Just then the creature with long horns stopped there, and said to him, "Ho! I will take you across this water, but I will have you be on the watch for a certain thing." Then the Spider said, "Come! my younger brother, I will do whatever you command me." So he said to him, "Well! I always swim in the water with my head not extended above it. So you shall be on the watch for me." Then he said, "Yes."

So he said, "When one small cloud becomes visible, tell me. Then I will flee and go back into deep water." Then he said, "My younger brother, what will become of me?" And he said, "In that case, when you tell it to me, and I double up and start off, you will fall close to the shore. When you say, 'Your grandfather is coming,' it will mean that the Thunders roar."

So he was going along in the water sitting upon the horn. And when he was going along near the shore, black clouds were coming. So he said, "My younger brother, your grandfather is coming." So all at once the water moved about roaringly. And whither the Spider went, he did not at all remember. And a long time afterward, lo! he came to himself lying partly in the water. Then he looked at the water. Then upward the water was grayish, and he did not see the thing with long horns, and he also heard Thunders roaring.

Now the Spider traveled on from this place just as usual, it is said. I remember only this far.

WINNEBAGO TEXT

By Paul Radin

Hiôn'jihi'wira¹ jagu'² hamina'ñgiresga'nañk'ûn³ hi'perêsjina'ñkśê;⁴
Our father what does he sit on, it seems he came to, he knew;
Ē'gi⁵ iśja'niahiôn'jê⁵ γa'kśê; 'ō'gi kê s'i' wewi'ni; hañkê'³ wajan'nijan³
and tears flowed he wept; and not long he thought not anything

hajani'jê; 10 hañkê' waja''nija', 9 kê' waja''nija 10 nîñ'gêna' ñg Enijê. 11 he did not not anything, not anything was (there) anywhere.

Ja'gwamina'ñgiresga'nañkśê gi'ji 12 hamina'ñgenañka, ē'ja wajain'jan 13 he sat on that which, there something hanigu'jê, hanigu'nañka 14 mana'ñgerê 15 ēja 16 nîñ'gênîñk 17 he took from, he took that which the earth there a little plece

wa'gi'ûn'jê; 18 ē'gi 19 homina'ng Enanka 20 k'unhanhi'regi 21 howahuhi'jê. 22 for them he and that which he sat on below him towards he sent it.

¹ hi'ont father; hihi'wird 1st plural of possessive pronoun of terms of relationship; c softens to f when followed by any syllable.

² jagu' regular interrogative and relative pronoun.

³Contraction for ha-minank-hire'sge-nank-'un; ha on; min'ank he sits; hire it seems; -sge a suffix implying uncertainty; -nank suffix denoting sitting position; 'un he does, auxiliary verb (1st person ha'un, 2d person s'un, 3d person 'un).

⁴ hi-perls-ji-nafik-id; hi prefix generally meaning with; perls HE knows; ji HE comes; -nafik suffix denoting sitting position; -id or -jd temporal suffix denoting present completed action.

⁵ E'gi conjunction, sometimes with the force of then. Composed of two elements,—e, the demonstrative pronoun of 3d person; and -gi, an adverbial suffix. For the demonstrative expressing position near the 1st person it is me'gi, and for that near the second person de'gi.

^{4 (}h) itja-ni-hallon'-je eye-water-it flowed on-present time.

¹ ya'k-86 HE WEPT-present time.

^{*} we'win HE KNOWS; ni negative particle following adverb hafile' or he not, and always inserted at the end of the stem of the following verb.

^{*} waj_A */ nij_A * indefinite pronoun composed of $wa'j_A$ *, something; and $hi'j_A$ * one, A. The n following the nasalization is a glide.

^{**} haja-ni-jê HE SEES; negative particle; present (1st person haéa', 2d person hatja', 3d person haja').

11 niñgê-nañk-ni-jê any (Thing); sitting position; negative particle; present.

¹² gi'ji an adverb generally meaning so. Oftener used as a stop.

[&]quot;Contraction for wa'jA hi'jA". The elision of the h, the union of two vowels to form a diphthong, and the shifting of the nasalization, are very common in Winnebago; for example, $nA^n + hi'jA^n$ form $nai^njA^n = 1$ TREE; $mA^n + hi'jA^n$ form $mai^njA^n = 1$ YEAR.

[&]quot;hani-gu-nafika to have, to take from; ha from (1st person ha'ni, 2d person ha'ini, 3d person hani'). This verb is used also as one of the possessive pronouns. gu it comes in direction towards subject of action (1st person hak'u', sgu, gu); nafi'kā, sitting form of demonstrative pronoun ga that. Here used with force of relative pronoun.

[&]quot;man-na'figeré Earth; demonstrative plural pronoun from ga; idiomatically used as the plural definite article.

^{#8&#}x27;ja adverb. Probably composed of demonstrative e and hija' THERE.

ningé-nink a piece, a little; nink is the regular diminutive suffix. Sometimes used to express an indefinite object.

^{**}wa-gf'a*-je* plural objective personal pronoun; FOR; HE DID; present time. There are four elements of gt that have to be carefully distinguished,—the instrumental prefix, the preposition FOR or TO, the temporal suffix, and the verbal stem.

959

Hoku'mhuirea'i A 18

iin A'fikéa.

15/8cm8 24

He looked at his o	JA MAUA	ukure lee		Allese, egi
				became; and
kê'wajan'nijan	hayêbeni'jê 25	huśaran⊿'ñk	≲śê,³6 ē′gi	kêgise'weni-
nothing	appeared upon it (i. e., grew)	bare it was,	and	not still it
nañkśê 27 man.	a'ñgerê horu	upî'ninañkśê;	ē'gi ''m	ejegû ⁿ /hagiji ²⁸ 'il this way I do
gise'wê jinai'nk				·
Ē'gi higi'û ⁿ 'j	ê³¹ homin∡'ñg	Enañka; ē'ja	hanwi'jan 82	
Then he made fo	rit that which h	e sat on; there	a grass	he took and
	ņo'wahu'hijê 🌂	jegûn' hiā'n		ku'ruhuéga'ja"
he made to	vard the earth he	and then he	did he le	ooked upon his own
hañkê' gise'weni	'nañkśêJi	gi'ja ^{n 36} 'ûn'jê ' gain one he did	'ûn'6êbigi'ji ^s when he finished	7 kećû′ñgegā ≊ the tortoise

"P'gi may begin a sentence. Its force is that of a conjunction connecting more or less independent sentences, as distinguished from $d'n_A\hat{n}gd$, which connects closely related sentences. The translation AND or THEN is always inadequate.

*ho-minaûk-naûkd, ho is a nominalizing prefix. Nominalization, however, requires generally not only this prefix or its related we, but also the suffixing of the definite article ra or some demonstrative, as in this case.

"koun'han-hi-re'gi eblow; hi auxiliary or causative (1st person ha, 2d person ra or i', 3d person hi); regi is an adverb with a prepositional force not very clearly shown in this case because the various elements in the word have been closely united to form a distinct preposition. In spite of this close union, however, the auxiliary is regularly conjugated for the 1st, 2d, and 3d persons; i. e., kcun'hAnha'regi, k'un'hAnha'regi, k'un'hAnha'regi. The -re'gi denotes that it is immediately below the subject of action; re is a demonstrative pronoun, which seems to denote immediate proximity, and to be stronger than me this (for the first person). But its exact meaning is uncertain.

"howa'-huhi-je; howa' adverb denoting Towards, away from subject of action; huhi' to send (1st person huha', 2d person hura', 3d huhi'), to send away from subject of action; for to send towards subject of action, the verb 1st person reha', 2d person rera', 3d person rehi', is used.

**ho-ku-ruku'c-gadjan; ho preposition generally meaning in; ku pronoun referring to what belongs to one's self, either of one's own person, property, or relations. Its vowel conforms with the following vowel (see § 4); ruku'c; ru is in this case either the instrumental prefix or part of the stem. If it is the prefix, its original meaning with the mouth has been entirely lost. A similar case is found in the verb duhu'rûg, su'ruku'rûg, ruku'rûg, to obtain, to accomplish; ga'djan an adverb almost always used as a stop.

" je' cage an adverb meaning THAT KIND, THAT WAY.

- *ha-γέρπί-jέ; ha οΝ; γέρ IT PUSHES, IT GROWS, APPEARS; ní negative particle; jé present tense.
- ™ Au' skin; sa'ra bare, naked; na'āksé sitting position.
- # hanké or ké not; gise'wê QUIET; ni negative particle.
- 22 me this near me; $jeg\hat{u}^{23}$ an adverb meaning thus, indeed; ha causative 1st person; giji conditional.

**ji TO COME; naifik from nAfik, which becomes lengthened in the future; -kjdne future particle. The simple future particle is kja, but to express an indefinite future the particle nAn is always suffixed. Without the nAn it has the force of a mild imperative. (Cf. also note 43.)

■ 1st person ya'rê, 2d person hira'rê, 8d person hi'rê to think.

- al hi" un to do with; gi for.
- ™AAn'wi WEED, GRASS; -jAn contraction for hi'jAn.
- =ru'z or rus (1st person dus, 2d person su'rus, 3d person rus) to take; $\ddot{a}'nA\ddot{n}ga$, a conjunction connecting closely related sentences.
- $man'na-ho'wa-huhi'-j\ell$; na for ra, the r of which changes to n after a nasalization (see note 22).
- mje'gûn hiā'n⊿ñgā a common connective phrase; hi causative 3d person.
- **™**Contraction for jigë hi'jan.

"Contraction of \$\psi^t\text{c}p\$ To FINISH and the third person of the causative \$\psi\$. Both elements of the verb are conjugated. Thus \$\psi^t\text{c}\text{b}a'nAn, \text{i}'\text{a}'\text{b}\text{b}a'nAn, \text{i}'\text{a}'\text{b}\text{i}'nAn; -g'ifi is used here as a temporal particle.

**ke'ciāk or ketû'āgē large species of turtles; kē alone is also found meaning TURTLE;-gā a regular possessive pronominal ending, used with terms of relationship, or for persons to whom respect is to be shown. It is always used in indirect address, somewhat in the sense of ME. SO AND SO. It is appended to all proper names; for instance, ku'nāāgā ELDEST BORN, etc. But in direct address the -ga is dropped.

higê'jê.3 Hunubi'mani wwwe'winhojejain'ja kwagû'nzerā.4 "Jejan' at the end of his thinking " To end he called him. Two-legged walkers he made. ke'ćû'ñgera." 46 kārēhoa'kšana^{n 43} maⁿ'ņa p'inš'ûn' 44 še'rekjane'na^{n 45} the earth you make it good you are going to you, tortoise." they are about Jegû'nhia'nanga manhin'jan 47 hanigi'gijê. 48 Man'negi'jigi'ji 49 wona' yirê 50 On earth when he and after he did a knife ess ho s he gave to posse came

ē′gi 'n'iê hañkê' ho'giruhujni'jê;51 hañkê' wogûⁿ'zerā he did at looked he for him; not the creation not and ē'sgê 52 ji'gigû^{n 53} Hagi' 55 kuru'sśê 54 hogi'ruhujni'jegê' he looked for him again then thus he took him back. . There at ći'ra 56 hoikê'wejê. 57 "Hanhan 58 k'u'nika,59 hiônća'ra k'u'nika wa'rê 60 went he in. "Say grandmother, my father grandmother work the house p'in''în 63 hu'îñgi'gira 61 wogûn'zera hu'îñgigi'ra duhurû'ksanan; he sent me for I have accomplished; his creation flx it aright he sent me for

⇒1st person ya'gé, 2d person hi'ragé, 8d person hi'gé, To CALL.

**Contraction for hu-nún'p-hima'ni LEG-TWO-HE WALKS WITH. As it has no nominalizing prefix, correctly rendered, it ought to read THE TWO-LEGS-TO WALK WITH. It is used here idiomatically as a noun. The verb is 1st person hi'mani, 2d person hima'sini, 3d person hima'ni.

41 wo'- is a nominalizing prefix probably composed of wa indefinite pronoun and ho. It is used far less frequently than ho. jejain'ja is a contraction for jejan' to and d'ja there, with prepositional force.

42 to a indefinite pronoun; gánz or gánz (1st person ha/gánz, 2d person ra/gánz, 3d person gánz) to CREATE; the article -ra has the force of a relative pronoun here.

421st person hakd'reho, 2d person rakd'reho, 8d person kd'reho, to be about; Ak or Afk 8d person singular of suffix denoting walking or lying. (1st person -mafik, 2d person sa'wafik, 8d person -afk); -64 is a suffix of uncertain meaning that never appears alone, but is always followed by na*. It is generally suffixed to the elements denoting sitting and lying or walking. Indeed, I know of no instance where -na* is directly suffixed to the above forms of the verbs, -64 being always inserted before it. It must not be confused with 6e, from which in actual conversation it can hardly be distinguished. -na* is a suffix denoting general indefinite action.

44 From p'in GOOD, TO BE GOOD, and 8'4n 2d person singular of auxiliary 'an (see note 8).

*From irregular verb, 1st person de, 2d person se're, 3d person re, To Go; kja future; -ne a suffix of the same nature as \$4A, never appearing alone, but always followed by -nan; it is generally suffixed to verbs in the standing form.

-a is the 2d person singular of the possessive pronoun. Used here in a vocative sense. For this reason the regular -a is omitted.

47 m4 n/s AN IRON KNIFE. This term was used to designate the first white people with whom the Indians came in contact.

Anni with prepositional force of WITH, POSSESSING: gi'gi an auxiliary verb (1st person ha'gigi, 2d person ra'gigi, 3d person gi'gi) To MAKE, with the idea of some force being used in the action.

• Contraction for $mas-ra-\ell gi$ -fi-gi'ji Earth-the-here-he came-when; $-\ell'gi$ is an adverb here, used in a prepositional sense; for fi see note 4.

➡ This means literally something terrifying (from naffire to be scared).

51 ho- preposition IN; gi- preposition FOR. The demonstrative e is occasionally used for the 3d person singular when it is to be expressed. -ni negative particle.

■ Regular adverb, meaning therefore thus, on that account.

See Contraction for jigé' and highe' then.

54 ku reflexive (see note 23).

*Adverbial expression; ha in composition often means AT.

&i (1st person ha'ti, 2d person ra'ti, 3d person ti) To LIVE. It is also used as a noun.

"1st person wai'kėwė, 2d person horai'kėwė, 3d person hoi'kėwė; ho means in; i is probably gi for, with the g elided (see § 38). It may, however, be an idiomatic substitution for ki, a possessive particle. The verb means HE is going to his own house. If it were not his own house, the forms would have been 1st person wa'gikė'wė, 2d person hora'gikė'wė, 3d person ho'gikė'wė. The stem of the verb is kė'wė.

Used in the sense of HALLOO, SAY, and often simply to begin a narrative.

⇒ GRANDMOTHER is hikô'rokê; but in direct address k'w'nikâ is used, just as ja'ji and na'ni are employed for FATHER and MOTHER.

*Ist person wa'de, 2d person wa'sere, 3d person wa're, To work. The 3d person singular of verbs is at the same time the absolute form, to be translated by our infinitive.

ahi objective personal pronoun 1st person. For -gi'gi and -ra see notes 48 and 46.

"" has participial force.

grandson

hanā" ć duhurû'ksana" ua'ñksîgo-i" na sa hidegwaha'ra hiuni'wahara their life I have accomplished it all my uncles my aunts "Ē'gi "And wiakaraki'sgê 65 'uinekjane'na"."ćûⁿsga'no jasgerā'nangā they will be."grandson how did you the same as myself ua'ñksîgo-in'na 66 jasge'kjejê ** hidegwa'rāga ke'iesga'wiraki'sgê my uncles their life make just as you how could you it is not gûn'sgê 69 nina 68 jegû" jegu'nan hañkê' hiôn'jihiwi'ra jegû"that way our father indeed he created (them) that is so (but) not he made p'ini'nAn." 71_ higi^{, 70} -"K'unika'gā waja" wahigu'ni,72 esgê ⁷⁸ hañkê' could he."— "Grandmother it thus something to them she not must be, gip'i'nigê wananku'ni⁷⁴ t'e'wagigi'ra." ⁷⁵ "Hañkā'a" Hirana'nkśê.

like it does she is saying that I killed them." He thought. "No, no, she ćûnśga'no, va'rê bañke'jê jē'êsgê wahanina'nksanan,77 ćû™śga′no am I saying,

am I thinking ro'ra hakôn'na 78 hingûn'sśanan 79 wa'ruć 80 hiôn'jihi'wira hi'kiru'jis *** the falling our father bodies he made me eating to fall short (to die)

k'iņekĵô'na^{n 81} hegê'jîni,83 ē'sgê hokôn'nā ćûⁿwahi′gê⁸³ wā'u'na". for them to have they would make one because of that, there. death he made. another fore

that way

^{*}UARk means male human being; UARkii'k is generic name for human beings, and secondarily for Indians. (h)o-in'sa is the nominalized form of the verb 1st person a'in, 2d person ra'in, 3d person fa, to act, to live.

[#]hide'k UNCLE; -waha'rd 1st person plural of possessive pronoun, used for terms of relationship.

Contraction for wa-ya-ka'ra-kt'egé; wa indefinite pronoun; kara reflexive-possessive; 1st person yaki'sgé, 2d person hi'raki'sgé, 8d person hiki'sgé.

[•] See note 68.

[&]quot;ja'sgé How; kjé future; -jé interrogative particle. The whole expression has acquired a force in ordinary usage which makes it practically an exclamation.

[#] je'sgê ha'nina THAT IS NOT MY WAY; ha'nina is a possessive pronoun.

[#] gúrs he created; -gé a causal suffix, because, for that reason.

MAn expression similar to jegūn'hiā'nafigā; gi has adverbial force.

[&]quot;1p'in TO BE GOOD is often used as an auxiliary verb with the force of TO BE ABLE, CAN.

[&]quot;This means she must be related to them; we plural objective personal pronoun 3d person; -M causative. It must not be forgotten that the causative is really an auxiliary verb and is often used as such. -qu'ni a temporal suffix implying a probability that is almost a certainty. The other suffix denoting probability, -sgu'ni, has no element of certainty in its meaning.

[&]quot;we she says changes to we after a negative. The verb is irregular, 1st person hihe', 2d person hite', 3d person he. The h of he is always omitted. The w preceding a indicates that the subject of the principal verb and of e is the same. If they had been different, the e would have remained unchanged; nafiku'ni is a contraction for nafik qu'ni, the suffix denoting sitting position and the suffix denoting PROBABILITY. Ku'nika does not actually say the above words, but the supposition seems so true to Watjinge'ga, that it almost amounts to a certainty, and therefore -qu'ni is used instead of -tgu'ni.

[&]quot;t'e DEAD; wa THEM; hagt'gt I DID (see note 48); -ra THAT (see note 46); 1st person fe'ha, 2d person t'e'ra, 8d person t'e'hi, TO KILL.

⁷⁶ The short e is changed to d on account of emphasis.

⁷⁷ See notes 74 and 43.

[&]quot;Ist person ha'kônné, 2d person ha'rakôn'né, 8d person hakôn'né, To FALL.

⁷⁹ hin ME; gins to make; sanan (see note 48).

^{**}Olst person du't, 2d person tu'rut, 3d person rut, TO RAT. The wa is indefinite.

[🗪] lst person hi'fikirujis, 2d person hi'nifiki'rujis, 8d person hifiki'rujis.

[&]quot;Goes with the preceding verb. k'in auxiliary verb (from 1st person ha'k's, 2d person ra'k's, 3d person kin, to do, to make; ne, i'ne, re, i're, suffix used to indicate 3d person plural of almost all verbs. It is really an auxiliary verb. For nan see note 48. When suffixed to future, it makes the latter more indefinite.

^{*} gé'fini or hegé'fini conjunction. The latter form is rarely found.

[™]cun many, really an adverb; wahi'- He made them; gé causal suffix.

Mana'ngerê hakinikine'kjônêgê'jîni. 84 Wa'u'nans hot'e'86 cûnwahi'gi."

The earth crowded they would not make one a place to for them to have."

E'gi hisgê'hîî^{n 87} wasîînge'ga⁸⁸ hankê' gip'inina'nksê. "K'unika'gā And truly the hare not he liked it. "Grandmother

hisgê'hjîn hankê' gip'ininanka'jan 89 e'wajôn, 890 wahigê' wakarasi'really and not like it she does this something, to them she
truly she is tak-

gEnañka'jan," hirana'ñkśê. o 'Kā'a, cûnsga'no kê'jesgani'nan haga'ing their part," he thought. "No, no, grandson it is not so

wojangajan'naijan en nancge'ra en nancge'jan, es cako' hidegwa'raga for a long time (your) heart a sore one, therefore my uncles

hiuniwa'raga Uanksîgo-iⁿna'ji. ⁸⁵ Hipônai'rekjena^{n 96} hoś'a'gera ⁸⁷ my aunu life to live. They will get enough their age

hirahi'nhốne'kjê'' wagê'jê. '' Hanhan' cũnsga'no nanji'nê loo they will go up to she said. "Well grandson stand up

hiroikô'nañk'uwina'nihekjane'naⁿ. ¹⁰¹ É'gi hironi'kônaiñkjanihe'they will follow me thus forever. E'gi hironi'kônaiñkjanihe'-

naⁿ, ¹⁰³ cûnsga'no hidajê' ¹⁰³ wa'uan'jê ¹⁰⁴ Uangerani'nan, ¹⁰⁵ hankê' ever, grandson with your strength do ua man you are, not

- ** First ki reflexive pronoun, referring to the fact that the people are regarded as related; ni is the negative particle. As I have never found another instance of ni appearing without hanke, I assume that I overheard the latter word. For -ge'fini see note 82.
 - See notes 8 and 43.
 - ≈ Referring to the Winnebago ghost-village.
 - * hisge TRULY; hjin intensive suffix.
 - wa'tjifik A HARE (see note 88).
- The force of gi in verbs that elide it in the first and second persons is obscure, although it is generally the instrumental prefix. In this case it is the gi, meaning for, to; it is pleasing to ME. ni negative particle; $ka'jA^n$, contracted for $-nAfk \cdot ga'jA^n$ (see notes 74 and 23).
- ≈ c demonstrative THIS.
- The verb is found only in the reflexive form, 1st person wa'kara'tik, 2d person wa'raka'ratik, 3d person waka'ratik; wa indefinite pronoun; kara reflexive pronoun; -x- is a glide.
 - we should be $hi'rens' \hat{n}kil$, the change from e to a being due to the presence of the negative.
- *An idiomatic expression with force of an exclamation. Probably a contraction of hagh'+wajAn+ga'jAn+mai'jAn; haga' is an exclamation employed by women (see note 115); maijan A YEAR, TIME.

 **Annacide* HEART.
 - 1st person his'dek, 2d person nis'dek, 8d person dek, to be sore; i'jan, hi'jan, one, a.
 - M Conjunction, meaning in spite of, notwithstanding.
 - ⇒ See note 12; -ji, concessive conjunction meaning 1F; -gi'ji is often used with the same force.
- *Ist person him'pénafikje'na*, 2d person hini'pénafikje'na*, 3d person hipé'nafikje'na*. The initial hi- in the first person is a contraction of the prefix hi- and the pronoun his; -iré personal pronoun 3d person plural (see note 81).
- "From fat to BE old. The fact that it has the nominalizing prefix would indicate that fat is a verb.
- *Ist person hi'rahi', 2d person hira'rahi, 3d person hira'hi, 7o REACH; -āci* or -āji* superlative particle; for *se see note 81. The simple future -kje is used because the limits of the action are conceived as having been set. The sumx -na* would have made the future indefinite.
 - 1st person wa'ge, 2d person wara'ge, 3d person wage', TO MEAN.
- 180 1st person na^{n}/i^{n} , 2d person $na^{n}na'/i^{n}$, 3d person na^{n}/i^{n} , 70 stand. The ne or ne is the imperative. There are two kinds of imperatives, immediate and general. The immediate is -ne, and the general is -ne.
- In Contraction for hira-ho'-hin-kôna'ñk-'ûnin-hin-kjane'nan; hi'ra prefix meaning with, in sense of accompaniment; ho prefix, meaning obscure here; hin objective personal pronoun 1st person singular; ho'nafk stem of verb to follow; nihe' is an auxiliary verb and is used to imply repetition. It is regularly conjugated 1st person ha'nihe, 2d person ranihe, 3d person nihe'. It must not be confused with -ni'he, which is not conjugated and appears as a suffix with the meaning of had; 'ûni'ne they po; for ne'nan see note 43.
- 102-ni objective personal pronoun 2d person singular. The stem appears either as -naifik or nafik (h)a'nihe (see note 101).
 - 200 Adverb. The ending -a'fe would seem to indicate that it is really the imperative form of a verb.
 - Imperative form (see note 100); wa indefinite pronoun.
 - From uafik man, and hani'nan to have, to possess (see note 14).

hakja ⁿ bEnia ⁿ 'j	ê."106 Hogigi'ñ	h rawi'gi. 107 they started.	"Hañkê' "Not	hakjan'beni"
	k'unika'gā grandmother	jagu''û ^{n 109} why		hiregê'jîni. 110 It he thought.
	11 hoiracge'ja	hakja	ⁿ pga'ja ⁿ ck (he did)	hagohu'ra 113 to where started
horuhônujike'ı	rejê. ¹¹⁴ "Cû ⁿ śg sously. "Gr	ra'no, hagag	asgeja'ñhjin	UA'ñgEra a man
	An'nukanan 116 something great	hanika'rajiñh	jiñga'jan. 117 l vou much.	Ćû ⁿ śga'no, Grandson,
	hañkê' karu's			kôna'jânê.'' 130 1686 falling.''
	waga'kéê 121 a		Hogigi'ñh	harai'regi 123
pejićê'jera; 184 the edge of the fire;	hogi'wê		'u-ine'je ney went	

¹⁰⁰ From ha'kja BACK, and jamp to LOOK; ni negative particle; an'je imperative.

[Free Translation]

As our father came to consciousness, he thought of the (substance) he was sitting on. His tears flowed and he cried, (but not long did he think of it). He saw nothing. Indeed, nothing was there anywhere. He took something of the substance he was sitting on, and made a little piece of earth for them (our ancestors), and from the place on which he sat (he) cast it down below. Then he looked at what he had made, and he saw that it had become very similar to our earth. But nothing grew upon it; bare it was, and not quiet, but revolving. "How shall I make it become quiet?" he (Earth-Maker) thought. Then (from what he was sitting on) he took some grass and cast it toward the earth; and he looked upon what he had made, but it was not quiet.

is rarely used for the 3d person. The usual form would have been ra'ire.

¹⁰⁰ lst person ha'st, 2d person ra'st, 3d person st, to say, to call out; -aka or -4'ska is the walking or lying form 3d person singular.

m Interrogative pronoun.

¹¹⁰ See notes 74 and 82.

m to'we in Front; -hjfn intensive particle; -nifit diminutive.

¹¹² hoira'ègé LEFT; e'jd THERE.

¹¹³ half or hakja' IN BACK; hohu'ra to come from (nominalized).

¹¹⁴¹st person hunnichonan (for ho'+hinnihonan), 2d person honiculionan, 3d person ho'rulionan, meaning to fall in, like the bank of a river; -aft- a particle meaning immediately, in the twinkling of an eye; -ke'ré an auxiliary verb, never appearing independently.

¹¹⁶ An exclamation of a woman.

¹¹⁶ ruka'na adjective, GREAT, MIGHTY.

¹³³ ha preposition; ni objective personal pronoun 2d person singular; kara reflexive-possessive pronoun, used because the hare is related to Kunika'ga; fin stem of verb to ENCOURAGE; -him intensive; -ga'jan a stop.

¹¹⁸ dê'ê demonstrative of 1st person; -re'agê EVEN; for -re see note 21.

¹¹⁹ See note 28.

¹² hakon'nd the falling; fa'né standing singular form of demonstrative de.

m From wage' to MEAN, and a'kie walking form of verb 8d singular.

¹²² From he to say. The e changes to a in the plural; i're 3d person plural. Is always used as quotative in sense of it is said.

¹²⁸ re To Go (see note 107); -gi WHEN.

¹⁹⁴ pet fire; tet the edge.

¹³⁵ Used as an adverb, but really a verb; 1st person wa'giwê, 2d person hora'giwê, 3d person ho'giwê, TO GO ABOUND AND ABOUND.

Again he made a man; and when he had finished him, he called him Tortoise. At the conclusion of his thinking (i. e., when he had come to consciousness) he had made the two-legged walkers (human beings). (Then he spoke to him thus: "The evil spirits) are about to destroy (my creation), and you, Tortoise, are being sent to bring order into earthly things again." Then (Earth-Maker) gave him a knife. When he came on earth, he began to make war, and did not look after the creation (of Earth-Maker); indeed, he did not look after it; so (Earth-Maker) took him back. . . . There he (the Hare) went into the house. "Say, grandmother, the work my father sent me to do I have now accomplished; his creation I have fixed for him, and (all that I was sent out for) I have accomplished. The lives of my uncles and my aunts (human beings) will be like mine (i. e., immortal)." (Then the grandmother answered,) "Grandson, how did you make the lives of your uncles and your aunts like your own, for how could you do something in a way our father had not (intended) it to be? He could not create them thus."-" My grandmother must be related to them (those I have killed); she does not like what I have done, for she is saying that I killed them (the evil spirits)." The Hare thought to himself. "No, grandson, I am not thinking of that, I am saying that our father made death, so that there should not be a dearth of food on earth for all, so death he made to prevent their overcrowding each other. He also made a spirit-world (in which they were to live after death)." But the Hare did not like what she said. "Surely," he thought to himself, "grandmother (does not like it); she must be related to the (evil spirits), for she is taking their part."-"No, no, grandson, it is not so; but as you have been sore at heart for a long time, (to appease you) your uncles and aunts will obtain a sufficient number of years, and they will attain to old age." (Thus she spoke:) "Now, grandson, stand up, (you) they will follow me forever, and I shall follow you forever; so try, grandson, to do (what I tell you) with all your power; and (remember) that you are a man. Do not look back after you have started." Then they started to go around (this earth). "Do not look back," she said. (Thought the Hare,) "(I wonder) why she said it!" And then he turned just the least little bit to the left; and as he looked back toward the place from which he had started, everything caved in (instantaneously). "Oh, my! oh, my!" (exclaimed the grandmother), "grandson, a man you are, but I thought you were a great man, so I greatly encouraged you. Now, grandson, even (if I wished to), I could not prevent death." This, it is said, she meant. Around the earth they went to the edge of the fire (that encircles the earth); that way they went, it is said.

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ESKIMO

BY

WILLIAM THALBITZER

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ESKIMO

By WILLIAM THALBITZER

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

The Eskimo language is spoken by hardly forty thousand individuals, who live in small groups on the northernmost shores of America, from Alaska to East Greenland. Their territory extends south of Bering sea and includes the easternmost point of Asia. Since the main groups have been separated for at least six hundred years,1 more likely for a thousand years or longer, it is but natural that their language should have split up into a number of dialects. It becomes evident, from a comparison of these widespread dialects' as recorded by different authorities, that their differentiation has developed largely through phonetic and sematological changes, and only to a slight degree through intercourse with Indians. The dialectic differences are important, although not so extensive as to obscure the identity of the Eskimo languages of Alaska and of Greenland. We even find dialectic deviations from fiord to fiord. Nowadays an East Greenlander does not understand a West Greenlander until both have become accustomed to each other's speech; and the Greenlander has to learn the peculiarities of the dialect of the Baffin-land Eskimo to carry on conversation with him.3 The dialects of western Alaska differ fundamentally from the Greenland dialects, about as much as English and German or English and French differ from each other. Owing to lack of material, it is at present difficult to draw safe conclusions concerning the historical relations of these dialects as regards

¹The ancestors of the present Central and South Greenlanders (the *Kalaallit* tribe) appeared in Greenland in the fourteenth century, but they must have separated more than a hundred years before that time from their fellow-tribes on the opposite shores of Davis strait (G. Storm, *Monumenta historica Norvegia*, 76, 205; Thalbitzer III, 111-112, and IV, 208).

²H. Rink, in his "Eskimo Tribes" (Meddelelser om Grönland, XI, 1887-91), was the first to undertake such a comparison; Thalbitzer, I, 181-269 (Phonetic differentiations in the Eskimo dialects).

³This was tested by a Greenlander who had an opportunity to meet with some Eskimos of Baffin land. See *Atuagagdliutit* (the Greenlandic periodical), No. 1, pp. 2-3 (Godthaab, 1861).

their common origin. All that can be done is to indicate some of the main lines of dialectic differentiation.

It is not known how many dialects there are. In Greenland at least five may be distinguished, three of which (those of Upernavik, Disco bay, and Ammassalik) have been closely examined by me.¹ In this sketch I shall describe the dialect of the largest two fiords of West Greenland,—that of Disco bay (69°-70° N. lat.) and of the neighboring Oommannaq fiord (70°-71° N.). Of course this does not imply that that dialect is more typical than any of the others.

Notwithstanding the fact that the dialects of western Alaska differ essentially from the Eskimo dialect which is spoken at the mouth of the Mackenzie river, yet these dialects have certain peculiarities in common which show that genetically they belong together. We may speak of a western Eskimo group of dialects, comprising the many different dialects of Kadiak island, Bristol bay, the mouth of the Yukon river, Norton sound and Kotzebue sound, Point Barrow, and the mouth of the Mackenzie river, as opposed to the eastern Eskimo group of dialects; namely, those of Labrador, Baffin land, and Greenland. Within the eastern Eskimo branch I have presumed a closer relationship to exist between the dialects of Labrador and Central or South Greenland (from about 63° to 66° N. lat. on the western coast) than between those of the other parts of the group.2 The latter comprises the four northernmost dialects, which are now widespread, but which perhaps less than a thousand years ago were still a unit,—the dialects of Baffin land, Smith sound, Upernavik, and Ammassalik (East Greenland). It is probable that these Eskimo reached the shores of Davis strait at a later period than the Labrador and South Greenland Eskimo. Finally, I shall only touch on the group of dialects that are spoken on the western shores of Hudson bay, Southampton island, Melville and Boothia peninsulas, and in part of Baffin land,properly the central dialects. It remains undecided as yet with which group these dialects must be classed.

It is fitting to add here that I feel indebted to Professor Franz Boas for his kind and valuable assistance in the revision and finishing of this grammar.

¹The Danish Commission for the Direction of Geological and Geographical Explorations in Greenland arranged for two investigations of the Eskimo language in Greenland,—first, in 1900-01, in West Greenland (see *Meddeletser om Grönland*, XXXI, Copenhagen, 1904), and again, in 1905-06, in Rast Greenland.

² Thalbitzer I, 237, 260, 262-265.

The abbreviations Al., Gr., Lab., M., stand throughout for Alaska, Greenland, Labrador, Mackenzie river, respectively.

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PHONETICS (§§ 2-12)

§ 2. Sounds and Sound-Symbols

Following is the system of sounds, or phones, of the dialect of Disco bay, West Greenland, symbolized by phonetic symbols:

CONSONANTS

						VO.	WELS	
N	lorm	ıal					U ularized, being	followed by r, 2, q, or q.
Closed vowels				i	ü v	u	(
Semi-closed .	•	•		e	ə	o	E	o
Semi-open .			•	ä	-		8	8
Open § 2	•	•	•			a		

The majority of the symbols here used are in accordance with the signs employed by the Association phonétique internationale. I prefer the simple r instead of the x, and w instead of b of the Association, that the Eskimo words may not look more difficult than necessary; nevertheless, r and w in the Eskimo language mean something very different from the English r and w. The same is true of my signs for the s- and a- sounds, and, of course, of all the uvularized vowels, all of which only in part agree with sounds of any other language that I know of.

- : indicates length of the preceding vowel or consonant; e. g., a := aa or \bar{a} ; m := mm or \bar{m} .
 - I prefer in ordinary orthography to double the sign to indicate length of sound: thus, aa, mm, ss, etc. A single consonant is always to be considered short.
- 'stands before the stressed syllable of a word. Degrees of stress are indicated thus: 'a, strong stress; "a, very strong stress; ,a or a, weak stress.
- \sim indicates nasalization: \tilde{a} , \tilde{q} , \tilde{r} .
- ", " mean glides of the preceding vowel: a^i [a^i] or [a_i], a^u [a^i] or [a_i]. ", " mean labialization and uvularization.

Following is a detailed description of these sounds:

a uvularized a, or followed by a uvular, in my ordinary² transcription ar, or pronounced with the soft palate (the velum) strained
 and lifted. It is like a in English FAR, followed by the Eskimo fricative r (or q); see under r.

Arssaq a ball

a as in French âme, patte (rarely like French pâte, pas, or English father).

arnaa his woman, mother ataa beneath it

à about as in MAN; a short a modified by closed consonants and point-consonants (or dentals) (Sweet, "A Primer of Phonetics," §§ 50 and 190).

qilàk sky nànoq bear pimmàt as he came

¹Le Maître phonétique, 1906: Exposé des principes de l'Association phonétique internationale.— Cf. Paul Passy, Petite Phonétique comparée (Leipsic et Berlin, 1906).

In my ordinary transcription I have tried to avoid discritical marks.

meerqāt children aāppaa his companion

ä about like the vowels in French LAIT, German DENN; between ε and ä of the Association phonétique internationale (Passy, "Petite phonétique comparée," §§ 241 and 248; Jespersen, "Lehrbuch der Phonetik," §§ 152 and 156), rather wide than narrow.

arnät [Arn:ät] plural of arnaq woman 'nätteq a seal kisi'änne but

o stopped front palatal, voiceless (Passy, l. c., § 187; Jespersen, l. c., §§ 118 and 168); in ordinary transcription tj or kj. Common in some Eskimo dialects; for instance, Mackenzie river, toitamat [citamat] four; also in the dialects of Upernavik and Ammassalik in Greenland. (Thalbitzer I, 90, 190-191, 209, 221, 259.) 3 is the same sound very far forward.

q as in German ich.

ixxia [iç:ia] his throat (see under x).

o see after o.

e more closed than e in French éré, and a little more forward. When it is used long, it sounds about like a long 1.

quane over it, on its surface neesaq [n1:84q] a porpoise

The "European" e, as in German see, may, however, occasionally be heard. Notice the different pronunciations of my ee pure, and eer which I use in my ordinary transcription for eer. The first sound is about like a long t; the latter, rather like ä.

E=e, uvularized \ddot{a} (cf. A and r).

erneq [Ern: Eq] son
meeraq [mE:raq] child, plural meerqat [mE:rqat]

 $\varepsilon = \varepsilon$ uvularized, farther back than ε , and sometimes like \ddot{a} (Thalbitzer I, 107, 109) on account of the rounding of the innermost part of the mouth.

peerpoq [pe:rpoq] it is free, it is off

== uvularized, short mid-vowel.

p bilabial fricative.

sarraq[sarr:aq] a current (Central and South Greenland, Labrador)

g is a j articulated as deep in the mouth as a k, voiced. It is usually symbolized as g in North German regen, bogen, and in Danish

DAGE, VIGE. Central and South Greenland, East Greenland, Labrador, Mackenzie river. g occurs rarely in the northern part of West Greenland instead of g. The corresponding voiceless sound is x or partly g.

iga (South Greenland), iya (North Greenland), a pot

h is heard sometimes in interjections.

i high narrow vowel (Bell and Sweet), as in French FINI.

ittaq many years ago iLLit thou

I between i and e, especially before n, m, y.

inaa [ma:] its (the bird's) nest

j like y in YARD, or like j in German JA.

ajaa his aunt pujoq smoke

q, r, R, and N are uvular consonants, so called because they are articulated at the uvula. The posterior part of the velum and the root of the tongue are drawn back and up toward the back of the fauces, whereby the space in that part of the mouth seems to become larger. q is a stopped voiceless consonant (TENUIS), probably identical with the QOF of the Arab (Passy, l.c., § 189).

qaqqaq [qaq:aq] mountain arqa [aq:a] his name erqaane [eqa:ne] in the vicinity

k as in French cas without aspiration; only before i, e, and u, it may be heard aspirated.

kaapoq he is hungry (pronounce k like voiceless g), but keewaa it bit him (more like $[k\varphi e:wa:]$)

land z are articulated nearly alike, bilaterally, with the tip of the tongue against the back of the upper teeth. They have the latter feature in common with the Eskimo t and n. The voiceless l[z] is of rare occurrence in Indo-European languages, but it is well known from many other languages both in America (lh of the Nahuatl, l of Kwakiutl) and in Africa.

ila certainlyulo woman's knifeillo housearluk grampus

L, see l.

a sort of l, with the tip of the tongue bent up toward the alveolar arch, in some districts assuming the character of an untrilled palatal r, like the English r in ARAB, but with a firmer pressure against the palate; for instance, in the southern part of Egedesminde district (Disco bay) $aa^wpa\iota aartoq$ instead of $aa^wpalaartoq$ RED.

m as in English, but it is often long in Eskimo.

ammassät [am:as:ät] capelans.

- n articulated like t and L, at the lower edge of the upper teeth or at their posterior surface.
- g like ng in sing, singer (notice that the combination gg does not occur in Eskimo). Frequently this sound is so loosely articulated that it may be described rather as a nasalized $g[\tilde{g}]$ fricative.

ayakkoq shaman

eya pot

agut man, father

paniya or paniga my daughter

n see \tilde{q} .

o is a little more closed than the French o in Rose.

sakko implement (used for hunting)

anore wind

oo is more like a long v (q. v.); but oor means, in ordinary transcription, uvularized o [o] or [o], which is more open.

ooneq [u:neq] a burn

o uvularized o rather closed like o in so, followed by the Eskimo fricative r or q.

qooq urine ornippua he comes to him

o uvularized o, more open, like o in English More, or like a in ALL, followed by r or q. See o, o.

orssoq [ərs:əq] blubber

p as in French PAS without aspiration.

paa mouth of a river

 \tilde{q} uvular nasal = N (Passy, l. c., § 196).

ernit (dialect of Disco bay) lakes=ermit, singular imeq fresh water; in Oommannaq fiord also intervocalic: anone=anoqe wind, instead of anore.

r uvular fricative, voiced, is related to q as g is to k and w to p; usually articulated as far back in the mouth as q. It is quite another sound than the English r, but it has some resemblance to the French and German back r, when untrilled, and especially to the Danish r, produced by friction right by the back of the fauces (Jespersen, "Lehrbuch der Phonetik," § 141; Passy, l. c., § 222). It is the u of the Association phonétique internationale. Its articulation is especially tense when it is followed by q; e. g.,

sarqaq the sunny side aarqat gloves

rq is nothing but a modified form of long q [q:]; other combinations with r in Greenlandic are rt, rs, rf, rf, rf, rq, rm, rn, ry, rn. A vowel preceding one of these sound-groups is always strongly uvularized. The r modifies the character of the vowel, and is anticipated in its pronunciation. The two sounds—the vowel+ the r—in reality make up a phonetic whole (Thalbitzer I, pp. 110 and 152), and the following consonant is nearly always geminated (long). It might be symbolized thus:

```
arqa his name = a^r qqa [Aq:a]

orssoq blubber = [o^r s:oq]

erneq son = [e^r n:eq]
```

When the r stands alone between vowels, its place of articulation is often somewhat advanced, and the friction not very tense; e. g., in nerivoq EATS. In some districts (for instance, in the Oommannaq fiord) the outgoing air is apt to escape through the nose-passage, causing r to be nasalized, or $[\tilde{r}]$; this nasal is related to \tilde{q} [n] as \tilde{q} to n or as \tilde{w} to m.

neriwoq (Oommannaq) eats

z indicates a voiceless r, short or long, = a of the Association phonétique internationale (Passy, l. c., § 222). It is something like ch in German (Swiss) BACH.

marraq clay errorpaa washes it

see after L.

s is usually voiceless. In rs it resembles the English s, only that the articulation is a little looser and the aspiration stronger. In ts the articulation of s is tenser and it is farther forward than

the English sound, because the t is nearly interdental. Therefore there is a difference between the s-sounds in arssaq A BALL, and $n\ddot{a}tseq$ A SEAL. In other words, an s [s] is heard, which, although not quite identical with the \check{s} or f of the phoneticians, as in English she, bears some resemblance to it; e. g.,

```
aaseet [a:se:t] (West Greenland) of course
aawsaq [a:wsaq] summer
saa [sa:] its front
```

In the articulation of this s, not only the blade, but the whole anterior portion of the surface, is raised; the blade of the tongue being a little retracted and formed like a shallow groove, through which the air escapes without any strong pressure.

t as in French, without aspiration, especially before the vowels a and o.

 taa^wna [da:wna] that there toog [do:q] a mattock

But before i, e, u, often aspirated, especially when the t is long, as in the imperative plural *-itte* in Northwest Greenland (= *-itse* in Central and South Greenland). It might be symbolized as τ .

areq a name
nareq the floor or bottom
rikeq forefinger
arerpoq he goes down
tärrit the lakes (nearly like [tätsit])

The articulation of t is very different from that of the English t, the tip of the tongue being stretched against the lower edge of the upper teeth. The Eskimo t, like the n, l, x, are alike in this respect, being sometimes nearly interdental.

r see t; 2 see c.
u like ou in French JOUR, ROUGE.
uffa there!
una he (she, it)

v between o and u stands for long u [u:]; e. g.,

 $kook \ [kvvk]$ river $commannaq \ [v:m:an:Aq]$ common place-name

w is the voiced sound that corresponds to r, articulated alike, the lips hardly touching each other; but in West Greenland often so that the under lip is slightly drawn toward the upper front teeth. It differs from the English w in that the lips are

not rounded and there is no raising of the back surface of the tongue. w is the [b] of the Association phonétique internationale (Passy, l. c., § 210; Jespersen, l. c., § 125).

awaa the back part of the head sawik iron, knife

x the c of the Association phonétique internationale, see under c. It stands also for the c of the Association (Passy, l. c., § 221;. Thalbitzer I, 86–87).

axxertoq (Central and South Greenland, Labrador) approaching \vec{u} between [u] and [y] in French Jour and Rue, German fruh; midvowel with slight lip-rounding. Occurs especially between s, n, j, t; for example:

toyosünnippoq it is sweet (to taste)
toossüt a beam of the house
nüjüittoq tame, not shy
itüippoq goes across

 \mathbf{r} is related to \ddot{u} as i to i, v to u.

suna [syna] what
tuttut [tyttyt] reindeer

z voiced s, occurs rarely, if ever, in the Eskimo dialects (Thalbitzer I, 209, 215).

§3. Accent and Quantity

In the Eskimo language two or more long sounds may follow each other in a word without being shortened. Every sound of the language, whether consonant or vowel, may be short or long (geminated), apart from the fact that the voiced consonants, in case they are lengthened, become unvoiced (the nasals only excepted). The combination of the sounds being thus entirely independent of their quantity, four types of combinations are possible, and do occur (the same, e. g., as in Finnish):

- (1) Short vowel + short consonant, as in nuna LAND.
- (2) Short vowel + long consonant, as in $m\dot{a}nna$ this.
- (3) Long vowel + short consonant, as in maane HERE.
- (4) Long vowel + long consonant, as in maanna now.

The dynamic accent in a great many words is uncertain or only slightly differentiated. Examples are:

pania his daughter
nulia his wife
awona toward the north
unnummat as it became night
ornippaa he comes to him

There is always a marked stress on the vowel before a long (geminated) consonant, or on a long vowel. Accordingly, all the syllables of the words just mentioned—unnummat, ornippaa—are stressed. Besides, the final syllable has a tendency to attract the stress to itself: ti'keq, pami'oq, seqi'neq, iy'ut"taq, a'niya"me. Words of irregular form prove, if distinctly pronounced, to be very irregularly stressed; or the stress undulates through the syllables in varying degrees of strength, according to the psychic importance of each syllable or according to the traditional rhythmical formation of the language. But even the longest Eskimo word, in the flow of conversation, is kept together as a whole, or stamped as a unit, by means of a true word-stress concentrated on a single syllable, which in most instances will be found to be near the end of the word. In most words consisting of more than three syllables we may distinguish at least three, or even four, degrees of stress (1, weak; 2-3, middle; 4, strong); e. g.,

8 2 1 1 4 1 8 8 1 2 1 4 8 2 2 3 1 1 1 4 1 8 4 1 1 1 2 4
Kaasasorujonuaq allineq ajormat tinumissaraluarlono attamut initar3 1 8 1 1 2 4 3 1 1 4 2 3 3 3 11 4 8 8 2 1 1
paait ilaai oqassapput ujaraannittoq alliumaarpoq illut ani4 1 8 1 1 8 1 2 1 1 4 2
sorsuit piniartunik ulikaartut.

According to their stress, we may distinguish between two kinds of primary words or word-stems,—oxytone, having strong stress on the last syllable; and paroxytone, having stress on the penultima.

Oxytone:

tu'peq tent
a'teq name
a'yut man, male
ti'pik smell
sa'wik knife

ti'keq forefinger a'put snow a'naa her elder brother ne'qe meat

Paroxytone:

'orssoq blubber 'illo house 'erneq son 'tippik piece of the framework of a kayak 'sakko implement for hunting It is noteworthy that in the development of the language, in a great many words a shift of stress has taken place, whereby oxytones have become paroxytones, or *vice versa*. This is shown by many inflected forms and derivations in the Greenland dialect here mentioned, and also by comparison of other dialects.

```
> plural 'ammit skins
Greenland a'meq a skin
Greenland ma'lik a wave
                                  > verbal 'mallerpog the sea is rolling
                                  < casus obl. i'linnut to thee
Greenland 'iLLit thou
Greenland a'teq a name
                                  = Alaska 'ateq (Barnum 325)
                                  = Alaska a'kutak mixed dish
Greenland aku'taq bastard
Greenland ilu'mut yes, truly = Alaska i'lumun (ibid. 336)
Greenland uki'og winter
                                  = Alaska 'ukshuk (ibid. 372)
Greenland 'tällimat five
                                 = Alaska tal' Lemän (ibid. 367)
Greenland a'taawseq one
                                  = Labrador attauseq = 'attau^w seq?
Labrador 'sittamat four
                                 = Alaska st'amen (ibid. 365)
Greenland na'teq bottom,
                                             ('nătrok (ibid. 355) boot
                                 = Alaska \begin{cases} sole \\ 'n\bar{a}t\tilde{u}k \ (ibid.) \text{ floor} \end{cases}
  floor
                                  = Caribou lake¹ upélumi to-day
Greenland 'uwllume to-day
Greenland 'qallit the upper-} = Caribou lake k\rho al\acute{e}\rho it (superposés)
  most
                                    Alaska aggē'irgtōa [ak:e'irt:oa] (Barnum 319) I draw near, come in view
Greenland
  proaches
```

§ 4. Changes of Palatal Consonants

The following instances show that shifting of consonants occur partly in connection with the shifting of stress and partly without such.

If the final syllable of a word that ends in q or k becomes penultima by the addition of a suffix, the syllable loses its stress and the consonant may assume an intervocalic position. In these cases the consonant becomes voiced, q shifting to the voiced r, and k to g, which, in turn, changes to g. The same changes of these sounds sometimes occur when the part added is not a suffix, but an independent word.

q>r. q becomes r in the plurals of many nouns; e. g.,

Singular	Plural	
ti'keq	tikerit	forefinger
'nerLeq	nerLerit	goose

¹ Mackenzie river, Petitot Vocabulaire, p. 7.

For further examples see Thalbitzer 1, 245.

qa'noq how; qano'rippa how is it; qano'runna how is that; qanoro'qarpa how did he say
'ern'neq son; 'ernne'ra (<erneq+a) his son

sooq why; 'sooruna yes, certainly (sooq una why do you ask) oqarpoq (West Greenland) he says; orarpoq (East Greenland);

oparpoq (West Greenland) he says; orarpoq (East Greenland); orarpoq (Mackenzie river, Petitot, p. xxxiv, opakluartuark) segineq (West Greenland); seriniktenga (Baffin land, Boas I)

the sun
neqe (West Greenland) meat; neriwona (West Greenland) I eat
(cf. Southwest Alaska nuqrhōa I eat)

- g > r. The shift g > r in the Mackenzie-river dialect is doubtful; e. g., in *uwagut* (Southwest Greenland) we, *uwarut* (?) (Mackenzie river, Petitot) we.
- $q > \overline{q}[N]$. This shift is found in the terminal sound of many words of the Baffin-land, Smith-sound, and Ammassalik dialects, which have their terminal sounds nasalized, whereas the other dialects keep the oral tenuis q. Also the dialect of the Mackenzie-river Eskimo bears evidence of a similar tendency, as shown by some few examples of it; e. g.,

Smith sound tuluang [tuluan] raven Central Greenland tuluwaq Baffin land sirinirn [serinin] the sun Central Greenland segineq Mackenzie river aten [aten] a name Central Greenland ateq

 $r>\tilde{q}$. This shift takes place in the dialect of Oommannaq fiord in North Greenland in those words in which r occurs between vowels; e. g., in—

Oommannaq Fiord

neqiivoq

anoqe

neriwoq he eats
anore wind

k>g. This shift appears in a comparison of some of the possessive and verbal endings of the Greenland and Southwest Alaska dialects.

Southwest Alaska

-ka my, I

atkūkā atorakā (Barnum 312), my coat I put it on (atkuk na-

tive fur coat)

 $-k\bar{u}$, $-k\bar{e}$ it, them

 $atorl\bar{u}k\bar{u}$ (Barnum 312)

atoryakōnākū (ibid.)

atoq'luke (ibid.)

South Greenland

-ga my, I

kapitaga atoriga my coat I who use it (kapitak a kayaking coat)

-go, -git it, them
atorzugo he using it
atoqinago do not use it

atortugo he using them

k > 1, probably through an intermediate g, is a shift well known in the Greenland grammar; e. g.,

Singular	Plural	, Possessive
killik boundary	killiyit	kirrina its boundary
toollik loon	toolligit	
assik picture, portrait	assiy it	assiya his portrait

The older g; from which the g developed, may be traced in the long vowel in the plural of such words as mannik EGG, plural manneet, probably < mannigit (Thalbitzer I, 250).

The shifting from terminal k to y is known in many other dialects. y appears as a final sound in nearly all the dialects, excepting those of West Greenland, Labrador, and Mackenzie river; but most of the dialects that present forms with y abound in examples of other words ending in k. We get the impression that either the speakers' own pronunciation must have been somewhat fluctuating on this point, or else the recorders must have vacillated in their interpretation of the sounds heard.

Baffin land saviy; West Greenland and Labrador savi'k knife
Baffin land inuy; West Greenland and Labrador inuk man, etc.;
(y passim in Baffin land); but also—

Baffin land ixaluk (Boas IV, 47); West Greenland and Labrador egaluk salmon

Baffin land qaxodluk (ibid. III, 127); West Greenland and Labrador qaquuluk fulmar

Baffin land kōuk (ibid. IV); West Greenland and Labrador kook river

[The differences in pronunciation in Baffin land are individual differences. In 1884 the old men from the east coast of Cumberland sound used throughout the oral stops; while women and young men used nasalized consonants. It seems that the nasalization is in this case due to an extension of the characteristic pronunciation of women to the male sex.—F. B.]

Smith Sound qopanung [qopanun] Greenland qupalu (arsu) sparrow

Smith Sound maring or maqqoy Point Barrow madririñ [-riy] Point Barrow ujarûñ [ujaray] Point Barrow -wiñ [wiy] Greenland markluk two Greenland markoreek twins Greenland ujarak a stone Greenland -vik place (suffix) For examples of forms ending in y from Southwest Alaska, see Barnum, "Grammatical Fundamentals," the stories passim, e.g., p. 286; but in his vocabulary, and elsewhere in his grammar, the words end in k or q.

 $q>\eta$. In most of the dialects the fricative g is frequently used; but in the northeastern group it is regularly replaced by p, sometimes by \bar{q} . g is found also in Labrador and in the southern part of West Greenland, between Holstensborg and Julianehab (61°-66° N. lat.); whereas north of Holstensborg the same words are pronounced with p instead of g.

Southern
West Greenland
ajagaq
naalagaq
igippaa
iga
paniga
qaqugo

North of Holstensborg ajanaq cup and ball naalanaq master inippaa he throws it away ina (ina) kettle panina my daughter qaqono when (in the future)

Cf. the Labrador forms ajagaq, iga, panniga, qaqugo, toogaq walrustusk

Another example is:

South Greenland oqarrigaa he says to him; North Greenland oqarrigaa (Upernavik oqarpigaa; Ammassalik orarpeewaa)

g and w shift in the Labrador and North Greenland forms; e.g., in-

Labrador (and South Greenland) tulugaq oogaq inugaq

Northwest Greenland tuluwag raven oowaq codfish inuwak toe

The interchange between y and g in uwaya 1, and uwaya WE, may also be appropriately mentioned here. It suggests that ya in uwaya may have originated from ya, although at a very early period, since the Southwest Alaska form of this word is $hw\bar{e}nga$ (Barnum 68); i. e., u'weya.

§ 5. Changes of Dental and Latial Consonants

t > n as terminal sounds: e. g.,

West Greenland iput

West Greenland aput

West Greenland qulit

West Greenland qamutit

West Greenland anut

Baffin land ipun oar

Smith sound apun snow on the

ground

Smith sound golin ten

North Alaska gamotin (Thal-

bitzer I, 225) sledge

Mackenzie river ayun man,

male

n takes the place of t at the end of words in all the dialects except those of Labrador and West Greenland, but including that of Smith sound, though terminal t may occur sporadically in most of the dialects. The n may have originated through the nasalization of t, corresponding with the shifting of k > y.

We see this shift in the Northwest Greenland dialect, too, in some instances:

kikkun uko who are they; soon u'ko what are they. Kikkun and soon are special forms of kikkut and soot (in the singular kina who, and suna what).

The same shift may have stamped the declension of nouns in the plural, since the suffixes in the oblique cases are added to a nominal plural stem ending in n instead of t; e. g.,

qaqqat mountains; qaqqanut to the mountains; qaqqane in, on, the mountains (but in the singular qaqqamut, qaqqame)²

p>m. This shift is of rare occurrence now in Greenland. It may occasionally take place in the relative (or genitive) juxtaposition of two nouns, the latter of which begins with a vowel (cf. Egede, "Grammar," p. 2, "B finale mutatur in M, sequente voce a vocali incipiente" [this B means p]; e. g.,

illum isertarria the entrance of the house (instead of illup)

The same shift is attested by records from other dialects; e.g.,

West Greenland aup yes; Ammassalik aam or eem in aamila, eemila yes, certainly; Cape York eem yes

[[]In Baffin land the old pronunciation of men was t; that of women and of younger men is n (see p, 985).—F. B.]

²In some irregular plurals these suffixes, -nut -ne, really seem to be added to the full plural form; e.g., kikkut who, plural kikkunnut (<kikkutnut) to whom, kikkunne (<kikkutne) in, at whom (plural). The above-mentioned regular endings may have been formed after the analogy of these "irregular" ones.

[BULL. 40

Southwest Alaska am'im kol'anun [amim qoz...] above the door (Nelson, tale from St. Michael, Norton sound, in "Eskimo of Bering Strait"); cf. Greenland ammip qulaanut above the skin

Southwest Alaska nunam of the land (Barnum, 9), cf. Greenland nunap

[In Baffin land both p and m occur in the same way as $r > \bar{q}$, n > p, t > n, are found. See p. 985, and note 1, p. 987.—F. B.]

m>w or w.

Labrador imnaq
Gr. iwnnaq steep declivity
Baffin land taimna
Baffin land imna (Boas II, 348)
Gr. iwna that
Gr. uwawnnut to me
(ibid.)
North Alaska uûmnun [uamnun]
Gr. uwawnnut to me
(Ray 56)
Southwest Alaska kūmlök
Gr. kuwlloq thumb
Gr. piŋawkkit I have thee

p(f)>w or w.

thou art

bay) nippiakkiak

Gr. (1900) 'izzit thou Greenland (Egede, 1750) iblit Greenland (Egede, 1750) illipse .Gr. (1900) *i'liwsse* you Labrador (nowadays) igvit Gr. (1900) illit thou Labrador uibvak Gr. (1900) u'i FF aq a fern Baffin land taipkoa Gr. taawkoa those Mackenzie river tapkoa $\{q\dot{a}_{LLut}^{w_{LLut}} \text{ or } eyebrow \}$ North Alaska kablun (Egede, 1750) Greenland Gr. qallunaaq European Greenland (Egede, 1750) kablunak Southwest Alaska kafchin [qarcin] Gr. qawssit how many Southwest Alaska 'chupplu Gr. suvllog tube Southwest Alaska 'aprūn main Gr. auggut or aggut pathway trail, regular passage Mackenzie river (coast of Hudson Gr. niwiarsiag girl

§ 6. Shifting of Voiced and Voiceless Fricatives

It is a characteristic feature of the Greenland language, and probably of the Eskimo language as a whole, that no voiced consonant occurs which is long (geninated), with the sole exception of the nasal consonants, m (ammit skins), n (anneq the greatest one), y (innik

TOP OF A MOUNTAIN), N (ONNA ARMPIT). The other voiced consonants of the language (w, l, j, g, r) are always short, and are found only between weak (unstressed) syllables or in the transition from a weak to a strongly stressed syllable. If the weak syllable has the stress owing to derivation or inflection of the word, the fricative consonant becomes unvoiced and long; e. g.,

r > RR.

West Greenland ma'ralluk Greenland 'marraq clay morass, swamp

West Greenland neri'wog eats

West Greenland taaq dark-) ness, shadow

Mackenzie **OMBRE**

Southwest Alaska a'riftaka I quarrel with him

g > XX.

Southwest Greenland ni'gaq a snare

Southwest Greenland i'ga a

Southwest Greenland ni'geq south wind

Mackenzie river niyepk east

l > LL.

West Greenland a'log a sole

West Greenland il'inne at, West Greenland 'izzit thou by thee

w > FF.

i'wik (a West Greenland blade of) grass

West Greenland awa north

West Greenland a'wippaa) divides it in two pieces Mackenzie river DIVORCER

Greenland 'nerriwik eatingplace (table, etc.)

Greenland 'tarray shadow, reflection

'arriwog hastens Greenland

West Greenland 'nixxät snares (plural)

West Greenland 'ixxawik pot-place (kitchen, etc.)

West Greenland 'nixxerpog it is south wind

West Greenland allut (plural)

West Greenland 'iffit (plural)

West Greenland 'arra there in the north

West Greenland 'arrag the half part

j>s. In the evolution of the Greenland group of dialects the shift j>s appears to have been of special importance. In a great many words the dialects west of Davis strait have j, which has grown into voiceless s in Greenland.

Mackenzie River	Labrador	Greenland	
(?)	puije	puise	seal
(?)	angmajet	ammassät	capelans
$\left. egin{array}{l} iyik \ (ext{pl.} \ iyit) \ ext{or} \ iyi ho k \end{array} ight. ight.$	iije (or $ijje$)	i'se (pl. $i'sit$)	eye
nuvûya, pl. } nuvûyat	nuvuja, pl. nuvujet	'nuia (pl. nu'issät)	cloud
$k ho\acute{e}yuk$	qejuk	qi'suk	wood
mikiyo ho k	mikijoq	mikisooq	little

c(cc) > ss.

Mackenzie River	Labrador	Greenland
tam ad ja or madjia	tamadja (Bourquin	tamassa here it is
[mac:a] VRAIMENT,	§ 192) here it is	massa here is; to
CERTAINEMENT	•	wit
kραρίορk flêche	kargjok arrow	qarsoq arrow
ugiuk = ogjiuk [oc:uk] PHOQUE	ugjuk seal	ussuk seal (Phoca barbata)
$itjek\ [ic\!:\!ek]\ extbf{FROID}$	itje frost	isse frost, cold
todjiapk [to:c:aq] POUTRE	tootjaq beam	toossaq beam of a house
(?) -tuapk (verbal ending) (?) -yuapk	-djuaq big, great	-ssuaq big, great

t > 8. t > t > 8.

North Alaska (Ray)	Mackenzie River	
	tçitamat [şitamat]	four
	tçuna [zuna]	what
nutjä [nu‡:ä]	nutçet or nudjiat	hair
netyä	natçepk or nad jèpk	seal (Phoca vitulina)
naityuä	naïtopk (FIN)	short
akityuä	a ho i t o ho k	\mathbf{soft}

¹ The original sound may still be traced in some words of the dialects of Ammassalik (*lifjcarma* I ALONE; -kajik [suffix] BAD) and of Smith sound (Thalbitzer I, 192, 215).

Labrador	Northwest Greenland	Central and South- ern Greenland	
sittamat	sisamat	sis amat	four
su'na	'suna	'suna	what
nutset	$nutt \ddot{a}t$	nutsä t	hair
netseq	$n\ddot{a}tteq$	$n\ddot{a}tseq$	$seal(Phoca\ vitulina)$
$oldsymbol{n} a oldsymbol{i} to oldsymbol{k}$	naa^ittoq	naa^itsoq	short
akkitok	aqittoq	aqitsoq	soft

In Southwest Alaska the j seems to have changed to s, too, in some few words; e. g.,

Southwest Alaska

'ukśuk winter <*[ukjuk]?

neśqoq head <*[näjqoq]?

Mackenzie River

'kashprŭk (Barnum 341) waterproof shirt

kashbruk (Schultze) stormcoat <*(kaj*rak*]

§ 7. Shifting of Voiceless Fricatives and Stopped Consonants

The k, k, and k do not exist in the dialects of Upernavik, Smith sound, and Ammassalik. In this "northeastern group" these sounds are replaced by q, k, and p. In addition to this, the Ammassalik dialect has even carried this shifting of open and stopped consonants through in changing k to k (Thalbitzer I, 202).

	al and South- t Greenland	Upernavik	Ammassalik	
R- q .				
	arrectumik	aqqeesumik	_	slowly
	errorlogo	$eqqor_{LO}$	eqq e rtï y o	washing it
<i>X-k</i> .				
	naaxxa	naakka	-	no
	axxerpoq	akkerpoq	$akkerpo ilde{q}$	approaches
	s a xxaq	$s\dot{a}kkaq$	säkkaq̃	a thin-haired skin
F-p.				
	sar Faq	surpaq	$sarpa ilde{q}$	current
	ar r $\ddot{a}q$	$arp\ddot{a}q$	$arp \ddot{a} ilde{q}$	whale
	$oq ar {\it Fiy} aa$	oqarpiyaa	oq arpecva a	he says to him
L- t .				
	iyyerLune	-	iyyertine	singing
	i_{LLua}	-	ittiwa	his house
				87

The following words of the Baffin-land and Labrador dialects may be compared with those just mentioned:

North Labrador naawkak (South: aukak) = Upernavik naakka no Labrador magguk [marruk] Bourquin § 6=Smith sound magqon = Central West Greenland marruk two

Baffin land itirbing [itirpiy] Boas I, 660 = Ammassalik iserpik = West Greenland iserrik entrance-place

Baffin land majoartune, ingertune Boas II=Ammassalik -tine (verbal ending) = West Greenland - Lune

§ 8. The Greenlandic s Sounds

The Greenlandic s (ss) sounds may be traced to different sources. Some have originated from j, others from c, and others again from t. ss [s:] has in many cases originated from a consonant j (voiced or voiceless?).

Greenland $s < t$.	Labrador	Mackenzie River	Alaska
sisamat sisit	sittamat sitte lair of a fox	tçitamat [ci] tchiti [citi] antre	stamen four
iserpoq	itterpoq	itertoapk he enters	"trāutākā I bring it in with me
ss <tj [c].="" td="" timmissät<=""><td>timmitjät</td><td>(sing. tinmiapk)</td><td>(sing. tinqmēīyāk [tīm : i'aajaq]) bird</td></tj>	timmitjät	(sing. tinmiapk)	(sing. tinqmēīyāk [tīm : i'aajaq]) bird
s < ts []. apersoot	appertsuk	?ateρktçiôn	('apprun) question
ss [S:]< kj, nässuk	<i>gj.</i> <i>nakjuk</i> antler	nagiuk or nakd- jiuk[nac:uk]	(?=něshkök head [Barnum 355] cf. §6)
sissaq	sigjak shore	<i>tçigd jaρk</i> : rivage	
ss< pj, wj. tissarluk	tipjarluk driftwood	_	
$ss < rc.$ $issaa^ik$	iggak[ixxa:k snow-goggl] (<i>itçipapk</i> lu- es NETTES)	('ikchāun [irca:wn] medicine for the eyes)

The shift t>s may be observed in those grammatical forms, in which a suffix the usual initial of which is t has to be added after a word ending in i, since t between two i's will change to s; e. g., in the optative takulisit would he would see you, <*-li-tit but takulittit would they would see you, <-li-tit. Likewise in takonamisit as he saw you (cf. takonamittit as they saw you).

```
aa Laaisit your gun, the guns (< aa Laait a gun)
illuisinut through his houses (< illuatinut through his house)
kamisit = kamitit (both in use) your boots
-sippaa = -tippaa (verbal suffix, causative)
```

The shift j > s has left few traces only in the Greenland grammar; e. g., in the inflection of some few nouns.

kana'joq, plural ka'nassut (<*kanajjut) a sea-scorpion qarajaq, locative qarasame (place-name in Oommannaq fiord) piyasut three, plural <*piyajoq (cf. piyajuat the third, etc.) (Thalbitzer I, 177)

§ 9. Shifting of Consonants with Change of Place of Articulation

The shifts mentioned in the preceding sections are all alike, in that the place of articulation does not change. The following examples of shift are chiefly due to a shifting of the place of articulation:

$k-\alpha$	_
,v-4	•

Labrador qikkertaq	Mackenzie River kpikepktapk	Greenland qe'qerttaq island
nellunaikutaq	nélunaykutapk (81G- NAL)	nälunaarqutaq a mark
erqerqoq	$k\rho ike\rho tk\rho o\rho k=\ell k kaikok$ coast of Hudson bay)	e'qerqoq fourth finger

The latter word may be compared with the Alaska forms of the same word, northern Alaska $yi\bar{a}kutko$ (Ray), northwest Alaska etitkook (Wells and Kelly), southwest Alaska $ikkilthk\bar{o}k$ (Barnum) [ik:izqoq], cf. Thalbitzer I, 263.

The same shift may be observed by a comparison of the West Greenland tegergog a corner of a house, and the East Greenland ti'kergoq.

These differences are probably due to analogy, and not to successive shiftings of the parts of articulation. The same is true of the examples

of this shift in the Greenland language, where it appears in double forms of words, like nuerLoq=nuerLuk, etc. (Thalbitzer I, 176).

	Labrador	East Greenland	West Greenland	
wF-X	.•			
	ubva	uppa	uxxa or uffa	perhaps
		Mackenzie River		
XF_{-u}	'8 8.			
	nagvârpog	nadjuva ho to ho k	nå vssaarpo q	finds, invents
	[naxra:r-]	•	` -	something
wX-F	7.			
	kivgak	kivya ho k	$ki^{m{w}}$ FF $m{a}q$	a servant
a-w.	As for this s	hift, see § 4.		

§ 10. Vocalic Shifts

The shifting of o > e, u > i, is one of the principal differences between the dialects of West and East Greenland (Thalbitzer I, 196 et seq). Likewise many words of the western dialects, as spelled by the different recorders, bear evidence of vocalic changes of no less importance. In Alaska we often find u in the base of the word, corresponding to i or e in Greenland.

u-i.		
West Greenland	East Greenland	
aLL e r q u t	atteqin	jaw-bones
sikut	sikin	sea-ice
marlluk	martik	two
allättooq	$att \ddot{a}tt ee ilde{q}$	a seal
nànoq	$nane ilde{q}$	a bear
u-i.		•
Southwest Alaska (Barnum)	West Greenland	
nuppa (sound, noise)	nipe	voice .
tuppsakok (it stinks)	tipe	\mathbf{smell}
$t \hat{u} m chinak$	$tar{i^{m{v}}}sinak$	fun
nŭq'yūqtōð	neri'suppoya	I want to eat
kūv'lărstŏk	qiwLLertoy	it glitters
mammok	mamippoq	it heals
iv'rkūchēk	? crisaag or ermalisag¹	waterproof boots
keľ l ŭg'vok	ki'lirraq	the mammoth

^{1 =} Baffin land irmadlin a piece of skin used to lay in the bottom of a kayak.

BOAS] HANDBOOK OF	AMERICAN INDIAN LA	UUU AGEN GADAUDN
a-i, e.		
West Greenland	East Greenland	_
imanna	iminna	thus
7	faamila	
aap ila	(eemila)	yes, certainly
aawyooq	<i>ев</i> у у 00q	yes is said
Baffin Land	E	ast Greenland
aqaarpoq he says no	1	eerqe no
Southwest Alaska	West Greenland	
a-i.		
a'mānāk or mūk	i = i'muk	milk
u-e.		
<i>mūk</i> o r <i>moq</i>	i'meq	water
nātuk 1	na' teg	floor
nēguk	ni' geq	north
'livruk	ili'veq	grave
'kinŏk	iki'neg	fire
'kanuk	qa'neq	mouth
uj-ui.	• •	
Mackenzie River	Labrador G	reenland
nuvûya (pl. nuvû-	nuvuja (pl. nu-	
yat)	vujät) 🗋	cloud
iv-uj.		
ivalok (pl. ivalut)	ivalo (pl. ivaluit)	ujalo or ujaloq sinew
37 3 1 39 41		
Vowel changes like those		
in many derivatives of the	present Greenlandic la	anguage; e. g.,
a-i.		
aawsaq summer	<i>aa™si-wik</i> su	mmer-place
upernaaq spring	uperni-wik s	spring-place
illuwtta our house's	illuwttinut	through our house
ernerata of his son	erneratinut	through his son
u- i .		
aput snow on the gro	ound apiwoq (the with snow	ground) is covered
ernutaq grandchild		es birth to a child

ikumawoq is on fire, burns kapuiwoq is one who stabs itu'ippoy goes over land, crosses over the ice iliwaa lays it (or him) down erneq son

iki-ppaa sets it on fire kapiwaa stabs him i'tiwLLeq place where one crosses

iliweq or iluweq a grave

The same sounds are used vicariously in several words in West Greenland.

a-i.

kamik and kamak boot (kammikka = kammakka my boots)

u-i.

kaluwssarpoq = kaliwssarpoq pulls and jerks in order to advance isuwtterpaa = isiwtterpaa unfolds or stretches it out qappiorpoq = qappuarpoq foams, froths; chatters incessantly

§ 11. Mutation

Thus far I have treated the established vowel-shifts belonging to older periods of the language. In addition to these, there is a steady tendency to produce certain slight shiftings of the vowels, in order to accommodate them to the following sounds. This is the Greenlandic (or probably general Eskimo) form of mutation. There are two classes of mutation, based on the same principle as the bipartition of the vowel system:

$$a > \ddot{a}$$
 (\dot{a})
 $e > i$
 $i, e > E$ (ε)
 $o > u$
 $u > \ddot{u}$ (y)

Examples:

a > d.

nä'saa his hood
arnaa his woman (mother)
tä'seq lake
sapiwaa to dike, dam
awa'taq a sealing bladder
uwaya I

nä'sät pl.
arnät women
'tätteit pl.
säwssät a dike, dam
a'wättät pl.
u'wäwttut as I u'wäwnne at me

 $a > \dot{a}$.

a'torpa is it used sisà'maat the fourth qu'laans above it a'torpat are they used 'sisamat four qu'lanne above them

e>i.

puise seal tupeq tent sule yet taleq arm

puisit pl.
tupine his (own) tent
sulilo and yet
talia his arm

§ 11

o>u.

a'loq sole alua
illo house illo
a'torpoq it is used a'tor

alua his sole
illua his house
a'torput they are used

'allut soles illut houses

 $u > \ddot{u}$.

nuju'arpog (a dog) is shy aju-bad, useless

nüjüittoq not shy, tame a'jüssüsee how bad it is

A shifting in the vowels produced by the intrusion of a following uvular consonant may be termed uvular mutation. The result of this juxtaposition of a vowel +r, q, or r is the uvularization by which the vowel changes according to the scheme just mentioned. The uvularized vowels are symbolized in ordinary transcription as ar (aq, ar), er (eq, er), or (oq, or). The vowel and the consonant in reality make up a phonetic unit. The vowel is pronounced with uvular friction, while an enlargement of the innermost part of the mouth-chamber takes place (cf. § 2 under q and r). The vowels which are affected in this way have a remarkable hollow and grating sound; in case of o and o it is occasionally somewhat like o on account of the rounding in the posterior part of the mouth. An o between two o and an o between two o are accountically widely different sounds.

a > A.

nasaa his hood; nasaq a hood
arnaa his woman (mother); arnaq [arn:aq] woman; arnara
[arn:ara] my mother
qarssaaq [qars:a:q] a loom; pl. qarsaat [qars:aat]
qaqqams [qaq:ame] on, in, the mountain; qaqqaq [qaq:aq] a
mountain

e > E.

amia or amee his (its) skin; ameq [a'meq] a skin
e'qe=e'qeq [eqeq] corner; eqia his corner of the mouth
neriwoq eats; nere'reerpoq [nərə're:rpoq] has finished eating
ernikka my sons; ernera[ernera] my son; erneq[eq] a son; erne
[erne] his (own) son

o > 0.

niaqua his head; niaqoq [niaqoq] a head
nano=nanoq a bear
illo a house; illorssuaq [il:ors:ulq] a big house
Kaasasuk (name)+rujuk+yuaq: Kaasasorujoyuaq the little poor
wretched Kaasasuk

§ 12. Retrogressive Uvularization

Retrogressive uvularization is the name of a phonetic tendency toward uvular anticipation,1 which may have begun in the earliest history of the language, since it can be traced in all dialects. transforming activity has asserted itself at different stages in the development of the language, and has penetrated the eastern dialects in a far higher degree than those of the west. It shows itself in the present state of the Eskimo language, in that many words in the Greenland and Labrador dialects have ar, er, or (uvularized vowels), when the western and partly also the central dialects have retained the original sounds, a, i, u. In the majority of cases this change may probably be traced back to a shift of the word-stress whereby the vowel of the syllable that lost its stress has in the course of time disappeared. By this contraction of the word, two consonants have come into contact, and either have been assimilated or have shifted places (cf. Alaska nimra² and Greenland nerma HIS [ITS] BINDING, both formed from nimeq + suffix a, HIS, ITS). The Alaska form suggests that the r of nerma may be explained as the final uvular of nimeq, shifted to r; and this supposition is strongly supported by the fact that the Mackenzie-river dialect (cf. the vocabulary of Petitot), and the dialects west of Hudson bay, contain some transitional forms stressed in the original manner; e. g., atépeit [a'tereet], the plural of $at\acute{e}\tilde{n}$ [a'te\tilde{q}] name, regularly formed, likewise $at\acute{e}
ho a$ my name (in Alaska atga, in Greenland arga). A metathesis of the consonants has taken place in the Greenland marzuk two, which may be compared with Alaska malruk and Mackenzie-river malarok. On account of the assimilation or metathesis of the consonants, the uvular consonant which belonged originally to the suffix or final part of the word has been displaced, and is now found in the middle of the word in the forms east of Hudson bay. In most of the eastern dialects the preceding vowel has thus been uvularized: nirma has become nerma, qitqa ITS MIDDLE (Mackenzie river) has become gerga (through *qiqqa). Intermediate forms are found in the Baffin-land dialect (iq, ir; uq, ur; etc.); but in some instances the assimilation of the consonants (ri) has been carried further, in the dialects of Labrador and Baffin land (Smith sound), than in West Greenland.

¹The uvular position of the palate, which originally belonged to the end of the word, is anticipated in the base of the word (Thalbitzer I, 241-242).

Ray nimxa the Lashing of the Harpoon-Shaft.

Examples: 1

West Eskimo

alr., alr. arl., arl.

malruk (Barnum) two

East Eskimo (Greenland and Labrador)

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marluk (Gr.) two; marruk (Lab.)

alpáné (Petitot Vocab. LXII)

JADIS

dlththrākŭ [alra:ko] (Barnum) next year

nălthkěrtěk [nalqirtoq] (Barnum) it is straight

kātlrāā [kalra:] (Barnum 342) white katlcha (Schultze 66) white arlaane (Gr.) in the other one; arraane (Lab.) last year

 nar_{Luvooq} (Gr.) it is straight; (u > i see § 10)

naxxowoq (Erdman: naggovok)
(Lab.) it is straight
qa'qortoq (Gr.) white

qarsortoq (Gr.) bleached

elr > erL.

amelrartut (S. Al. Woldt-Jacobsen 328) amalleraktok (N. Al. Woldt-Jacobsen 328) many amthlerrūt (Barnum 75) many naklrit (Rink II, 83, no. 21) geese nokdleret (Schultze 55); kdl = [L] or [rL]? nēgalek (Ray 55) goose-town

ameriagaawt (Gr.) many ameriagaawt (Gr.) they are many

nerLeq, pl. nerLerit goose

ulr, uLr>orL.

kulthkrvēt (Barnum 348)
[qulqwit] the shelves in
native houses
kulva'raka (Barnum) I put it
up high [qulwaraka]

a'tulrāa (Barnum 327), verbal form <ātōqtōā I sing, use, wear, etc.

qorlor- e. g., in qorlorpoq (Gr.) water falling or streaming down

quilarterpaa (<*qu'ullar-)² (Gr.) lifts it up in the air

*atorl-, e. g., atorlune (Gr.) using

¹The abbreviations Al., C., Gr., Lab., M., stand respectively for Alaska, Coast of Hudson bay, Greenland, Labrador, Mackenzie river.

² Perhaps the same word as Lab. kugvartipa LIFTS UP IN HIS TROUSERS, etc., which becomes more evident by comparison with Gr. qallerpaa covers it (=Lab. kagvirtipa [Thalbitzer I, 230]=Al. kalvaqlaka [l. c., 231; Barnum 339]).

West Eskimo

enr, emr, eyr> ern, erm, ery.

openrak (Rink) spring-time
openachkāk (Schultze 43)
'up'naqkak (Barnum 373)
pēnrūk socks woven from
grass (Barnum)
chapingrātok (Barnum) it is
nothing, it is not an actual
thing

ingrik (Barnum) mountain

pe'ninra (Barnum 67) the stronger, its stronger one 'ēnrū (Barnum) a talisman, a charm nimxa [nimra] (Ray) its lashing, band

unr>orn.

un'kā[unra](Barnum) his armpit katunra (Barnum) son tungra (Barnum) a spirit kinggnunra (Barnum) that or those behind kiñunæpa (Petitot)

sr>rs, gr (cr)> *rj>rs>ss.
az'rācharak(Barnum 327) adultery
ăzhrāūgna PECCARE CONTRA VI
ezrekoak (Wells a. Kelly)
frost-bite

katzrak(Woldt-Jacobsen)white
egra (Wells a. Kelly) (my?)
eye
ēqka [ijirka] (Barnum) my eyes
(iqka my eye)
nazruk (Wells a. Kelly) abdomen
kug'ru (Wells a. Kelly) a swan
ug'ru (Wells a. Kelly) bearded
seal
iggru (Wells a. Kelly) testicles

East Eskimo (Greenland and Labrador)

u'pernaaq (Gr.) spring-time

pinne (Gr.) straw that is permit (Lab.) stuck in the boots saperna- (Gr.) it is impossible (to do)

innik (Gr.) top of a mountain
pimmak (Gr.) skilled through
practice
pimariovok, pimmariuterpok
(Lab.) thinks he is a strong man
uarnuaq (Gr.) charm, amulet
 aar < eer?
nerma (Gr.) its band, lashing</pre>

orna (Gr.) his arm-pit

qitornaq (Gr.) child toornaq (Gr.) a spirit

kinorna (Gr.) after that

arssaarpaa (Gr.) deprives him violently of something, robs

irsekau (Gr. Egede, 1750)isseqaa^wq (Gr. now) it is strongcold

qarsortog (Gr.) bleached | irse (Gr. Egede, 1750) eye | (<*irje)

isse (Gr. now) eye; i'sikka my eyes

nassät (Gr.) abdomen (<* varjät)

qussuk (Gr.) a swan (<*qurjuk) ussuk (Gr.) seal (<*urjuk)

issuk (Gr.) testicles (<*irjuk)

§ 12

Here I may mention an Alaska word, part of which is apparently influenced by retrogressive uvularization: ir'shninhrat (Barnum 337) MOUNTAIN SPIRITS is the same word as Gr. isserqat (<*irsininqat?), singular isseraq, spelled by Egede (1750) irserak. The same is true of the Al. $'k\bar{a}krlok$ (Barnum) throat, $'k\bar{a}chluk$ (Schultze) LIP=Gr. qarloq LIP.

tq, Lq, sq > rq.

Alaska	Mackenzie River (Petitot)	Baffin Land (Boas)	Labrador (Bourquin)	Greenland
atkra (Woldt- Jacobsen) atra (Barnum) his name			arqa	arqa his
nătrok (Bar- num)	natkpo FOND DU BARK		(netteq, nat- teq)	narqa floor, bottom
mittqon (N. Al., Woldt-Jacob- sen) minqon (S. Al., Woldt-Jacob- sen) needle	metkpon AIGUILLE	miqun	merqut	<i>merqut</i> needle
	mitkpopk POIL	miqung	meryoq	merqoq hair of animals
ikkilthkok [ik: iLqoq] (Barnum) ekkitkaurak (Woldt-Jacobsen) the little	ckkaïkok (C.) k ρikeρtk ρορk (M.)	ixiqoq	eryerqoq	eqerqoq the little finger
'ikqua (Schultze) the end	(itçuk fin)	iqoa	erqua	erqua the back end of it
$(kar{o}'ka ext{[Barnum]} \ ext{middle)}$	kpitkpa MILIEU	*qiqa	qerqa	qerqa the middle of it
$irk'kl\bar{u}$ (Barnum) evil	eρklo intestin	iqawik	erchavik	erLawik in- testines
'guluk(Schultze) intestines	}		[er:awik]	erLoq rec-
('iqta [Barnum] his den)	(itchuk ANGLE)	iqe	erqe	eqe, eqeq cor- ner § 12

Alaska	Mackenzie River (Petitot)	Baffin Land (Boas)	Labrador (Bourquin)	Greenland
akkizhzhigik [ao:is:igiq] (Barnum) ptarmigan.		axi'girn [aĸi'xiq]	aq igeq	a'qisseq ptarmigan
'chiskōkā [cisqo- ka] (Barnum) my knee		si'yoq	seerqoq	seergoq knee
'ōkòk [oq:oq] blubber	o <i>pktçok</i> Gras	uxsuq [ursuq]	orssoq	orssoq blub- ber
uskoqtoqtākā (Barnum) I hold him with a cord (dog, etc.)		ugsirn	orsseq	orsseq bone ring for fastening the traces (sledge- dog)

The importance of retrogressive uvularization in the evolution of the Eskimo language is evident. Indeed, this phonetic process has deeply impressed itself on the morphology of the eastern dialects, the vocabulary as well as the grammar. The following sections, treating of the general grammatical features of the language, contain many examples of inflectional forms, that may be understood only when we bear this fact in mind.

Retrogressive uvularization is one of the most influential forces of transformation, due to the change of the word-stress mentioned in § 3.

CLASSES OF WORDS, BASE AND STEM (§§13-16)

§ 13. General Remarks on the Structure of the Eskimo Language

The structure of the Eskimo language is of a highly synthetic character, which apparently testifies to a typical tendency of the Eskimo mind to concentrate and condense its notions into as few word-complexes, or units of speech, as possible. Therefore a single Eskimo word may represent a whole sentence as compared with our usual mode of expression; e. g.—

anerquwaatit he (a) begs (quwa) you (tit) to go out (aner) aneiaarqerquwaatit he begs you again (qer) to go out early (iaar)

As a rule, such an Eskimo word or word-sentence can be analyzed and divided into an initial base-word (aner to go out), one or several

middle suffixes (iaar, qer, quwa), and a final element (atit). In this chapter we shall consider only the final elements, which are the proper inflectional forms and represent the most important, because the most frequently used, grammatical elements of the language.

§ 14. Base and Stem

Most words of the Eskimo language have two or several inflectional stems. The shortest stem is often identical with the base, and may be an obsolete stem. The base, from this point of view, is the primary stem, or the smallest number of sounds of which the word can consist, without losing its close resemblance to the actual forms of the word; we will call this the BASE OF DERIVATION.

The inflectional stem, or stems, are the secondary or expanded stems, which have originated in the history of the language, owing partly to suffixation and partly to phonetic changes in the bases of the word.

In the dialects of West Greenland (the northernmost at Smith sound excepted), all words end either in one of the vowels a, e, o, or in one of the consonants p, t, k, q. Of these sounds, only final p is confined to a certain class of words (viz., nouns), whereas the other final sounds are common to all classes of words. Words that end in a, e, or o, or in q, whether nouns or verbs, are always singular forms; k is the dual character, t the plural character; but there are nouns that end in k or t in the singular; e. g., inuk A MAN, AN ESKIMO; sannat TOOL.

In studying the bases of Eskimo words we shall soon see that several of them end in other sounds than we are accustomed to find in actual words of modern Eskimo; e. g., in i, u, or l (l) (see § 15). The Eskimo bases are either monosyllabic or bisyllabic; the stems appear to be bases widened by one or two sounds, and sometimes also affected by change of stress. From this point of view, the bases are hypothetical forms, secondary as compared with the words of the modern language; i. e., they have been reconstructed from these words for purposes of comparison. They are the explanatory connecting-links between related modern words, which may often be found to be very dissimilar.

On the other hand, if bases of this language occur which may end in other sounds than those nowadays found as the terminations of modern words, we are not bound to think that they end thus merely because they have been artificially obtained by analyses, nor that such endings have never existed. There may have been a period in the development of the Eskimo language when the words occurred in forms different from any words that exist now.

§ 15. Examples of Bases and Stems 1

Bases	Derivative stems			
Vocalic or conso- nantal.	Stage I (a, e, o).	Stage II (k, l, p) .	Stage III	Stage IV.
*'ciu Al. chēū front, bow of a boat	*ciua	*ct'uk, ct'ut Al. chē'ūtika my ear	*ciuaq	*cior
M. tcivulepk the first, foremost Gr. siua, syua bow of a boat	syuaq front	Gr. sitt ear Gr. si'ulleq fore- most	syuarpoq is be-	syoraq front
*kui Gr. kuiwaa pours it Al. kwiq river=Gr. kook <*kuik		*kuik (>kU:k) Gr. kooppog streams down Al. 'kwēgum of the river	*kooq kooroq valley = M. kopkinepk	
*ayu Al. 'agnun man, male Gr. ay'ul, man, male Gr. ayuwoq pursues, hunts		*a" yut Al. a' @hūtfak stag, big buck		*ayute, *ayuteq *ayuta ayuti the men ayutaa his father ayutayut our father
*ca(*ca?)	*caa-*cao Gr. saa its front Al.'chāōki*k the first, foremost Al. chāōkakā the one before me	*cak *cak *dLLeg < *sakleg the Front-most, foremost		*caak Gr. saappoq turns front saappaa turns to, speaks to
*ca-*can Al. chā what thing? Al. 'chāpik an actual thing	*cana Al. chā'nāsūn knife Gr. sānawoq cuts, works	*canri >sanni Al. chān'rētnök nothing Al. chān'rītanök a thing oi no value	sanneq	
Al. chđnök a thing		Gr. sánnit dust (sanik a mote of dust) ²	'sannerpaa soils it with dust (sa'nerpaa cleans it of dust) 3	

¹The abbreviations Al., Gr., Lab., M., stand throughout for Alaska, Greenland, Labrador, and Mackenzie river, respectively.

^{*}sanik thus appears to be a derivative of the plural collective sannit.

^{*}sancrpaa may have been formed after the analogy of i'maacrpaa to empty (take [the content] [ima] AWAY), cf. immerpaa fills it (with ima).

Bases	Derivative stems			
Vocalic or conso- nantal	Stage I (a, e, o)	Stage II (k, i, p)	Stage III	Stage IV
*'cane		*sa'nik	*sanneq	
Gr. sania its side	i	Gr. sani'yerpaa takes place at his side	sannerpoq turns athwart of it 1	
Gr. sanimut side- wards, athwart		Al. chān'nīkā my nearness, vi- cinity	chā'nīrqnāk cross- way	
*qul	*quia-*quie		*qulq >*qorL	*quiva >*quria •
Al. 'külmd my ele- vation	Al. 'kūlā straight up above		Al. qhlülrdd a waterfall	Al. qülväräka I put it up high
Gr. qulleq the uppermost	Al. kū'lēnē up		Al. kūqtŏq it is	put it up nigh
Gr. qummut <*qui- mul upwards, up	Gr. qulaaneabove		Gr. qorLortoq waterfall	Gr. qullarpara I lift it, elevate it
	Gr. quiequi upper appurtenance			!
*at (or alj)	*ata-atje		*alq, *aleq	*arq (Gr.)
Gr.aLLeq nethermost	Gr. ataa under it		Al. atragtoa I come down	Gr. argarpona I descend
Gr. ammut < atmut downwards	Al. a'che below	ŀ		
	Al. a'chēānē un- der it		Gr. a'terpoya I go down	Gr. arquppara I bring it down
Al. ?āmmā'kāutākā I throw it down	Al. achimnē un- der me			
*tim	*tima-*time	*timak	*limeq	
Gr. time body; in- land Gr. timmut land-	timaane in the inland	Al. t'māthlūk dried fish	Gr.timerLeq nearest to the in- land	
wards (on the sea)				
Al. I'mā torso, body	timia his body			
*aw	*awa-*awo	*awat or *awak		*avala
Gr. a*nna < *awna he in the north	Gr. 'awane in the north	Gr. awammul out- wards		Gr. awataaneout- side of it
Gr. affa < *awfa there in the north	Gr.awoya to the north	ermost		Gr. awataq, in pl. Gr. awattat blad-
	Al. a'wānē over there some- where	Gr. awayya from the north		der*
	Al. a'wārātover there	Gr. awannaq north wind		
(*u)?-*uw (or uwx)?	*uwa-*uwo, *uwXo	*uvak		
Gr. una he there	Gr.uwane there;	u'wanna from		
Lab. uFFa or uXXa	oona < *uuo- na (?) tothere;	there		
Lab. ubra perhaps	ooma < *uwo- ma (?) of him	1		
Al. and he	there; u=Xoo- na through			
	there			
	Al 'hwānē here; hwākān from here			,
	(I	I		i

¹Gr. sannerul a crossbar.

² awataq means properly something that has its place outside; i. e., on the deck of the kayak.

Bases	Derivative stems .			
Vocalic or conso- nantal	Stage I (a, e, o)	Stage II (k, t, p)	Stage III	Stage IV
	*11103-*11100	*uwap or *uwat or *uwak		
	Gr. uwaya I; uwayul we Al. hwang I; hwankith we Al. hwe I; hwen- gd of me	Gr. w'wännut to me Gr. w'wätta of our Al. 'hwang'nün to me		
*ta-tax(?)	*laa-*lao			*laoeo
Lab. tagva<*taxra? then	Lab. tdva<*tao- va then, so it was			Gr. taa=suma of him there
Lab. tagga [tax:a] there it is	Gr. taawa so it			
	Gr. taawna< *taona he there			
*lalj	+tätja−+tätjo		*läljak	
Gr. <i>täse</i> a	Gr. tilesa it is -, it is enough		tissanya from there	
	Gr. tässane there: tässoo- na through there			
*ma	*maa-mao		*maak	
Al. mäntök it is here	Gr. maane here		maayya from	
Al. mdhin hence by this way (cf. Gr. maona through here)	Gr. maawna< maona through here		maanna< *maakna now, the present moment	
*matj	*matja-matjo		*matjak	
Gr. massa-this is-; here is-	Gr. massa		Gr. massakkut now, for the time being	
Gr. manna < *maina this one	Gr. massame certainly, of course		time being	
M. tamadja surely	Gr. matuma= masuma of this here			

§ 16. Classes of Words

The lines of demarcation between classes of words are vague, because a great many of the inflectional and derivative endings (suffixes) are common to words that we are accustomed to consider as belonging to separate classes, such as nouns and verbs. On the other hand, we can not assert that the evolution of this language has not tended toward a fixed grouping of some of the suffixes around certain classes of words (e. g., demonstratives; temporal particles; the terms I and THOU; WHOLE and ALONE). No doubt the Eskimo language shows

a tendency similar to that of our own, of distinguishing between nouns and verbs; but this tendency has been crossed by other tendencies toward demarcation which partially neutralize the former, as will become evident in the following discussions.

Accordingly, instead of basing the distinction between Eskimo wordclasses on the same principles as those of Latin grammar, I have chosen to depart from the category of the latter without completely giving up its technical terms of expression, which are useful because they are easily understood. In all branches of science, when proceeding from the known to the unknown, it is necessary to interpret the latter in the light of the former.

Following this method, we may distinguish between the following classes of words:

a. Base-Words

- I. Words with full typical in{
 1. Nouns (illo house, ateq name).
 2. Verbs (ikiwoq is in, aterpoq goes
 bown).
- II. Words with defective inflection (tamaq ALL, uvana I, the numerals, etc.).
- III. Words with atypical inflection: demonstrative and interrogative words (una HE THERE, kina WHO).
- IV. Words without any inflection

 1. Interjections.
 2. Particles, temporal (qaya when),
 modal (qanortoq utinam),
 local (uffa there), etc.

β. Suffixes (Actual and Obsolete)

- I. Common to all kinds of words.
- II. Confined to certain groups of words.

INFLECTION (§§ 17-50)

Typical Inflection (§§ 17-44)

§17. Plural and Dual Inflection

This is the most general kind of inflection in the Eskimo language, applying to all sorts of words with the exception of particles and interjections.

There are two set of typical signs of the plural common to both nounsand verbs. Here we are concerned chiefly with the first set, or the pure dual and plural endings. The dual or plural signs of the other set are closely connected with or incorporated into the other inflectional endings, for which reason they have been more or less completely united with them in form as well as in meaning: e. g., the plural n in illume in the houses, as compared with the m in illume in the house; or k in ernikku my sons, as compared with r in ernera my son.

$$ext{West Greenland} \, \cdot \, egin{pmatrix} ext{Singular} & ext{Dual} & ext{Dual} & ext{Plural} \ a & o & e & ext{(by adding k) ak} & uk & ik & at & ut & it \ q & k & t & ext{(by substitution)} & k & & t \end{pmatrix}$$

Examples:

Nouns: nuna land

illo house isse eye

Verbs: atoraa he using it atoraak they two

atorpog it is used atorpuk they two

nunak two lands
illuk two houses
issik two eyes

using it using it utorpuk they two

are used

atorik he using two

nunat lands
iLLut houses
issit eyes

atoraät they using it atorput they are

used

Examples:

 $^{1}n\bar{u}na$ land (Boas VI, 109)

² igdlu house (ibid., 101)

*ale'rtse stocking (ibid., 98); anu're wind (ibid., 99)

⁴tulugaq raven (ibid., 113)

⁵nigirn south wind (Gr. nigeq); nirdlirn goose (Boas I, 664), cf. Gr. nerleg

*ugjuk a thong-seal (Boas VI, 114)

⁷ irdning son (ibid., 102)

*angun paddle (Boas I, 659)

* patalaugluk let us two strike (Boas II, 347)

¹⁰ inung maqong tikitong two men are coming(Boas I,621)

"qingmit dogs (Boas VI, 105); ujarpā he searches for them (ibid.)

¹² tigmidjen the birds (Boas II, 340)

Mackenzie river
$$a^1$$
 o^3 e^3 Dual Plural (cf. Petitot p. L) $q^4 > n^5$ $k^6 > p^7$ $t^8 > n^9$ k^{10} or q^{11} t^{12}

Examples:

- 1 tçilla weather
- ² epklo intestines
- ³ apnè woman
- 4 taleρk arm
- 5 aten name
- ⁶ uyapak stone
- ⁷ apañ father
- ⁸ aggut man

			:	Singul	ar
Alaska	(see	Bar-($a^{\scriptscriptstyle 1}$	u^2	i_3
num)		. [$q^4(?)$	k⁵	n^6

Examples:

- 1 sla weather
- ² irkklū evil
- ³ inglu half
- * snē [sni] its bank or edge
- $p\bar{u}y\bar{o}k$ smoke k=[q]?
- ⁵ ingrik mountain
- *ippun native spoon or ladle
- 6 cha'nasun native knife
- 6 slin whetstone
- ⁷ snåk the banks (dual); cf. also Barnum 283

- 9 ipun oar
- 10 nunak two lands (Petitot XLIX)
- ¹¹ atekρερk two names(ibid., L)
- ¹¹ tupaρkρ two tents (ibid., XLIX)
- 12 nunat lands; tupkpéit tents; amit skins; ublut days

Dual	Plural
$k^{7}(y^{8}?)q^{9}?$	$t^{10}(n^{11})$

- * īyārōlūtŭng, see Barnum 281-282
- *chivoaqka my upper front teeth (Barnum 6); cf. the verb forms
- 10 nunat village (lands)
- 10 ingrit mountains
- in the numerals: stăměn four, etc. (Barnum 219)

In the Greenland dialects the formation of the plural of nouns is often accompanied by change of stress: e. g.,

a'meq a skin

pl. 'ammit

The dual form is much less used than the plural; and I think a great many nouns are never used in the dual, this form being replaced by the plural. On the other hand, there are some few words that occur only in the dual form: e. g.,

marluk two; marlonnuik two small ones pussook the claw of a crayfish; the thumb and the forefinger issaak goggles

The following words are collective plurals:

attät a dung-hill norLut ligature

ullut a bird's nest (especially

the down in the nest)
arssamerit aurora borealis

pauwtit a paddle

nurrit a bird-dart

nässät the stomach

qa'tixxat the back (of man or animal)

assaait the hand (<assak a fin ger)

umiät the boat rowed by women (< umiaq the empty boat)

§ 17

Examples of words that form no plural are:

orssog blubber nilåk freshwater ice oquk mould nuak snot

Nouns (§§ 18-29)

§ 18. CLASS I. PLURAL INFLECTION WITHOUT SHIFT OF STRESS

The examples given in § 17 show that two principles are applied in the formation of the plural,—single addition of the plural sign to the singular form; and substitution of the plural sign for the final consonant. We observe the first principle in illo, pl. illo, the latter, in ullo, pl. ullut. In the latter instance, t has been substituted for q. These two principles may be observed in the whole inflectional treatment of the noun.

On the whole, the plural stems of the nouns are prototypes of their inflection. Many nominal stems are affected by a shift of stress in the plural, which has often been followed by phonetic shifting in the stems of the words. We shall first treat words that show no shift of stress.

The plural ending is regularly t, but in some cases it.

1

1.

Singular Plural
pana panàt
tutto tuttut
sise sisit

knife reindeer fox's den

2.

qaqqaq qaqqat ayakkoq ayakkut qimmeq qimmit tikippoq tikipput (they)

hill, mountain pagan priest dog

he has come

3. -it is added to the consonantal stem (i. e., the absolutive) of words ending in t (which t, when following an i, is regularly changed into s [cf. § 8]) and to the absolutive of certain words that end in -eq and -ik (the q and k being changed into r and p [cf. § 4]).

Singular sånnåt	Plural s ännätit	tool
merqut	<i>merqutit</i>	needle
\hat{silit}	sillisit	whetstone
§ 18		

4.			
	Singular	Plural	
	ikeq	<i>ikerit</i>	bay, sound
	erneq	ernerit	son
	tikeg ·	tikerit	forefinger
	illeq	iLLerit	sleeping-place in the house
5.			
	uppik	uppenit	owl
	nukik	nukepit	sinew, tendon
	mamik	maminit or mamit	the fleshy side of a hide
	$i^{m{w}}kkik$	$i^{m{v}}kkim{y}it$	gum
	assik	assey it	image, picture

6. -it is added to the vocalic stem of many words that end in k in the absolutive case:

Singular	Plural	
unnuk	u nnuit	night
inuk	inuit or innuit	man (human being)
assak	$assaa^it \ (< assait)$	finger

7. -it is added to many words that end in aq in the absolutive, especially to all words ending in -innaq and -ttiaq:

```
Singular
                      Plural
                    sorqaait
                                          whalebone
sorgaq
                    utorgaait
                                          old (man or woman)
utorgag
naarijaarnaq
                    naawjaainnaait
                                          only a gull
  < naawja + innaq
                    umiättaait < umiät + a medium-sized boat
umiättiag
  < umiaq + ttiaq
                     ttaait < ttiaait
```

8. -it is added to some words ending in -oq or -eq in the absolutive case:

Singular	Plural	
nuloq	nuloot < *nuloit	rump
ilorzeg	ilorLeet < *ilorLeit	innermost

§ 19. CLASS II (a). PLURAL INFLECTION WITH SHIFT OF STRESS

The following nouns all agree in having in the singular strong stress on their final syllable, and weak stress on the preceding syllable; but in the plural the latter becomes strongly stressed, and accordingly, as a rule, lengthened (cf. § 3). The stress shifts, being thrown back toward the beginning of the word; and this shifting is combined with a change of the quantity of the sounds of the last two syllables, the short consonant between them being either geminated or changed, or displaced by a uvular, in the plural.

ku'jàk nara'jaq

§ 19

101	L <i>L</i> B	OREAU OF AMERICAN EIN	NOLOGI [BULL: 40
9.			
	Singular	Plural	
	a'meq	'ammit	skin, hide
	i'maq the sea	'imm å t	places of open water (in the ice)
	nà'noq	'nànnut	bear
	sà'nik	'sånnit or sayyit	dust
	ka'm ik	'kammit	boot .
	u'mik	'ummit or unnit	beard
	uwi 'nik	u'winnit or u'winnit	flesh (of a living animal)
10	•		
	awa'taq	a'wättät	a buoy
	,taalu'taq	'taa'luttät	little sledge
11	. In the next fo	ollowing examples the penu	lt consonant of the words
	becomes un	voiced in the plural:	
	Singular	Plural	
	isi'yak	i'sikkāt	foot
	'naala' y aq	'naa'lak'kät	one who is obeyed, mas- ter
	'alla'yaq	'alläk'kät	letter
12	·•		
	ne' ya q	'nixxät	a snare, gin
	qate' yak	qa'ti xxàt	back (of man)
13	•		
	t à 'leq	'tàllit	arm
	uka' leg	$u'k\dot{a}_{L}\mathbf{l}it$	hare
	$ma'liar{k}$	'mållit	wave, billow
	'nattora'lik	'nàtto'ràll it	eagle
	a'loq	'allut	sole
	ui'log	u'iLL ut	mussel
	a * a' log	$a's\dot{a}_{\perp}Lut$	place of the harpoon
	4		line on the kayak
14	•		
	nu'jaq	'nuttät (South Gr.= nutsät)	hair

'kuttä**t** 'n**a' rattät** loin bait

Singular	Plural	
nà'saq	'nättät (South Gr. nätsät)	hood, cap
ki'saq	'kittät	anchor
tà'seq	'tättit	lake
o'qaawseq	$o'qaa^wtsit$	word
qoya'seq	qo'natt*it	neck

16.

aju 'a q	a'jussät 'saa'tus'sät	boil
,saatu'aq	'saa' tus'sät	crab
kani'oq	ka'nissut	sea-scorpion
iluli'aq	$ilu'liss\ddot{a}t$	iceberg
'ixxi'aq	'i x 'xissät	throat, gullet
qaseniaq	qase' ŋissä t	Phoca vitulina
napari'aq	napa'rissät	upright, rear piece of the sledge
nu'kappi'aq	nu,kap'pissät	bachelor

In the last-mentioned examples the se of the plural seems to have originated from a semi-vowel (or j) that has become audible between the vowels, instead of the hiatus of the singular; so that, for instance, ka'nissut has developed from a plural form kanijjut, corresponding to a singular kanijjoq, which form may sometimes really be heard instead of kaniog. The shift i > shas been treated in § 6.

17.

<i></i>			
	Singular	Plural	
	iwik	'iFF it	grass, reed
,	sa'wik	'saffit or sa'weet	knife, iron
<i>18</i> .			
	qi'pik	'giwkkit	feather-bed, blanket
	inu'waq	i'nuk k å t	toe
	tulu'waq	tu'lukkåt	raven

§ 20. CLASS II (b). PLURAL INFLECTION AFFECTED BY RETRO-GRESSIVE UVULARIZATION1

In the following examples (nos. 19-24) the plural stems admit a uvular which causes a shifting of vowel (uvular mutation) in their penultima.

19.		
Singular	Plural	and amonula
sio'raq [siorAq]	si'orgāt [sisq:āt]	sand, granule
pia'raq	pi'arqat [piAq:at]	a young one
o'qaq	'orgāt [oq:āt]	tongue
${\it tale'roq}$	ta'lerqut [taleq: ut]	fore-paw of a seal
20.		
$u'teq [at \mathbf{E}q]$	'argit [Aq: it]	name
nà' teg	'nargit	floor, bottom
pa' teq	'parqit	marrow
i'teg	⁷ ergit	anus
qi'teq	'qerqit	center, middle
mi'teq	'merqit	eider-duck
21.		
i'peq	$'e^{w}qqit$	dirt, filth
tu'peq	'towqqit or 'torqit	tent
22.	11	
i lu'weq	i'lor rit or ilorrit	grave
ni'geq (South Gr	:.) 'nerrit	south wind
qa'tik	'qarrit or 'qakkit	bird's breast
23.		
a'leq	'arrit	harpoon-line
qo yu'leq	qom'orlit	cabbage
24.		
i'meq	'eryit	lake
ar Fi' neq	'ar' Fernit	six
ni'meq	'nergit or nermit	binding, string
qa'neq	'qarnit	mouth
$saa^{w}neq$	'saawryit or saawrnit	bone
u'neq	'orgit or ornit	arm-pit
7		F

§ 21. CLASS III. IRREGULAR PLURAL INFLECTION

Plural inflection on irregularly amplified stems, without any shifting of stress (aside from the single exception qa'jaq), takes place in the following nouns:

25.		•
Singular $qa'jaq$	Plu ra l 'qä ⁱ nnät	kayak
26.		
ka'laaleg	ka'laallit	a South Greenlander
m à 'neel a q	$m\dot{a}'nee$ LL $\ddot{a}t$	uneven land or ice
§ 21		

•	-	
Z	•	
•••	•	•

Singular	Plural	
'qaateq	'qaarqit	ferrule
'meeraq	'meergat	child
a'kunneq	a'koryit	interv a l

28.

pooq	puxxut	bag (cf. Al. pugyarak)
u'naaq	$u'na$ rr $\dot{a}t$	${f harpoon-shaft}$

29.

aaq	atsit	sleeve (Al. 'amrak)
naaq	<i>nåssät</i> abdomen	(the skin of) the belly
iya'laaq	$iya'l\dot{a}ss\ddot{a}t$	\mathbf{window}
'anno'raaq	'anno'r à ssät	shirt, dress

30.

The suffixes - yuaq LITTLE, -suaq GREAT, and -aluaq FORMER, ELSE, form their plurals by changing -uaq into -uit: e. g.,

Singular	Plural	,
nunannuaq	nunayyuit	a little land
nunarsuaq	nu nar suit	a great land
nunayaluaq	nunayaluit	former land

\$ 22. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IRREGULARITIES IN THE FOR-MATION OF THE PLURAL

The formation of the plural of nouns is very irregular, notwithstanding the fact that the plural forms all end in t. The chief element in these irregular formations is a shift of the word-stress, combined with a consonantal increase in the stem of the word. this we may conclude that there must be some connection between these phenomena. Since the psychical factor must be considered the primus motor in the life of the language, we see the cause of the quantitative change in the shift of the stress. I have set forth elsewhere (Thalbitzer I, § 34) how I think this differentiation in the formation of the plural may be explained. It is not necessary to suppose that the general principle of the plural inflection by adding t or it has ever been set aside, or had to struggle with some other principle, but in certain words the plural ending it was added after the full singular stem (the absolutive) of the word instead of after the vocalic stem: e. g., instead of making malik a wave assume the regular plural form maliit, the ending it was added after the final k, no matter if this k properly pointed out the singularity of the notion; and thus a new plural form, malikit, was introduced. The k that came to be between vowels changed to g, and maligit lost the vowel of its central syllable when the stress was drawn back to the first syllable. malgit became mallit in Greenland, the lg (or lx?) being assimilated into one sound. In the same manner I think most of the geminated consonants in plurals have originated from the final syllable of the singular, the terminal consonant (q or k) of this syllable having been retained in the plural. In mm, kk, ll, etc., then, two different consonants appear assimilated in accordance with the phonetic laws of the language, but each of them maintaining its existence in the lengthening (gemination) of the sound.

§ 23. ABSOLUTIVE AND RELATIVE

The relative case, or p-case, of nouns is formed by adding p or up to the same stem of the noun as that from which the plural is formed. In most instances, in forming this case, the plural sign t is simply replaced by p.

By the addition of the p, the a-stems take the ending -ap; the a-stems -up; the e-stems, -ip; e.g.,

Absolutive

arnaq woman
nuna land
ayakkoq shaman
illo house
taleq arm
isse ['ise] or [i'se] eye

Relative

arnap of the woman nunap of the land anakkup of the shaman illup of the house tallip of the arm issip of the eye

-ip is added after those words that end in t in the absolutive (cf. § 18.3): e. g.,

Absolutive anut man, male

Relative anutip of the man

-up is the relative ending of all the nouns of the series nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30 (§§ 18-21): e. g.,

Absolutive

erneq son
inuk man
iserrik entrance
nunayaluaq former land
nateq floor
tupeq tent
§ 23

Relative
ernerup of the son
inoop of man (<inu-up)
iserriup of the entrance
nunanaloop of the former land
narqup of the floor
towqqup of the tent

In the western dialects, m stands for p in this grammatical function:

Alaska	num ăchāănē beneath the house	Greenland inip ataans
(Barnum 13)	chikum illōanē of the ice in its interior	Greenland sikup iluans
(Ibid., 33)	$sl\check{a}m$ of the world	Greenland silap
Mackenzie river	nunam of the land	Greenland nunap
(Petitot xlix)	$tu\rho kib$ of the tent	Greenland towqqup
xxxiv)	anopem of the wind	Greenland anorip or
·		anorrup

§ 24. LOCAL CASES

The local case-endings are alike in the singular and the plural, but they are added to different stems of inflection, the nominal stem in the singular ending in m, in the plural in n. This is the same in the Greenland and in the Alaska dialects. Only the prosecutive case is excepted; since in the singular it shows a consonantal stem ending in k, but in the plural either a lengthened stem ending in -te, or a lengthened suffix (-tiput).

		Northwest Greenland Singular		Southwest Alaska Singular
Absolutive		qaqqaq mountain		ingrik mountain (Barnum 10)
Allative	ut	gaqqamut to the mountain	un	
Locative	e	qaqqame in the mountain	e	ingrimē [iŋrime]
Ablative	it	qaqqamit from the mountain .	8	
Instrumentalis	ik	qaqqamik by the mountain	u k	ingrimük [inri- muk]or[-mik]?
Prosecutive	kut	qaqqakkut over or through the mountain	kun	ĭngrĭkŭn [i ŋri- kun]
Conformative or Æqualis	tut	qaqqutut like a moun- tain	tu n	ingrităn [i ŋri - tun]
		Plural		Plural
Absolutive		qaqqat mountains		<i>ingrit</i> mountains
Allative	ut	qaqqanut to the mountains	un	žn gr žn <i>ŭ</i> n
Locative	e	qaqqane in the mountains	e	ingrinė

		Northwest Greenland Plural	Southwest Alaska Plural
Ablative	it	qaqqanit from the mountains	8
Instrumentalis	ik	qaqqanik by the mountains	uk ingrinük
Prosecutive 1	iŋut	qaqqatinut over the mountains	thun ingrithun[inrit- thun]
Conformative or Æqualis	tut	qaqqattut like the mountains	tun ingrittun
-			st Greenland
Absolutive		illo a house, the house	illut houses, the
Allative	-ut	<i>illumut</i> to, into, the house	illunut to, into, the houses
Locative	-е	illume in the house	illune in the houses
Ablative	-it	illumit from the house	illunit from the houses
Instrumentalis	-ik	illumik by (with) the house	illunik by (with) the houses
Prosecutive -kut	,-ŋut	<i>illukkut</i> through the house	illutinut through the houses

There is only one kind of irregularity, or of deviation from this type of inflection, arising by the retention of the final consonant of the absolutive case in the other cases, this consonant being assimilated with the initial consonant of the case-suffix. Accordingly, only such words as end in a consonant in the absolutive singular may show irregularities; e. g., ulloq, which retains its final q, assimilated into r in four of the singular cases, but is quite regular in the plural.

Absolutive Allative Locative	Singular ulloq a day, the day ullormut to the day ullorme in the day, on the day	Plural (regular) ullut days ullunut to the days ullune in the days
Ablative Instrumentalis Prosecutive	ullormit from the day ullormik with the day ullukkut in or through the day	ullunit from the days ullunik with the days ullutigut through the days

NOTE: ullorme on that day; ullume to-day.

¹The prosecutive plural ends, in Southwest Greenland, in -tigut (=Labrador), which form is nearer to the Alaska -tihun (or tixun?) than is the north Greenlandic form.

^{§ 24}

Other examples:

nå't*eq floor nà't'ermut to the floor nà'terme (or nargane) on the floor

'ukkaq front wall of house 'ukkarmut to the front wall ukkarme at the front wall

ukkakkiit through the front wall ukkatinut through the front walls

i'meg fresh water i'mermut to the water i'merme in the water imikkut through the water

Words ending in -Leq (local superlative ending):

si'ulleq the foremost one si'ullerme at the foremost one siullermik firstly

kin'ulleq the last one kin'ullerme at the last one kin'ullermik the last time

i'lorreq the innermost one i'lorLermit from the innermost one ilor Lernut to the innermost ones 'killermut to the most western

'killey the most western one

ilorLikkut through the innermost ilor Lertinut through the innermost ones

'killikkut through the most western one killertinut through the most

western ones

§ 25. LOCAL CASES—Continued

In nouns ending in -k this sound has been assimilated by the formative endings: Singular Singular

Absolutive . sawik a knife katak inner doorway in the house Allative . . . sawimmut katammut Locative . . . sawimme katamme Instrumentalis . sawimmik katammik Prosecutive . . sawikkut katakkut Conformative sawittut katattut

Examples:

'sarpimmik by means of the tail (of a whale) (< sarpik) uilu'limmut to the mussel-place (<uilulik place where there are mussels)

noommit from the point of land (< nook) inuttut as a human being (especially Eskimo) (< inuk) Nouns ending in -t either retain this sound in assimilated shape in the singular declension, or form their cases on a lengthened stem (-te); e. g.,

aput snow on the earth (apummut, apumme, apummik)

oommat heart (oommammik or oommatimik by the heart; oommatinik by the hearts; oommatikkut through the heart; oommatitinut through the hearts)

nappaa^wt illness (nappaa^wmmit or nappaa^wtimit from [because of] illness; nappaa^wtinit from illnesses; nappaa^wtikkut through illnesse; nappaa^wtitiyut through illnesses)

A few words ending in final t are regularly declined after the type of illo; e. g., kammeeumik or kammiumik with the boot-stretcher (< kammiut).

All nouns belonging to Class II (§§ 19-20) and most of the nouns belonging to Class III (§ 21) form their local cases, both singular and plural, on the plural stem. The absolutive case stands isolated among these formations, being apparently irregular. The explanation of this fact is similar to the one set forth in § 22, and I have treated the question more fully in "A Phonetical Study," § 34.

		Singular	Plural
Absolutive .		ameq hide, skin	ammit
(Relative) .		(ammip)	(ammit)
Allative		ammimut	amminut
Locative		ammime	ammine
Ablative		ammimit	amminit
Instrumentali	s.	ammimik	amminik
Prosecutive .	•	ammikkut	ammiti y ut
Absolutive .		ujaraq stone	ujar gat
(Relative) .		(ujarqap)	(ujarqat)
Allative		ujarqamut	ujar qanut
Locative		ujarqame	ujarqane
Ablative		ujarqamit	ujarqanit
Instrumentali	s.	uja rqamik	ujarqanik
Prosecutive.	•	ujarqakkut	ujarqati yut
Absolutive .		kooroq valley, ravine	koorqut
Allative		koorqumut	koorqunut
Locative		koorqume	koorqune
Ablative		koorqumit	koorqunit
Instrumentali	s.	koorqumik	$\overline{koorqunik}$
Prosecutive.		koorqukkut	koorqutinut

Singular

Absolutive .							•	itserog stale urine
Allative								it*erqumut
Locative								it*erqume
Ablative								it*erqumit
Instrumentali	s.	,						it*erqumik
Prosecutive .				•		•		it*erqukkut

§ 26. PERSONAL CASES, OR POSSESSIVE INFLECTION, OF NOUNS.

GREENLAND

	Absolutive			Relative		
	Singular of the noun	Plural of the noun	Dual	Singular	Plural	Dual
1st per. sing	ya, ra	kka	kka	ma	ma	mma
2d per. sing	t	tit	kit	wit, rpit	roit	ppit
4th per. sing1 .	ne	ne	nne	me	me	mme
lst per. pl	rput, pput	wut, nut	pput	≠tta	wita	wnnuk
2d per. pl	18e, 88e	se	886	wase	wase	∞ttik
4th per. pl	rtik, ttik	tik	ttik	mik	mik	mmik
3d per. sing	a	ee	k	åta	isa	kit
8d per. pl	ät	e, et	yik(<gik)< td=""><td>åta</td><td>isa</td><td>kit</td></gik)<>	åta	isa	kit

ALASKA (BARNUM 19-25) 2

	Singular	Plural	Dual	Singular	Plural	Dual
1st per. sing	ka	nka	rka	ma	ma	mma
2d per. sing	in	tin	rkin	hpīt, hſīt	fit	rpit
4th per. sing	ne	ne	nne	me	me	mme
1st per. pl	wut, hput	put	rput	mta	mta	mmta
2d per. pl.	8c, ze	re	rce	hpice, fce	pice, fee	rpice
4th per. pl	siy, ziy	liy	rlin	min	mïŋ	Xemiy
3d per. sing	a, e	aj, e	ak, ik	an, in	ain	rkin
3d per. pl	at	ain, ait	rkit	ata, ita	ajta	rketa

It will be clear from this synopsis that some of the Greenland singular and plural endings must be accounted for in the dual forms of the Alaska dialect. I have especially in mind the endings beginning in r(<q), rput our, rse your, rtik their own, rpit of thy, which in Greenlandic indicate the singular of the thing owned; in Alaska, duality. Likewise the Greenland pik their own two ones, which does not agree in form with the Alaska rket, originally must have meant their two selves' two, since it is in form in accord-

¹I designate by "fourth person" the reflexive, the form expressing that the subject of the sentence is possessor.

²I have here hypothetically transcribed the paradigms of Barnum in accordance with my own spelling of the Eskimo language.

§ 26

ance with the Alaska possessive suffix of this meaning: $rk\bar{\imath}k$ (in the relative rkenka). The dual system is disappearing in Greenland, but it has been recorded by Paul Egede and S. Kleinschmidt, so that all the original Greenland forms are known. I have only cited two-fifths of the forms in the synopsis above presented; namely, such as express duality of the object possessed. The other forms express duality of the possessor: e. g.,

POSSESSIVE DUAL ENDINGS

		Greenland	l		Alaska	
Possessor dual	Object	possessed.	Absolutive	Object	possessed. A	bsolutive
	Singular	Dual	Plural	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	puk	ppuk	wuk	wuk	rpuk	puk
2d	tik	ttik	tik	zik	rtuk	tuk
84	k	kik	kik	k	rkik	kek
4th	, ,	?	?	zik	fik	tik
	Objec	t possessed.	Relative	Objec	t possessed.	Relative
1st	wnnuk	vnnuk	wnnuk	muxnuk	zmuznuk	muznuk
2d	wttik	wttik:	≠ ttik	hpituk	rpituk	pituk
8d	ata	k-it	isa	nnuk	rkinka	kinka
4th	?	?	?	muxnuk	xmuxnuk	muznuk

In the absolutive first person the two dialects of Greenland and Alaska apparently have interchanged their singular and plural forms, puk meaning in Greenland our two selves' one, in Alaska those belonging to our two selves, and wuk vice versa. The double duals especially (of both object possessed and possessor) have been contracted in Greenland, rp being assimilated to pp, rt to tt, etc. The Greenland kit, of their two selves' two, may be the remnant of the Alaska rkin(ka), exactly as is the Greenland dual absolutive kik a remnant of the Alaska rkik; whereas the last syllable, ka, of rkinka, seems to be a special suffix, perhaps formed in analogy to the nka of the absolutive plural first person. It is astonishing to find that the relative endings of the fourth person in the Alaska dialect are identical with those of the first person. The dual forms of that person are probably lost in the Greenland dialect.

The consistent use of the uvular as the general sign of the dual in the Alaska possessive suffixes is worthy of notice, while in the other forms, in the Alaska dialect as well as in the others, the palatal & performs the dual function. Does this fact perhaps justify us in assuming that the uvular (i. e., q) was once used for marking the dual in the Eskimo language? (cf. §17.)

§ 27. PARADIGM OF THE POSSESSIVE INFLECTION OF NOUNS

GREENLAND DIALECT

	Absol	Relative		
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing	illoya my house	iLLukka my houses	iLLuma	iLLuma
2d per. sing	iLLut thy house	iLLutit thy houses	iLLuwit	iLLuwit
4th per. sing	iLlune his own (SUUS)	iLLune his own houses	iLLunie	illume
1st per.pl	iLLorput our house	iLLuwut or our houses	iLLuvtta	iLLuvita
2d per. pl	illorse your house	illuse your houses	illu vse c	iLLuwsec
4th per. pl	iLLortik their own (SUUS) house	iLLutik their own houses	iLLumik	iLLumik
3d per.sing	illua his (RJUS) house	iLlue his (RJUS) houses	iLLuāla	iLLwisa
3d per.pl	iLLuit their (EORUM)	iLLuit or their (EORUM)	iLLumik	iLLumik

It will be noted that most cases are formed from the vocalic stem of the word, except three; namely, the first, second, and fourth plural possessive, singular object, absolutive, which are formed on a length-ened consonantal stem, *illoq, as if to emphasize the idea of the singular of the object (ONE HOUSE) as against the plurality of the personal endings (OUR, YOUR, THEIR) or of those plural cases which end in wut (put), se, tik.

The possessive inflection of nouns is apparently always regular, because the endings are invariably the same. The peculiarities in the inflection of many nouns are due to shifts in the word-stems, not in the endings of the suffixes. Exceptions are such occasional assimilations of the initial sounds of the suffixes as follow the linking to different stems: e. g., -itit thy; illutit thy houses; -isit in uwisit thy husbands (<uwe); the shifts of e>i, o>u, $a>\dot{a}$, etc. (cf. §§ 5 and 10); and A SLEEVE, aai<*ae his sleeves (i<e his).

Only two of the possessive suffixes have alternating forms dependent on the word-stem to which they are to be added:

First person, singular possessor; singular object possessed, absolutive, ya or ra

Second person, singular possessor; singular object possessed, relative wit, or rpit or ppit

-ra is the form of the suffix of the first person singular MY in such words as end in q in the absolutive:

erneq a son arnaq woman qarssoq arrow ernera my son arnara my mother qarssora my arrow

All words ending in a vowel add ya; e. g., $illoy_A$ my house.

 $-\eta a$ is added to the vocalic stem of words ending in k in the absolutive:

panik daughter

panina my daughter

Words ending in t in the absolutive form their first person and some of the other personal cases on a longer stem ending in -te:

anut man

anutena my father

A remarkable fact is the constant identity of the form of the second person singular possessor, singular object possessed, absolutive (illut thy house) and of the plural form of the word (illut houses). There is probably no exception to this rule. Since many words form irregular plurals, either because of retention of the terminal consonant of the singular or owing to internal changes of their stems (cf. § 22), the same irregularity also appears in their second person singular forms:

taleq arm talia bis arm tallit thy arm = tallit arms

§ 28. IRREGULAR POSSESSIVE INFLECTION

Following are some deviations from the typical paradigm given above:

(a) Many words ending in e form their third person possessives exactly as if they were vocalic a-stems (cf. § 15 * tim).

ise ['ise] or [i'se] EYE.

	Abs	solutive	Re	Relative			
Possessor	Singular	Plural	- Singular	Plural			
3d per. sing 3d per. pl	isaa isaat	isaai isaait	isaala isaala	isaalsa isaalsa			

anut man, father < * anute.

Deserve	Abe	olutive	Re	Relative		
Possessor	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plura		
st per. sing	ayuleya	ayutikka	azutima	ayutima		
d per. sing	aputit	amıtitil	anutiwit	aputiwii		
th per. sing.	ayutine	ayutine	ayutime	ayutime		
st per. pl	anuterput	ayuleyul	a yutivtta	ayuti#tla		
d per. pl. · .	anuterse	anutise	ayuti#886	anutivese		
ith per. pl	ayutertik	a yutitik	ayutimik	ayutimik		
sd per. sing	ayulaa	ayutaai	a pulaala	a yul aa isa		
d per. pl	agutaat	anutaait	ayutaata	anutaa isa		

In some of the personal cases this word has double forms, its stemterminal being assimilated with the suffix-initial.

4th per. sing. anutine=anunne his (suus) father anutime=anunme

4th per. pl. anutimik=anummik

1st per. pl. anuterput = anupput our father

1st per. sing. anutima=anumma

2d per. sing. anutiwit=anuppit

(b) tå'leq (pl. 'täLLit) ARM.

	Absolutive		Relative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
lst per. sing.	tà'lera my arm	tällikka my arms	täLLima	täLLima
2d per. sing	tällit thy arm	{tällitit or } thy arms	tärriiwt	täLLiwit
4th per.sing	('tälline or) his or her ('tälle or täline) own arm	tälline or his, her, own taine arms	tä LLime	täLLime
lst per.pl	tà'lerput our arm	tättimut our arms	täLLi#tta	täLLivtta
2d per. pl	tå'lerse your arm	tällise your arms	tälLi ™ss e	täLLi≌sse
4th per.pl	tá'lertik their own arm	tällitik or their own tällisik arms	tä LLimik	täLLim ik
Bd per. sing	th'lia his, her, arm	tà'lee his (EJUS) arms	täliäta	ta'leesa
3d per. pl	th'liat their arm	ta'lest or their (EORUM) ta'lest arms	tāliāta	tà'leesa

Thus the word taleq is in most of the personal cases declined on the plural stem $t\ddot{a}_{LLe}$, with shifting of the word-accent and change of the medial consonant (l > LL), which becomes geminated and unvoiced in the forms here in question.

The following nouns are declined after the analogy of taleq:

	Plural or second person singular			
Singular	First and second person possessive	Third and fourth person possessive		
a'loq a'meq	'allut soles, thy sole: allukka my soles 'ammit skins, thy skin; ammiwut our skins	allune or alle his own sole		
ya'jaq	ammiwit of thy skin (or skins) 'qainnāt kayaks, thy kayak; qainnakka my kayaks	qainnáne their own kayak (or kayaks)		
	'nuttāt hair, thy hair; 'nuttātit thy hair (pl.)	('nuttane his (own) hair nu'jaat his (another man's) hair		
oʻqaq	o'qqat tongues, thy tongue	o'qaa his, its tongue		
o'qaawseq	o'quarisit words, thy word			
	o'qqtt tongues, thy tongue o'qaa*tsit words, thy word o'qaa*tsikka my words	i		

Most of the words that end in one of the suffixes -naq, -nak, -way, -raq, -roq, belong here, but others as well; for instance,

allanaq something written; a letter isinak (pl. i'sikkat) a toe, the foot iseraq the upper part of the foot
akeraq enemy, opponent
inuwaq a toe (inuwai his toes)

Likewise the words ending in -iaq and -uaq (-uak); e. g., assiliaq picture uluak cheek

(c) The next paradigm is peculiar, in that the third person is declined on the plural stem throughout.

a'teq (pl. 'arqit) a name.

	Absolutive		Relative	
Possessor	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
st per. sing	atera	atikka	alerma	atima
d per. sing	arqit	atitit	aterpit	ativit
ith per. sing	atine or arge	atine	aterme	atime
lst per. pl	alerput	atiwut	atietta	ati=ita
ed per. pl	aterse	atise	atiwsse	ativsse
ith per. pl	atertik	atilik	atermik	atimik
3d per. sing	arqa	arge	argata	argisa
3d per. pl	a rgāt	argit or arge	argata	argisa

The explanation of the development of the irregular forms has been given in § 22.

This is the method of declension of the following nouns:

				Plural or second person singular		
Sin	gu	la	•	Second person possessive	Third person possessive	
a'leq .			•	'arLLit harpoon-lines, thy harpoon-line	arLLa (a'likka my harpoon-lines	
na'teq .				'narqqil floors, bottoms, thy floor, bottom	narqqa (naterput our floor)	
pa'teq .				'parqqit marrow (pl.), thy marrow	parqqa	
ql'teq .				'qerqqit middle, mid- (pl.), thy middle	qerqqa	
S'teq .				crqqit anus (pl.), thy anus	ergga	
ns'meq				'nermmit bindings, string, thy binding	nermma	
q a 'neq				qarnnii mouths, thy mouth	qarnna .	
saav neq				saaornnit bones, thy bone	saaornna (also saaoryyii, etc.)	
u'neq .				'ornnit armpits, thy armpit	ornna (also orpyit, etc.)	
tu'peq .				'to=qqil tents, thy tent	towqqa (also tupit, etc.)	
iluweq				ilozzzii graves, thy grave	ilongna or ilonga	

The following numerals also belong here:

arrineq 6
arganeq 11

arrersaneq 16

arrenyat the sixth (properly their number 6, or the number 6 of the fingers)
arquarat the eleventh
arrenarat the sixteenth

(d) The peculiarities in the declension of the following paradigm remind us of that just mentioned, ateq, pl. arqit, A NAME, to which it is evidently closely related.

killik (pl. killinit) a limit, boundary.

_	Absolutive		Relative	
Possessor	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plura
ist per. sing	killeya	kiLLikka	kiLLemma	kïLLima
2d per. sing	killeyit	killitit or killisit	kiLLippit	killiwit
ith per. sing	kiLline	kiLLine	kiLLimme	kiLLime
lst per. pl	kiLLipput	kiLLeyut	kiLLi vila	kiLLiwtta
kd per. pl	kiLLisse	killise	killivsse	kiLlivsse
4th per. pl	killittik		}kiLLimmïk	kiLLimik
8d per. sing	kiLLeya	killeye	kiLLeyala	kiLLenisa
Sd per. pl	kiLLe y al	killeye or killeyit	kiLLeyata	kiLLenisa

The paradigm of killik will serve as a model for the following noun:

assik picture; asseyit or assit thy picture; assitit or assisit thy pictures; asseya my picture, his or its picture; assipput or asserput our picture

Some few other nouns that are rarely used except in the third person are treated in the same manner.

- *tukik (third person tukena) the long side of it
- *missik (missena or missaa) line between two points, proportional line
- *terllik (terllena) his or its safe side (the side from which nothing evil is expected)
- qilik (qilena) its bone peg (viz., the bone peg of the throwing-stick)
- milik (milena) that which obstructs a passage or channel nalik (nalena) its equivalent

erneq A SON, ti'keq FOREFINGER, 'tilleq PULSE, PULSATION, also belong here:

erneq (pl. ernerit) a son.

	Absolutive		Relative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
st per. sing	ernera my son	ernikka my sons	ernerma	ernima
d per. sing	ernerit thy son	{ernilit or } thy sons	ernerpil	erniwit
th per. sing	erne his own son	ernine his own sons	ernerme	crnime
st per. pl	ernerput our son	{erniwator } our sons	ernistia	ernivila
d per. pl	ernerse your son	ernise your sons	erni=sec	erni#89e
th per. pl	ernertik their own son	crnitik or their own crnisik sons	ernermik	erni mik
d per, sing	ernera his (EJUS) son	ernere his sons	ernerala	crnerisa
d per. pl	erneral their (EORUM) son	[crnere or] their sons	ernerata	ernerisa

§ 29. LOCAL CASES OF POSSESSIVE FORMS OF NOUNS

The local case-endings (§ 24) may be used with the possessives, the local ending always being placed after the possessive one: (HOUSE) MY IN, YOUR FROM, etc. The combination is not brought about by a mere addition of the endings, but the forces of assimilation and analogy have modified the compounds in the development of the language.

The local endings -ut, -e, -it, -ik, are augmented by an n (thus, -nut, -ne, -nit, -nik) when joined to a possessive inflected noun; and the prosecutive ending -yut or -kut is apparently augmented by -ti (thus, -tiyut). In first, second, and fourth persons, -nut, -ne, -nit, -nik, seem to be joined to the relative possessive forms of the nouns (though the first

person plural and the second person singular take a very irregular form in the compounds), but in the third person the same endings seem to be joined after the absolutive possessives.

•	-	
		Endings
Absolutive	<i>illo</i> a house, the house	-0
Relative	illup of the house	- p
	illume his (her) own house or houses	-me
Allative	illuminut into his own house or houses	-nut
	illumine in his own house or houses	-ne
Ablative	illuminit from his own house or houses	-nit
Instrumentalis	illuminik by his own house or houses	-nik
Prosecutive	illuminut through his own house or houses	-ŋut
Conformative	illumisut like his own house or houses	-sut

	Singular and plural	Old Eskimo	Modern pos- sessive form
4th per. sing.	illumine in his house or houses	<*iLLumene	iLLume
2d per. sing	illunne (also illorne) in thy house or houses	<pre><*iLLuwitne?</pre>	iLLuwil
1st per, sing	illumne in my house or houses	<pre><*iLLumane?</pre>	iLLuma
4th per. pl	iLLuminne in their house or houses	<*iLLumikne	iLLumik
2d per. pl	illussinne in your house or houses	<pre><*iLLupsine?</pre>	illu#886
1st per. pl	illuwitinne in our house or houses	<pre><*iLLuptane?</pre>	iLLuvita
	Singular, house		(Absolutive)
8d per. sing	illuane in his (EJUS) house	<*iLLuane	iLLua
3d per. pl	iLLuanne in their (EORUM) house	<*iLLvalne	iLLuat
	Plural, houses		
3d per. sing	illuine in his houses	<*iLLuene	iLLue
3d per. pl	iLLuine in their houses	<*iLLuene	fillue or illuit

In the second person the possessive locative ending -rne is also common; e. g.,

 ki^w Frame $(=ki^w$ Frame) at thy servant $(< ki^w$ Frag servant, porter)

THE PROSECUTIVE CASE POSSESSIVELY INFLECTED stut EAR; stuta-a his EAR; stutinut through an EAR.

	Singular and plural	Old Eskimo	(Relative)
4th per. sing.	stutimizut through his (own) ear or ears	<siutimeņut< td=""><td>siutime</td></siutimeņut<>	siutime
2d per. sing	sinitkini through thy ear or ears	<siutikut< td=""><td>siutit'</td></siutikut<>	siutit'
lst per. sing	stutiskut through my ear or ears	<pre>{<siutipkut? or<br="">siutimakut</siutipkut?></pre>	siutima
4th per. pl	siutimikkui through their own ear or ears	<siutimikkut< td=""><td>siulimik</td></siutimikkut<>	siulimik
2d per, pl	siutiwssiput through your ear or ears	<siutipseyut< td=""><td>siuli=sec</td></siutipseyut<>	siuli=sec
lst per. pl	sintistigut through our ear or ears	< stutipla yut	siuti = tta
	Singular, ear		(Absolutive
8d per. sing		<siutaayut?or siulaalayut</siutaayut?or 	siutaa
8d per. pl	siutaatiyui through their (BORUM) ear		
	Plural, ears		(Relative)
8d per. sing	siutaa isiyut	< siulaaisanut?	siutaa isa
8d per. pl	siulaa isivul		siulaa isa

All the other endings beginning with n are joined to the noun in the same manner as -ne.

Other examples:

-ne.

i'serriane at the entrance (iserrik') of it (a)
umiap ataane of the umiak, in (ne) the under-space (ata) of it (a) =
under the umiak
qilaamp killiyane of the sky, in (ne) the border (killik) of it (a) =
on the horizon
qamne on the top (qak) of me

-nut.

illuminut iserpoq he goes into (nut) his (me) house (illo) killingnut to the border of it (a) ilaminut to his or her own (me) house-mate (ila) ikinutionnut to my (on) friend or friends (ikinut[e])

-nit.

iniminit from his or its own (mi) place, nest, etc. (ine)
killinganit from the border of it (a), especially from that time
noop kujataanit of the point of land (nook), from its (a) southern
space (kujat[a]) = from the south of the point of land
qaqqap qaanit of the mountain, from its (a) top=from the top of
the mountain

-nik.

'amminik with his own (me) finger (assak) or fingers sa'wimminik with his own knife (sa'wik) or knives (sa'weet) alermminnik with their own (min) harpoon-line (aleq) ame'torqaminnik with their own (min) old skin ammetorqaminnik with their old skins (ameq, pl. ammit)

-nut, -kut, -tinut.

qinaminut through or by his own (me) nose (qinaq) keenaminut through or over his own (me) face qonasianut through or about his (a) neck (qonaseq) keenaatinut through his (EJUS) (a) face niaqoaatinut through his (a) head (niaqoq) timaatinut through his body (time) siutinuakkut through or by my little ear or ears

Verbs (§§ 30-44)

§ 30. CONJUGATION

The conjugation of the Eskimo verb is based on a set of slightly different stems; i. e., they are derivatives from a common base, which in itself need not be of the character of a verb. The personal verb-suffixes follow the stems as terminals. The suffixes (the verb-signs) have different meanings, constituting at the same time the modes of the verb. Accordingly the stem of the verb alternates during the conjugation. From the base kapi are formed the verb-stems kapin, kapi'wo, kapi'wa, kapi'le, ka'pillo, etc. (see § 31). Since each of these stems has its own set of six or eight personal endings, it becomes evident that the system of conjugation must be very complex. Moreover, there are four classes of conjugation, according to the difference in form of the bases. Examples of these classes are—

- Class I, *kapi, the last syllable weak (unstressed), and invariably ending in a normal vowel (u, i, u).
- Class II, *pine (pina), the last syllable weak, and ending in e alternating with a.
- Class III, *ti'ki (tikik), the last syllable strongly stressed, but never ending in a uvular.
- Class IV, *a'toq (ato), the last syllable strongly stressed, and ending in a uvular (q>r).

Thus the differences in the classes of conjugation depend not only upon the final sound, but also upon the stress, of the bases. These differences affect the constituting suffixes. Class I, for instance, adds

in Greenlandic woq in the same modes in which Classes III and IV add poq.

A consideration of the endings of the conjugated verb proves that most of them coincide, partially at least, with the possessive suffixes of nouns. The etymological researches strengthen this hypothesis concerning the common origin of these elements. Only some few of the personal verb-endings deviate absolutely from the present system of possessive suffixes of nouns. They may be elements of a foreign origin or obsolete suffixes.

Of a neutral character, lacking any mark of personality, is the ending of the third person singular -oq (-poq, -woq), dual -uk, plural -ut, which quite agrees with the common absolutive ending of the noun; and in so far we might speak of an absolutive of the verb, but it should be noted that we find no corresponding suffixless relative (-up) in the conjugation of the finite verb. On the other hand, we find, in the system of verb conjugation, not one set, but two or three sets, of absolutive possessive endings, and another set of relative possessive endings.

The modal suffixes are inseparable from the personal endings; but they may be, and really often are, severed from the base by the insertion of other suffixes. Many of these infixes are of a modal character; but since they do not affect the endings of the words, we shall not treat them here.

The only indication of tense in the simple forms of the Eskimo verb is expressed by modes x and xi (see § 32). As for the other modes, the past tense may sometimes be expressed by infixing -aluar(poq), -sima(woq); and the future tense, by infixing ssa (-ssawoq, in the third person singular contracted to -ssoq), or -uma(woq), -umaar(poq).

\S 31. SYNOPSIS OF POSSESSIVE ENDINGS OF NOUNS (N.) AND VERBS (V.) 1

The paradigms in the next following sections are confined to the West Greenland dialect.

 $^{^1}$ The dual endings are left out here (cf. § 26). The Roman numerals refer to the modes (see § 32). § 31

A

Simple Absolutive Possessives, or Compounds made up of one of the Absolutive Singular or Plural Signs, q, k, t, +Possessive Suffix

	N.		v.	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing	y a ra	kka	pa II VI VII ra III V	kka III V IX
2d per. sing	it t	tit eit	tit 11 VI VII sit V tt 1 rit XII t III VII VIII IX	# m ix
3d per. sing	а	e i	q II VI VII VIII a III VII VIII IX ra XII	í III IX
4th per. sing	e ne	ne	ne VI VIII nne IX	ne ix viii
1st per. pl	rput pput	gut wut	rput III V VIII XII pput IX	yut 11 VII wut 111 V VIII IX
2d per. pl	rse sse	ac .	ree III VIII XII	se ii iii iv vi vii iz tte i
3d per. pl	at	il e	at III VII IX rat XII	t 11 17 V U 111 VIII 1X
4th per. pl	rtik ttik tik	tik sik	rtik VIII XII ttik IX	tik vi vili ix

In the compounds, q changes to r before a consonant or between vowels (§ 4).

ks is assimilated to ss tk is assimilated to kk kn is assimilated to nn kt is assimilated to tt kp is assimilated to pp

В

Relative Possessives

		N.	v.	x, x1
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
st per. sing	ma rma	. ma	ma	
d per. sing	wit rpit	wit	wit	-
d per sing	ata	isa	at	
ith per. sing	me rme	me	me	
st per. pl	wta	wta		wla
d per. pl	108e	wee	<u> </u>	wee
d per. pl	ata	isa	" -	ata
ith per. pl	mik rmik	mik	_	mik

 \mathbf{C}

Compound Verbal Endings, Composed of an Unascertained Element ($w < p^2$) + a Possessive Ending, or of Two Absolutive Possessives, or of a Kelative Possessive + an Absolutive Possessive (B + A or B + D) 1

SINGULAR OBJECTS

me •	thou—me rma III mma IX X XI (yya 1?)	you—me siya I wsiya III IX X XI	he—me aya III IX X XI	they—me appa (<*tya) III IX X XI	he (8E) ² —me miya X niya XI	they (8E)—me miyya (< *mikya) X niyya (< *nikya) XI
thee ·	I—thee wkii(<*pgii?) or apit III IX X	we—thee wtiyit (< *wtagit?) III IX X XI	he—thee allt III IX X XI	they—thee atti III IX X XI	he (SE)—thee misit x nisit XI	they (SE)— thee mittit x nittit X
him	I—him wko x xı	we—him wtipo X XI	thou—him kko (<*wgo) x xi	you—him stuk I IV wstuk X XI	he (sE)—him miuk X niuk XI	they (se)— him műkko x nűkko x
him (sr)2	I—him (se) ² wnne IX X XI	, ,	thou—him (8E) nne (<*ine) IX X XI	you—him (sz) weinne IX X	he—him (se) ane ix x xi	they—him (SE) ³ anne (* <tne) ix="" td="" x="" xi<=""></tne)>

PLURAL OBJECTS

as	thou—us without III IX x xI	you—us weigut III IX X XI sigut I	he—us atiyut III IX X XI	they—us atigut III IX x xI	he (SE)3—us misiyut X nisiyut XI	they (8E)2—us misigut X nisigut XI
you (pl.) .	I—you x xi	we—you we my vix	he—you ase III IX X XI	they—you ase III IX X	he (SE)—you mise X nise XI	they (sr)— you mise x nise x
them	I—them wkit III v x	we—them wtiyik III V X XI	thou—them	you—them siyik IV V wsiyik X XI	he (se)—them miyit x niyit xı	they (SE)— them mikkit x nikkik x
them (SE) ?	I—them (sk)² wtik ix x xi	we—them (SE) wetikix x xi	thou—them (SE) ttik IX X XI	you—them (8K) ttik IX X XI	he—them(sx)	they—them (sE) ² atik IX X XI (i)siyik (*isayik?) V

¹ In this table wt, ws, wk, stand throughout for wtt, wss, wkk, which are phonetically more correct.

² (SE) i. e., the Latin reflexive pronoun, here only used to indicate a like grammatical function of the Eskimo me, mik, tik, ne, nik.

D
Simple Personal Suffixes Peculiar to Certain Parts of the System of Conjugation

	V I	(V) IX	ı x xı	1 1V V	A X XI
lst per. sing	(ya)		_	-	_
2d per. sing	(ttt)	kit, yit (q)			-
3d per. sing	yo <go< td=""><td></td><td>90(<90) kn, uk</td><td>iuk (<*iu)</td><td>suk (<*juk?)</td></go<>		90(<90) kn, uk	iuk (<*iu)	suk (<*juk?)
ith per. sing	ne	_	_	_	_
st per. pl	ta (₹)	(inut)	_	tiyut, siyut	_
ed per. pl	(86)		-	_	_
Bod per. pl	vic <qii< td=""><td>_</td><td>ytt (<qtl), kit<br="">yik (<qtk), kik<="" td=""><td>vit (<qit) (<qik)<="" td="" vik=""><td>yik (<*gik)</td></qit)></td></qtk),></qtl),></td></qii<>	_	ytt (<qtl), kit<br="">yik (<qtk), kik<="" td=""><td>vit (<qit) (<qik)<="" td="" vik=""><td>yik (<*gik)</td></qit)></td></qtk),></qtl),>	vit (<qit) (<qik)<="" td="" vik=""><td>yik (<*gik)</td></qit)>	yik (<*gik)
4th per. pl	(tik)	_	l' -	<u> </u>	

yo(go) in -mayo, -payo, -loyo (South Greenland -mago, -payo, -luyo), seems to be of the same origin as suk, iuk, answering to the Alaskan form - $ghvo\bar{u}$, $-\bar{e}\bar{u}$ (Barnum 148, 142). The same may be true of -uk in—

atoruk use it!
takuwiuk do you see it!
atorsiuk you use it!

Thus the original form of this suffix may have been a single o; but between e and o a glide sound (semi-vowel) has sprung up and become self-existent, changing to g, k, j, s, η , at different stages in the history of the language.

yik, kik, probably belonged originally to the dual, but have assumed a plural meaning and stand for yit, to avoid confusion with the second-person forms ending in -yit. The initial y of yik, yit, of course, is derived from g, which sound is otherwise used in these endings instead of y, except in North Greenland.

-		Name and definition of the mode		PINITE VERB	Impendive, intrangulae, and transitive.	Middle voice (medium), intransitive quast-indicative.	Quasi-transitive.	interrogative, intransitive and transitive.
	Person endings	A, B, C, D ¹			A, C, D A	4 4	A, C	ુ વે
	Negative		(4 .			ppila:	nhila	yyile yyila yyilla
	1		4			ا چ ا	770	776 1
ters		_			<u> </u>	F. 1		
dal characters	native	mjugation	E .	 	7, ff. 1	900	pha	ppe
Modal characters	Affirmative	Class of conjugation			y<9 p, tt³ r			yai tipe

A, B, C, D, refer to § 31.

slikippilatii or tähippippii thou didst not come.
In the third person singular, simply used without any suffix.

		χα	Modal characters	ters			
Modes of conju-		Affirm	Affirmative		Negative		
gation		Class of co	Class of conjugation			A, B, C, D	Name and definition of the mode
	1	11	ш	ΙΛ	(v.)		
							PARTICIPLE
VI	777	9	077	1.00	nna, a l	lst per. sing. A 2d, 4th per. Ist per. pl. B B B B B B B B B	Contemporative or associative, attributive; quasi-active or quasi-passive; 1st, 2d, 4th, per, intransitive, 8d per, transitive.
VII.а	\$ 08 (E)	98(8) 98(8)	ue*	rte* tt<*tjrto	(2) grattio	4 4	Verbal noun or verbal adjective; agent or medial; attributive or predicative.
v	80	30	ta sa ya ya <pa< td=""><td>pd>p4</td><td>phiea</td><td>4</td><td>Passive participle; attributive.</td></pa<>	pd>p4	phiea	4	Passive participle; attributive.
IX, 1st, 2d, 4th per. $ni < pt$ 8d per $pa < pa$	#i<#	14>14 14>14	HH Hka	r E	yyikki yyikka	c, D A	Transitive participle, quasi-active, always comprising both subject and object; predicative (or attributive).
X, 1st, 2d, 4th per. 8d per.	na <pa mma</pa 	<i>pa<pa< i=""> <i>mma</i></pa<></i>	kka mma	7.0 7.00	yyinna yyinma	B, C	Past tense or causal proposition; transitive or intransitive; attributive.
XI, 1st, 2d, 4th per. $yu < yu$ 8d per	pdd bba	nd>nd	kku	200	nylkku nnippa	B, C	Future tense or conditional proposition; transitive or intransitive; attributive.
	ne	26	nne	ne	pyinne	4	Verb abstract.

1 a is the negative character in the third person singular, and the first, second, and third persons plural, of the verbs of class 1v: terranche (sz.) not going in < terranche. but titinnane (class III) he not coming.

May be used without any suffix.

(Class

Ш

1

ш

IV

I

ш

katattiyut

thou-him

thou-them

isertiyut

kapiyuk

katanuk 1

iseruk

kapikkit

katakkit

isikkit

D C-endings

D C-endings

D C-endings

§ 33. MODE I. IMPERATIVE

INTRANSITIVE (A-ENDINGS)

	of con- juga- tion)	I. kapi, kapiy to stab one's self	III. ka'ta, katay to be drupped, or to shed hair, horne, etc.	IV. t'ser, isig to ENTER, TO GO IN
2d per. sing 2d per. pl		kapi'yit (thou) stabl kapi'yitte (you)	kata'yit drop! kata'yitte	ise'rit enter! ise'ritte
	<u> </u>	TRANSI	TIVE	
		Singular	Plural	
		thou-me	you—me	
	ſI	ka'piy'ya	ka,pisi'ya	
me	ш	ka'tay'ya	katasiya	A C-endings
	IV	i'siy'ya	isisiya	
		thou—us	you—us	
	d I	kapisimu	kapisiput	

katattiyut

you-him

you—them

isertiyul

kapisiuk

katassiuk

iscrsiuk

kapisiyik

katasiyik

isersiyik

§ 34. MODE II. INDICATIVE

INTRANSITIVE (A-ENDINGS)

	T ()	••• /		Ne	egative (pylla)	
	I (wo)	III (ppo)	IV (rpo)	I	ш	IV
lst per. sing. lst per. pl	kapiwoya kapiwoyut	katappona katapponut	iserpoya iserpoyui	kapiyyilaya kapiyyilayut	kalayyilaya kalayyila- yut	iscyyilaya iscyyilayut
2d per. sing. 2d per. pl	kapiwutit kapiwuse	katapputit katappuse	iserputit iscrpuse	kapi yy ilatil kapi yy ilase	kalayyilatii katayyilase	iscyyilatit iscyyilase
3d per. sing. 3d per. pl	kapiwoq kapipput	katappoq katapput	iserpoq iserput	kapiyyilaq kapiyyiLLat	kalayyilaq kalayyiLLat	iscyyllaq iscyylLat

In the positive dual the first person ends in -yuk; the second person, in -tik; the third person, in -puk.

¹ Some verbs end in -seuk in this class; e.g., tikissuk(<tikippaa) come to him or to there.

§ 35. MODE III. INDICATIVE

TRANSITIVE (C-ENDINGS)

me {	I III IV	thou—n kapiwarma kalapparma iserparma		kata	you—me iwawssiya pawssiya pawssiya	he—r kapiwaay katappaay iserpaaya	a _P a	kap kat	they—me siwaayya appaayya paayya
us {	I III	thou—i kapiwawitiy kalappawitiy iserpawitiyu	ut nut	kata	you—us lwawssiyut ppawssiyut pawssiyut	he— kapiwaati kalappaat iserpaatiy	nut inul	kap kat	they—us riwaatiyut appaatiyut paatiyut
[ı {	I—the	-	kap	we—thee iwawtinit	he—tl			hey—thee
thee	111	katappawkka katappaanit	31	kata	ıppa vi tiyil	katappaat	ut :	kati	appaattit
l	ıv {	iserpawkkit or iserpaayit		iser	pa vi tiyil	iserpaatil		iscr	rpaattit
you (pl.) {	I III IV	I—you kapiwawsse katappawsse iserpawsse		bata	we—you iwawse sppawsse pawsse	he—y kapiwaase katappase iserpaase	•	kaş kat	they—you oiwaase appaase rpaase
him . {	I III IV	I—him kapiwara katappara iserpara	we—l kapiwa kalappe iserpar	rput zrpul	thou—him kapiwal katappul iserpal	you—him kapiwarse katapparse iserparse	he—l kapiwa katappo iserpaa	a sa	they—him kapiwaat katappaat iserpaat
them . {	I III IV	I—them kapiwakka katappakka iserpakka	we—tl kapiwa katappo iserpau	wut wut	thou—them kapiwatit katappatit iserpatit	you—them kapiwase katappase iserpase	he—tl kapiwa katappa	ai zai	they—them kapiwaa it kalappaa it iserpaa it

§ 36. MODE IV. INTERBOGATIVE

INTRANSITIVE

	1	III	īv	Negative
2d per. sing	kapiwil	kalappil	iserpil	-pyippit
	kapiwise	kalappise	iserpise	-pyippise
3d per. sing	kapiwa	kalappa	iserpa	-yyiLLat
3d per. pl	kapippat	kalappal	iserpai	

TRANSITIVE

	Class of con- juga- tion.			Neg	rative
me	{ I	thou—me kapiwiya iserpiya	you—me kapiwisiya iserpisiya	thou—me	you—me -yyilisiya
18	I IV	thou—us kapíwisiyut iserpisiyut	you—us kapiwisiyut iserpisiyut	thou—us	you—us -pyilisinut
ılm .	{ I IV	thou—him kapiwiuk iserpiuk	you—him kapiwisiuk iserpisiuk	thou—him	you—him -pyllisiuk
them .	{ I	thou—them kapiwiyii iserpiyii	you—them kapiwisiyik iscrpisiyik	thou—them	you—them

§ 37. MODE V. OPTATIVE

INTRANSITIVE

	I	III	IV	Negative
lst per. sing	. kapilana wish would stab my	I kataLLaya	iserLaya wish I might enter	-pyikkile
2d per. pl	. kapilata	kataLLata	iserLata	-ŋŋikkilit
		TRANSITIVE		
ma /	ı v		he—me kapiliya iserLiya	they—me kapili yy a iserLiyya
18 J	ı v		he—us kapilisiyut iscrLisiyut	they—us kapilisiyut iserLisiyut
- 11	I—thee I kapilawkkit	we—thee kapilawitiyit	he—thee	they—thee
thee .	V iserLawkkit	iserLawttiyil	iserLisit	iscrlittii or iscrlisii
ron(n)\/	I—you I kapilavsse V iserLavsse	we—you kapilawsse iserLawsse	he—you kapilise iserLise	they—you kapilise iserLise
him //	I—him I kapitara V iserLara	we—him kapilarpul iserLarput	he—him kapiliuk iserLiuk	they—him kapilissuk iscrLissuk
tham //	I—them I kapilakka V iservakka	we—them kapilawut iserLawut	he—them kapiliyit iscrLiyil	they—then kapilisiyik iserLisiyik

Negative forms are—
-nnikkiliuk he—him

-ŋŋikkiliŋit he—them

§ 37

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§ 38. MODE VI. CONTEMPORATIVE

Stabbing or being stabbed

					Intransitive (Active or Passive)	Negative
1st per. sing.					kapiLLoya	kapinnaya 1
1st per. pl					kapiLula	kapinnata
2d per. sing.					kapitLutit	kapinnatit
2d per. pl					kapiLLuse	kapinnase
th per. sing.					kapiLLune	kapinnane
4th per. pl: .					kapiLLutik	kapinnatik
					Transitive or Passive	
8d per. sing.					kapittoyo2	kapinnayo
8d per. pl					kapiLLonil ²	kapinnanit

¹ That is, I WITHOUT BEING STABBED.

§ 39. MODE VII. VERBAL NOUN OR VERBAL ADJECTIVE α (noun).

Examples:

- * asasse [a'sase], with third person possessive suffix asassia THE ONE WHO LOVES HIM, < asawoq
- *ikiorte, in third person possessive ikiortua the one who helps him, his helper, <ikiorpoq

β (noun or adjective).

	1	IV	Negative
1st per. sing	kapisona	iserioya I who enter	-yyittoya I who don't
1st per. pl	kapisoyut	iscrionut we who enter	-yyittoyul
2d per. sing	kapisutit	iscriutit thou who dost enter	-yyittutil
za per. pl	kapisuse	iscriuse you who enter	-nyittuse
8d per. sing	kapisoq	isertoq he who enters	- yyi ttoq
åd per.pl	kapisul	iscriui they who enter	-pyittul

^{§§} 38, 39

That is, we, he, I, etc., stabbing him, or he being stabbed by us, him, me, etc.

That is, stabbing them, of they being stabbed.

§ 40. MODE VIII. PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

Examples:

asassaq one who is loved asassara my beloved

asässät thy beloved asässaa his beloved, etc.

					III
ist per. sing. lst per. pl					kalättara my dropped one (the thing I dropped) katättarput our dropped one (the thing we dropped)
2d per. sing. 2d per. pl					katättät thy dropped one (the thing thou droppedst) katättarse your dropped one (the thing you dropped)
3d per. sing. 3d per. pl					katüttaa his dropped one (the thing he dropped) katüttaüt their dropped one (the thing they dropped)
4th per. sing. 4th per. pl					katättane his (SE) dropped one (the thing he dropped) katättartik their (SE) dropped one (the thing they dropped)

All the typical endings of the possessive inflection of the nouns (§ 26) are available in this mode.

§ 41. MODE IX. TRANSITIVE PARTICIPLE

kapinina (S. W. Gr. kapigiga) I who stab him of that I stab (stabbed) him

thou—me, us kapiyimma kapiyisttiyut	kapin	ou—me, us ersiya essiyut	he—me, us kapiyaaya kapiyaatiyut	kapi	they—me, us kapiyaayya kapiyaatiyul		
I—thee, you kapiyiwkkii kapiyiwsse	l l	e—thee, you settiyit sesse	he—thee, you kapiyaatit kapiyaase	kapi	they—thee, you kapiyaatiii kapiyaase		
	we—him, them (SE) kapiniwitinne kapiniwitik	thou—him, them (se) kapiyinne kapiyittik	you—him, them (se) kapiyi=ssinne kapiyi=ttik	he—him, them (se kapiŋaane kapiŋaatik	them (SE) kapiyaanne		
him—I, we kapiyiya kapiyipput	kapiya kapiya		him—thou, yo kapiyit kapiyisse	kapi	nem—thou, you lyitil lyise		
um—he (SE), they kapiyinne kapiyittik	(SE) them- kapiŋ kapiŋ		him, them—h kapiyaa kapiyaas	kapi	him, them—they kapiyaat kapiyaait		

§ 42. MODE X. PAST TENSE AND CAUSAL PROPOSITION

kapinama when (as) I stabbed myself, because I stab (stabbed) myself

INTRANSITIVE

	I	ш	IV	Negative
1st per. sing	kapiyama	katakkama	iserama	kapiyyinnama
	kapiyyàstia	katakkå#tta	iseravita	kapiyyinnä vit a
2d per. sing 2d per. pl	kapiyawil	kalakkawii	iserawii	kapi yy innawil
	kapiyawssc	kalakkawsse	iseräwsse	kapi yyinnävs se
4th per. sing 4th per. pl	kapiyame	katakkame	iscrame	kapi yyinname
	kapi ya mik	kattakkamik	iscramik	kap iyyinnamik
3d per. sing 3d per. pl	kapimmāt	kalāmmāl	ivermāt	kapiyyimm át
	ka pimmā ta	kalāmmala	ivermāta	kapiyyimmáta

TRANSITIVE

thou—me, us	you—me, us	he—me, us	they—me, us	he(sE)—me,us	they (sE)—me,
kapi yamma	kapiyawssiya	kapimmaya	kapimmanna	kapi yamiya	kapiyamiyya
kap iyavttiy ut	kapiŋāwssiŋut	kapimmatiyut	kapimmatiyut	kapiya misiy ut	
I—thee, you	we—thee, you	he—thee, you	they—thee,	he (SE)—thee,	they (SE)— thee, you
kapiyàwkkii or kapiyaayii	kapi yāvttiy it	kapimmatit	kapimmattit	kapiyamisit	kapiyamittito
kapiyawsse	kapiyàwsse	kapimmase	kapimmase	kapiyami s e	kapiyamisil kapiyamise
I—him (se), them (se) kapiyāwnne kapiyāwitik	we—him (8E), them (8E) kapiyāstinne kapiyāstik	thou—him (BE), them (SE) kapiyànne kapiyàttik	you—him (SE), them (SE) kapiyawssinne kapiyawttik	he—him (sk), them (sk) kapimmane kapimmatik	they—him (SE) them (SE) kapimmanne kapimmatik
I—him, them	we—him, them	thou—him, them	you—him, them	he—him, them	they—him, them
ka piyā wkko	kapi yà#t ti yo	kapi yák ko	kapiŋ à=ss iuk	kapimmayo	kapimmassuk
kapi yà= kk i t	kapi y wttiyik	kap iyákk it	kap iya*s siyik	kapimmayit	kap imm ati yi k
				he (SE)—him, them	they (SE)— him, them
				kapi yamiuk	kapiyamikko
				kapiyam iy it	kapiyamikkik

§ 43. MODE XI. FUTURE TENSE AND CONDITIONAL PROPOSITION

kapinuma when (in future) I SHALL STAB MYSELF, IF I STAB MYSELF

INTRANSITIVE

	I	111	IV	Negative
1st per. sing	kapiyuma	katakkuma	iseruma	kapiyyikkuma
1st per. pl	kapi yuv tta	kalakku rii a	iseruvita	kapiyyikku s tta
2d per. sing	kapiyuwit	kalakkuwit	iseruwit	kapi yyikku wii
2d per. pl	kapiŋuwsse	kalakku#88e	iscruwsse	kapiŋŋikkuwsse
4th per. sing	kapiyune	katakkune	iserune	kapi yyikkune
4th per. pl	kapi yun ik	katakkunik	iserunik	kapiŋŋikkunik
3d per. sing	kapippāl	katàppāt	iscrpát	kapiŋŋippāt
3d per. pl	kapippata	katāppata	iserpāta	kapiyyippata

TRANSITIVE

thou—me, us	you—me, us	he—me, us	they—me, us	he (SE)—me, us	they (SE)—me,
kapinumma	kapiŋuwseiŋa	kapipp aya	kapippanna	kapiyuniya	ka piyuniyya
kapiyusttiyut	kapiyuwssiyut	kapippatiyut	kapippatinut	kapi yunisiy ul	kapiyunisiyut
I—thee, you	we—thee, you	he—thee, you	they—thee,	he (sr)—thee,	they(SE)—thee,
kapiyu v kkit	kapiyu v ttiyit	kapippatit	kapippattit	kapiyunisit	kapiyunittit or
kap iy u ws se	kapiŋuwsse	ka pippase	kapippase	kapiyuni s e	kapiyunisit kapiyunise
I—him, them	we—him, them	thou—him, them (SE)	you—him, them (SE)	he—him, them	they—him, them (sE)
kapi nu= nne	kapinuwilinne	kapiyunne	kapinuwssinne	kapippane	kapippanne
kapiyuvttik	kapiyuvttik	kapi yu ttik	kapiyu#ttik	kapippatik	kapippatik
I-him, them	we-him, them	thou—him,	you-him, them	he—him, them	they—him,them
kapiyu#kko	kapiyuwttiyo	kapiyukko	kapi yuwss iuk	kapippa y o	kapippassuk
kapiyu#kkit	kapiŋuwttiŋik	kapi yu kkit	kapinuwssinik	kapippa y it	kapippatiyik
-				he (sE)—him, them	they (sE)—him,
				kapiyuniuk	kapiyunikko
			١.	kapiyuniyit	kapiyunikkik

§ 44. MODE XII. ABSTRACT NOUN

kapineq the act of stabbing one's self; the being stabbed (by another); a stab, wound.

Absolutive	I	II	111	IV	Negative
singular	kapineq	pinineq	ka lā nneg	iserneq	-pyinneq

These forms are inflected alike, following the paradigm of erneq (§ 28); for instance,

1st per. sing. . . . kapinera my stab (stabbing, being stabbed)

1st per. pl. kapinerput our stab 3d per. sing. . . . kapinera his stab

3d per. pl. kapinerat their stab, etc.

Defective Inflection (§§ 45-48)

§ 45. Prevalence of Possessive or Absolute Inflection in Certain Words

Some words, or groups of words, can take only certain series of the suffixes previously described. All true nouns may take any of the inflectional suffixes of nouns, though of course in many cases the meaning causes one series to be used more frequently than others, or prevents their being inflected equally through all the forms of declension. We have already mentioned some words that are confined either to the plural, or to the dual, or to the singular (§ 17).

Likewise there are words that are nearly always possessive, while others occur generally without possessive pronouns. To the first group belong such words as signify parts of objects; as, for example,

itsia the white of an egg siua the bow of a boat inua the inhabitant or owner of a thing isua (<ise) the eye of a man or animal; eye of a needle

To the latter group belong, for example—

täseq a lake nuna land ukioq winter sila weather
nammineq self
nalininnaq everybody

Altogether incompatible with possessive inflection are the demonstrative words (§ 50) and kina who, suna what, alla other.

§ 46. Interrogative and Personal Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns have irregular plurals. They form, however, regular local cases from the stems ki (singular), $kikkut^1$ (plural), su (singular and plural).

kina wнo, plural kikkut (Al. kinkūt [Barnum 77]); kimut то wмом, plural kikkunnut

¹The suffix -kut seems to mean society, FAMILY.

suna WHAT, plural soot [sv:t] or [sr:t] (M. cuna, plural cuvit); sumut to what or where (sume where)

The Alaskan cha [ca], plural chat (Barnum 80), which is perhaps related to the Greenlandic suna what thing, is presented by Barnum as having both local and possessive inflection; but in Greenlandic these words have no possessive inflection.

Combination of first and second persons and local declension is seen in the personal pronouns:

uwaya I; plural uwayut we; uwawnne at me, uäwttinne at us; uäwnnut to me, uäwttinnut to us; uäwttut like me illit thou; plural iliwsse or i'lisse [ilisse] you; illinnut to thee, iliwssinnut to you; ilittut like you, etc.

§ 47. Words Signifying ALONE, WHOLE, ALL

The following three nouns, signifying the abstract concept ALONE, WHOLE, ALL, in relation to persons or things, receive exclusively relative possessive endings, aside from the third person singular. They remind us of the inflection of modes x and xI of the verbs.

1st per. sing,	kisima I or me alone (only)	ilooparma I or me whole (all over the body)	tamarma I or me whole (wholly)
1st per. pl	kisivita	iloo y å ≈t ta	tamástta all of us
1st per. dual	kisi o nnu k		
2d per. sing.	kisiwit	ilooyarpit	tam arpit
2d per. pl	kisiwsse	iloo ya wsee	tamå#sec
2d per. dual	kisi vitik	•	
4th per. sing.	kinime	ilooyarme	tamarme
4th per. pl	kisimik	ilooyarmik	tamarmik
8d per. sing.	kisiäl	ilooyaat	tamaåt
3d per. pl	kiseesa	ilooyaàsa	tama is a

§ 48. Numerals

The distribution of the Eskimo numerals may be symbolized in this manner:

The word for 20 is inuk nauvloyo A MAN BROUGHT TO AN END, all his fingers (or hands, I and II) and toes (or feet, III and IV) being counted.

The numeral system of the Eskimo is quinary, closely following the fingers and toes of man. An Eskimo always has recourse to his fingers in counting, lifting his hands in front of him. Nevertheless the terms for the numerals are not identical with those for the fingers or toes. (See examples below.)

The numerals lack the possessive inflection except in the third person, by means of which the ordinal numbers are formed.

The following numerals quoted from Thalbitzer (V), Bourquin, Petitot, and Barnum, are slightly transcribed according to my phonetic orthography.

Cardinal numbers	West Greenland	Labrador	Mackenzie River	Southwest Alasks
I 1	ataawseq	attauseq	ataociq	alauceq
2	martuk or artaa	makkuk or agga [axxa]?	mallərok	malruk
3	piyasut	pipasut	pipacut	piyyajun
4	sisamat	sittamat	citamat	stamen
5	täLLimat	tellimat [tällimat]?	tallémat	tallimen
II(6)	sarFineq or arFiniLLit 1	arvingat 4 [arFiyat]	arveneiorii	arvinlizzin
(7)	marLuk	aggårtut s	saypak or malleronik	malrunlizzin
(8)	piyasul	piyasut	piyacunik	piyyayunlixxin
(9)	sisamat or qulaailuat	}sittamat	citamat or qolinilloat	qolnnunraata
10	qulit*	tellimat or qollit [qoLLit]?	golit	qoin
III(11)	arganeq or arganiLLit or isikkaneq or isikkaniLLit	arqayat or itikkane	itiänneral or itiännelərit	ataucimik cipzuku (15) akimiak
IV(16)	{arFersaneq or arFersaniLLit		igluīn-iliānneləril or itiānneral arveneləril	
V(21)	Junna or Junnisut	ungna or ungnijut	iglut-certut or innun-cikpag 6	juinok alaucim ik cipLuku ⁶

¹⁻Lit, plural of -lik having, supplied with; in plural also -leet, Leet; same as M. -lerit, Al. -lixxin (Petitot LIV) (Barnum 41: lik, plural ligūt).

² quie upper one, in third person possessive quiaa + iluai inner one (i. e., the fourth finger, the forefinger).

Plural of quie THE UPPER ONES (the hands or fingers as opposed to the toes).

⁴ Corresponds to the Greenland ordinal arrenyat THE SIXTH.

Cf. agga two = Gr. arlaa (ordinal).
 cikpaq, cf. cika beste, retaille, Al. ciptoq it exceeds, Gr. simmera surplus,

^{§ 48}

ordinal num- bers	West Greenland	Labrador	Mackenzie River	Southwest Alaska
1	siulleq or siullial	sivorLeq	civuleq	caokleg
2	a i ppaa	alpaya	ajp ak	aipa
8	piyajuat	piyajuak		pi yy ajua k
4	sisamaat	sittamayat		stameek
5	tāllinaat	tellimayat		talLimeek
6	{arFernat or arFernat	arviniyat		arrinraq
11	{arqarnat or {arqaryat	arqayArtuat		
16	arFersarnat or arFersaryat			

Irregular Inflection (§§ 49, 50)

§ 49. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns kina and suna have irregular relative cases formed without p or other labial modification; thus—

Absolutive kina who suna what

Relative

kia of whom

sua of what (or soop < *so-up?)

§ 50. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs

The demonstrative pronouns are inflected in the following manner:

the one referred

SINGULAR

Cases	Endings	there	to (in speech or thought)	this here	that youde
Absolutive .	na, ya	una	taa=na	manna	iyya
Relative	(ssu)ma	ooma	taawssuma	matuma	issuma
Allative	muyya	оотоууа	laavssumoŋŋa	matumoyya	issumonna
Locative	mane	oomane	taawssumane	matumane	issumane
Ablative	mayya	оотаууа	taawssumanna	matuma 1717a	issumayya
Instrumentalis	miyya	oomi yya	taavssumiyya	malumiŋŋa	iseumiyya
Prosecutive .	moona	oomoona	taawssumoona	matumoona	issumoona
indecutive .		F	PLURAL		
	ho oz		1	makko	/Abo
Absolutive .	ko or	'uko	taawko	makko makkoa	ikko ikkoa
Absolutive . (Relative)	koa	'uko 'ukoa	taawko taawkoa	makkoa	ikkoa
Absolutive		'uko	taawko		
Absolutive	koa nuyya	'uko 'ukoa ukunoŋŋa	taa≌ko taa≈koa taa≈kononya	makkoa makunoyya	ikkoa ikkuno yy a
Absolutive . (Relative) .	koa nuyya nane	'uko 'ukoa ukunoyya ukunane	taa=ko taa=koa taa=konoyya taa=kunane	makkoa makunoŋŋa makkunane	ikkoa ikkunoyya ikkunane
Absolutive . (Relative) Allative Locative Ablative	koa nuyya nane nayya	'uko 'ukoa ukunoyya ukunane ukunayya	taawko taawkoa taawkonoyya taawkunane taawkonayya	makkoa makunoyya makkunane makunayya	ikkoa ikkunoppa ikkunane ikkunappa

In the same way is inflected $i^w nna$ (relative $i^w ssuma$) THE ONE PRE-VIOUSLY MENTIONED (Latin ILLE).

There are some other demonstrative pronouns—

 \dot{a}^w nna he (she, it) in the north

 $q\dot{a}^w nna$ he in the south; he in there (in the house); he out there (outside of the house)

pàwnna he up there in the east

sawnna he down there in the sea

kanna he down there

kinna he there in the south

pinna he up there in the east

All of these follow the paradigms of taa^wna and iyya. And just as the latter forms with the prefix ta ta^iyya (THE ONE PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED WE ARE SPEAKING OF), so all these pronouns may take the prefix ta and signify the one we are just now speaking of (or thinking of); as tamanna, $taq\dot{a}^wnna$, $tas\dot{a}^wnna$, $tak\dot{a}nna$, etc.

These words have no possessive inflection. Still more defective is the inflection of the demonstrative local adverbs, in which three of the inflectional endings of the demonstrative pronouns appear; e. g.,—

Cases	Endings	here	there	yonder	in the north
Locative Allative Ablative Prosecutive	ne	maane	uwane	ikane	awane
	ya	maavyya	ooya	ikoya	awoya
	yya	maayya	uwayya	ikayya	awayya
	ona	maona	uwXoona	ikoona	awoona

PARTICLES (§§ 51–54)

Although words lacking inflection are not in themselves affected by the manifold changes due to inflection, some of them at least exert a certain influence on the syntactic structure or on the grammatical forms of the words governed by them. This applies especially to the modal and temporal particles (§ 52 and § 53), and will become clear from the examples given below:

§ 51. Interjections

a amazement or bewilderment.

issse ajüssüser 'a how terrible the cold is! (literally, the cold its badness, &!)

ta, ata, calls attention to something: LOOK HERE!

aja sighing, especially used by women and children.

aja qasoqaawya how tired I am!

eeq or teeq expresses scorn or irony.

na 'aa sudden pain.

kakkaak, assaasakak, surprise, wonder, admiration (M. aρkρalέ ah! [admiration.])

For hunters' calls, see Thalbitzer I, 323-326:

dRRR ... dRRR... used in decoying young gulls.

qu'teeq qu'teeq to old female gulls.

taka'teeq taka'teeq qrq to the three-toed gulls.

haRom haRom to auks.

qao qao to ravens.

§ 52. Modal Particles

an calling attention to something. In some cases it is used as a prefix:

"aau'na, 'aauna Look Here, Here IT (una) is! the same as aajuna

In other cases it is used as a suffix; e. g.,

ooma-aa you there, come here! (ooma is the relative case of una, thus meaning of HIM THERE)

aa is very much like the sign of the a vocative in such cases as—
ataata-aa father!
aa-makko they, there!

atano lo! behold! (with future tense of the verb following it.)

atano usissanit try it and you shall see you will be all right

 $sun'aa^wFa$ (< suna what + uFFa there) expresses surprise.

w'se (bringing something back to his memory) now I remember.

ust'uFFa (< use + uFFa) I thought that——. This particle is always followed by a participle or a noun.

usiurra takussanina I thought (expected) I should have seen him qanortoq Latin utinam, followed by optative of the verb.

nawk
massa
although (followed by participle).
wnnit

massa takussarina ilisarinnilara although I have often seen him, I do not know him

soorLo as, as if.

§ 53. Temporal Particles

ittaq a long time ago (South Gr. itsaq).
ippassaq yesterday (M. ikpektçiapk).
uLlume to-day.
qilamik soon (M. kpillamik).
siorna last year (literally, the one just before).
kiyorna hereafter (M. kinunæpagun).
qana when (in the preterite).
qaqono when (in the future).

oa'outinut at times, from time to time

qa'qutiyut at times, from time to time aqano to-morrow.

§ 54. Particles for Expressing Question and Answer

aap yes (M. ih).

naaxa no, no (M. tchuïtoρ, diunak; West coast of Hudson bay naaga).
naamik no (there is no; it is not there).

nawk where sooq why (M. tchupavit, tchuma).

sooruna certainly.

massame certainly, indeed.

ilumut indeed, I do not lie.

immaqa perhaps (M. tabliu; West coast of Hudson bay iluukuni). asukiak I do not know, maybe.

tässaga I hardly believe.

ai is it, do you (M. tutchayotin aïn comprends-tu?).

qa'noq how (M. naw-kut, naw-naw, kpano-kpano).

t'laa isn't it so?

qujanaq thanks (M. kpoyanapa).

DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 55-60)

§ 55. General Characteristics of Suffixes

In the Eskimo language suffixes (and infixes) are used to an extent quite unknown to European languages.¹ It has been shown in the preceding chapters that all the grammatical and syntactical ideas of our languages are expressed by this means, and that these forms differentiated into a highly elaborate system. Besides this, many concepts that enrich the subject-matter of our sentences, and which

we express by means of adjectives and adverbs, are in Eskimo suffixes attached to the words expressing fundamental ideas. Nearly one-sixth of the Eskimo "words" (bases, stems, and suffixes) are suffixes.

One suffix may be linked to another, and in this way the fundamental idea of the base-word is gradually more and more specialized and enriched. A whole sentence may be expressed in a word—in a word-sentence.

All suffixes are imperfect words—i. e., sound-complexes or single sounds—each of which has a definite signification. Without much practice it is difficult to recognize the suffixes included in compound words, because at the beginning and at the ending of the suffix phonetic assimilation by the preceding and following sounds occurs.

The order of the suffixes is of importance, and full freedom is not allowed in their use. The independent fundamental word must be placed at the beginning of the word-sentence, and the suffixes are attached to it to explain it more fully. Such suffixes as describe the qualities of the fundamental idea or its modes of action, or which refer to size or time, follow these, and appear inserted between the leading stem and the inflectional endings. These, in turn, are attached more closely to the whole word-cluster than the syntactical suffixes which may terminate it; e. g., -lo and, -ttaaoq also.

The majority of the suffixes may be freely attached to any word. Thus-liorpoq to make or create may be attached to any word which signifies something that can in any way be made or created. But there are also many suffixes the use of which is restricted to a certain class of ideas, and which may be attached to these only. The suffix -(r)nar- means for the first time, but only in the sense of noticing something for the first time: takornarpara, tusarnarpara I see IT for the first time, I hear IT for the first time. With other words, like to use a thing, or to make a journey, for the first time, another suffix, -(r)qaar-, is used: atorqaarpara I use IT for the first time.

There are many adjectival and adverbial notions for which no suffixes exist. When for this reason it is not possible to express a group of ideas in one word, or in one compound, then the cluster will be broken up, or the expression will be divided into two or several parts. The logical relations between these parts are often shown in the inflection of the word expressing the idea that has been separated. In some cases, however, it can not be recognized by the

inflectional form, but must be deduced from the connection. If the Eskimo wants to say I HAVE A LARGE KAYAK, this may be expressed in one word, because there are suffixes to denote LARGE (seuaq), HAVE (qar[poq]), and I (ya, ra); but I HAVE A RED KAYAK must be expressed in two words, because there are no special suffixes to signify colors, so that the idea RED must be isolated and expressed by an independent word. The former sentence is expressed by qajaresuaqarpoya (KAYAK-LARGE-HAVE-I); the latter by aampalaartumik qajaqarpona; here the first part (RED) is a participle of the verb aawpalaarpoq IT IS RED, used in the instrumentalis (-mik), so that the whole phrase translated literally means RED (or REDLY) KAYAK-HAVE-I, very much as one would say I row QUICKLY IN A KAYAK.

§ 56. Classes of Derivative Suffixes

The suffixes are divided into two classes, according to their use. Some are employed to transform the nominal or verbal quality of the independent words, so that nouns are turned into verbs, and verbs into nouns; others, merely to further develop the independent words by enriching them with attributive ideas, but without transforming their nature. Thus it may be seen, in regard both to the suffixes and to the initial stems, that a distinction may be drawn between nouns and verbs, nominal and verbal suffixes, and consequently four fundamental types of arrangement may be observed, and symbolized thus:

N > v = V; i. e., a noun transformed by a verbal suffix, and so forming a verb:

has a smell or taste of

ameq skin + -erpaa deprives

it of something nassuk horn + -minarpaa makes a motion with a part of his body toward something

illo a house + -liorpoq makes, illuliorpoq he builds a house

pujoq smoke + -sunnippoq it pujorsunnippoq it has the smell or taste of smoke

ameerpaa takes the skin off it, skins it (e. g., the seal)

nassuminarpaa horns him, butts him

V > n = N; i. e., a verb transformed by a noun suffix, and so making

tikippog arrives + -qut(e) companion + -a his

tikeryataa his arrival-companion, his fellow-traveller

V+v=V; i. e., a verb developed more fully by a verb suffix, the whole constituting a more complex verbal notion:

uter(poq) he returns + -asuar- uterasuarpoq he hastens to re-(poq) hastens turn

N+n=N; i. e., a noun more fully developed by a noun-suffix, the whole constituting a more fully developed noun:

 illo house + mio dweller
 illumio house dweller

 illo house + ko rest, remnant
 illuko a ruin

 illo house + yyuaq little
 illoyyuaq a small house

Any compound ending in a suffix may be transformed or further developed. The suffixes thus used for purposes of development and transformation may even succeed each other within the same group. Thus pisitooq HE GETS (si) A THING (pe), of the formation N > v, may be further developed by verbal suffixes and become pisinialerpoq HE BEGINS (-ler-) TO TRY (-niar-) TO GET A THING (i. e., he begins to buy a thing), which is consequently the formation N>v+v+v. The latter is again transformed by a noun-suffix into pisinialer rik A PLACE, or THE PLACE (-rik), WHERE ONE (HE) BEGINS (OF BEGAN) TO BUY A THING (or the thing), in which change the formation N>v+v+v>n is produced; and this may again be transformed into a verb (pisinialerrinaa) by means of the verbalizing -a (in the third possessive singular) HE HAS IT (OF HIM) AS A PLACE WHERE HE BEGAN TO BUY THE THING (i. e., it was in that place where, or of that person of whom he began to buy the thing). In this case the last change gives the formation N>v+v+v>n>v.

§ 57. Comparison of Eskimo and Indo-European Derivative Suffixes

In the first instance the Eskimo suffixes are distinguished from those of our own languages by their number; but they differ no less in the vitality of their meanings and in their movability. Thus the diminutive endings in the German Röslein, Häuschen, in the English brooklet, and in the Latin homunculus, servulus, impress us as being fossils in comparison with the Eskimo adjectival suffixes, which may be attached freely to all words. In quite another sense than in our languages, the words of the Eskimo are born on the tongue on the spur of the moment. Where we possess finished, fully developed words or phrases, the Eskimo create new combinations specially

formed to meet the claim of every situation. In regard to word-formations, the language is incessantly in statu nascendi.

The greater number of the suffixes of our languages may be proved to have been originally independent words (e. g., the English -LY, -SHIP, -DOM, -SOME, -FUL, -LESS, etc.). How far the Eskimo suffixes have ever been independent words is extremely doubtful; at any rate, there is nothing to show that such is the case.

The Eskimo mode of expression differs essentially from ours in the peculiar power that the suffixes have of linking themselves not simply to an independent word-stem, but to each other, with the result that a complex of ideas may be developed and enlarged within the limits of a single word. We think in sentences, but the Eskimo's thought lives and moves in the word as an embryo in the womb. Even the object of the verb is included in the word-sentence; e. g., illoqurpoya I HAVE A HOUSE.

§ 58. Inflection and Polysynthesis

These peculiar characteristics have determined the viewpoint taken by philologists in regard to the Eskimo language. This may be seen in the work of the Danish scholar Rasmus Rask, who knew the language through the grammars of the missionaries Paul Egede (1760) and Otho Fabricius (1791, 2d ed. 1801), and who has described it in a chapter of his "Undersögelse om det gamle Nordiske eller Islandske Sprogs Oprindelse" (1818).

H. Steinthal referred the Eskimo and the Mexican languages to a special type, the so-called EINVERLEIBENDE type of W. v. Humboldt, which "draws the object into the verb and usually also combines the governing word (regens) and the attribute into a whole. . . . The word-formation has swallowed up the sentence-formation, the sentence merges into the word; those who use these languages do not speak in sentences, but in words." According to Steinthal, this type of language belongs neither to the agglutinative nor to the stem-isolating type; it must be called a "formless" type of language.

Lucien Adam, who, at the Americanist Congress of 1883, spoke on the relation of the Greenland language to other languages, arrived at the conclusion that the Eskimo language is not polysynthetic, as are many other languages of North America, but is only a derivative lan-

¹ H. Steinthal, Charakteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues (Neubearbeitung von Mistell, Berlin, 1893).

guage. He set forth that the DERIVATION λ L'INFINI of this language is due only to exaggeration of a method which is common to all polysyllabic languages, and that the Eskimo language differs from other American languages, and from the Ural-Altaic language, merely by the exaggeration of the derivative method.

As regards the descriptive term Polysynthetic, it would seem that it very appropriately expresses the conglomeration or clustering of ideas which occurs in Eskimo word-sentences. To use this term as applying to the Eskimo language as a whole is an exaggeration, only in so far as that not all ideas are expressed polysynthetically, but articulate sentences also occur.

We are no doubt as fully justified in speaking of form-endings and inflection in the Eskimo language as we are in speaking of them in those languages that are specially regarded as inflectional. Thus in the Eskimo language both nouns and verbs are inflected to indicate number, case, person, etc., and, as mentioned above, the syntactic relation may likewise be expressed by means of special endings.

On the other hand, it can not well be denied that in the signification and use of the forms certain logical and fundamental differences from the grammatical system of our languages occur, which differences give evidence of marked peculiarities in the psychic basis of the Eskimo language.

§ 59. Noun and Verb

In the Eskimo mind the line of demarcation between the noun and the verb seems to be extremely vague, as appears from the whole structure of the language, and from the fact that the inflectional endings are, partially at any rate, the same for both nouns and verbs. This is especially true of the possessive suffixes.

The part played by the possessive suffixes in the Eskimo language extends far beyond the use which our languages make of the "possessive pronouns." The person-suffixes of the Eskimo verbs prove to be identical with the possessive suffixes of the nouns (equivalent to my, thy, his, our, etc.), which may be regarded as an evidence of the noun-character of the verb. Even the verb-forming suffixes -woq and -poq (third person singular, mode II) appear to be inseparable from the structure of the noun. Therefore these endings for the third person indicative must be regarded as impersonal forms (kapiwoq there is a stab, one is stabbed), or as marking the neutral form of the finite verb,

which assumes a personal meaning only when the purport of the sentence as a whole forces upon the speaker and hearer the idea of a third person that is in a certain condition (passively or reflexively). Thus it happens that personal and impersonal verbs show the same forms throughout.

si'allerpoq rain is, it rains atorpoq use is, it is used tikippoq arrival is, he arrives kapinoq stab is, he is stabbed, or he stabs himself

Accordingly the inflected verb in the indicative intransitive is properly translated in this manner:

atorpoja my use = I am used
atorputit thy use = thou art used
atorpoj use = one is used
= he, it, is used
tikippoja my arrival = I arrive
tikipputit thy arrival = thou arrivest
tikippoj arrival = one arrives
= he arrives

The same applies to the transitive forms of the finite verb; thus-

atorpara my its use = I use it atorpat thy its use = thou usest it atorpaa his its use = he uses it kapiwara my its stab = I stab it kapiwat thy its stab = thou stabbest it kapiwaa his its stab = he stabs it

In case an independent word is added as subject, it is used in the relative case:

Peelip kapiwaaya Peele's my-his-stab = Peele stabs me
Peelip kapiwaatit Peele's thy-his-stab = Peele stabs thee
Peelip kapiwaa Peele's his-his-stab = Peele stabs him (another)

It is worth noticing that the base of the verb seems to have a passive or reflexive sense; e. g., Peele kapiwoq P. STABS HIMSELF, Or P. IS STABBED. Our transitive sentence construction (HE STABS ME) is based on the idea of an active relation between subject and object. The corresponding Eskimo form of speech is based on a passive or reflexive relation between the subject and the object; that is to say, in the Eskimo language no strictly transitive use of the verb is

known. The verb is treated as a noun + a verb-forming suffix (-wo, -wo; -po, -pa) which gives the noun a passive or reflexive signification, + the mark of the absolutive (-q) or of the person. If we translate an Eskimo verb as an active relation between subject and object, it is only quasi-transitive. Its fundamental idea is rather that of a passive than that of an active verb. The Eskimo does not say HE STABS ME, HE SEES ME, but rather MY BEING STABBED BY HIM IS, MY BEING SEEN BY HIM IS.

Judging from these considerations, we get the impression that to the Eskimo mind the nominal concept of the phenomena of life is predominant. The verbal idea has not emancipated itself from the idea of things that may be owned, or which are substantial. Anything that can be named and described in words, all real things, actions, ideas, resting or moving, personal or impersonal, are subject to one and the same kind of observation and expression. We are accustomed to conceive activities or qualities as essentially different from the things in themselves, and we have a special class of words (viz., the verbs) to express them. They seem to impress the Eskimo mind, or to be reflected by it, as definite phenomena of the same kind as the things, and accordingly are named and interpreted by means of the same class of terms as are used for naming things. The Eskimo verb merely forms a sub-class of nouns.

§ 60. List of Suffixes

The following abbreviations have been used in the list of suffixes:

- v. is suffixed to verbs only.
- N. is suffixed to nouns only.
- n>v is suffixed to nouns after they have been transformed into verbs.
 - If neither v. nor n. is added, the suffix may be attached to either class of words. The nominal or verbal character of the suffix may be determined by its signification or by its form.

INTR. = intransitive.

- NTR. = neutral, i. e., transitive or intransitive, according to the significance of the leading word.
 - aet, ait n. or v. (marks a question or a polite invitation) how? please; e. g., illit-ait you, how? i. e., is it you (or yours)?
 - ajuppoq v. NTR. frequently
 - aluaq (N.), aluarpoq V. N > V, NTR. otherwise; former (with proper names); late; although; certainly, it is true—but —— (forms conditional mode in verbs)

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allarpoq v. NTR. preliminarily, provisionally; first, yet
araq n. miniature, diminutive; a young one; a little
arazog v. NTB. is in the habit of. In mode x, first person sin-
  gular arinama or araanama.
asuarpoq v. NTR. hastens to ---; in a short time, speedily
erpaa N. deprives it of, removes the —— of it
erpog has lost its ---; sells
erserpog has lost something he possessed
ersiwoq has some part of his body frozen
Fik, FFik v. place or time
riyaa v. has him (or it) (B) for his (A) place to —, he (it) is his
  place to —, i. e., he (B) is the object of his (A's) action.
g-, see \eta
iaarpoq, see jaarpoq
iaq, liaq, siaq N., in third person possessive, MADE BY HIM; in
  first person possessive, MADE BY ME
iaq (v.), iaqarpoq, tariaqarpoq v. intr. he (it) is to be ——ed (the
  sense of this suffix corresponds to that of the gerundive in
  Latin)
iarpaa n. deprives it of several parts, or deprives it of its -
  several times (cf. erpaa)
iarpog N. has got it (his weapon, etc.) injured; broken
iarpoq, liarpoq N. INTR. goes to (a place); is out hunting ---
iartorpoq v. NTR. goes or comes in order to ----; more and more
imiwoq v. ntr. somewhat, very little more -
innag N., innarpog V. NTR. only; exclusively, constantly; without
  hesitation
ioq v. ntr. also, too; indeed
iorpoq, liorpoq n. works, manufactures; transitive, works (some-
  THING) FOR HIM
iuppaa, liuppaa n. works or makes a — of it, uses it for mak-
ippoq, lippoq n. INTR. has arrived at (a place)
ippog is without; is not ---
isorpoq N. INTR. has gone or come to fetch ----
issarpoq, lissarpoq N. INTR. takes a — with him; carries (some-
  thing) with him
jaarpoq v. ntr. early
jawog v. INTR. is apt to, may easily ----
juippoq, suippoq v. INTR. never
qaa°q v. ntr. (intensive) very much, strongly
garpog N. INTR. has ---; there is ---
gat, in third person possessive, HIS COMPANION, FELLOW; ANOTHER
  OF THE SAME KIND
gatinaa has him as (for) his companion
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qattaarpoq v. ntr. many in succession; several times
qinawoq v. NTR. it might easily come to pass; wish he (it) would
  not
qut N. or v. appurtenance; instrument by means of which -
kanneq N., kannerpoq v. towards; nearly, not far from -
karpoq v. INTR. suddenly
kaarpoq v. INTR. with long, equal intervals
kasik N., kasippoq V. NTR. vexatious, bad; odiously, badly; unfor-
  tunately
kawssak n., kawssappoq v. intr. vexatious, vexatiously; ugly
katappoq NTR. has got too much of ---; is sick of ---; is tired
kippoq N. INTR. has (a) little; has little -
ko N. refuse, waste; remnant; cast off, left off
kootaarput or -rpaai N. (by numerals) at the time
kuluk n. pitiable; wretched
kuluppoq v. NTR. rather little, tolerably
kkuppaa v. regards, deems, takes him for -
kkut N., family, society, company
LLappoq, LLattiarpoq V. NTR. a short time, a moment
LLättaarpoq NTR. now and then, from time to time
LLarpoq V. NTR. with speed; with might and main
LLargippoq v. NTR. he is very clever in-
laarpog v. NTR. but little; slowly
lawoq v. INTR. impulsively; in an unsteady state
le N. or v. but
leriwog, eriwog N. INTE: is occupied with, has something to do
LLeq N. (local superlative) the extreme one as to place, the
  ----- most
lerpoq v. NTR. begins to —; is about to —
lerpaa, serpaa (cf. erpaa) n. supplies him (it) with a ---; places
  a --- on it
lerssaarpoq v. NTR. intends to
lertorpoq v. NTR. in short time
liaq I, see iaq; liarpoq, see iarpoq
liag II N. one who travels to a (place); one who is out hunting -
  or gathering -
liorpog, see iorpog
lik, pl. LLit N. having —, supplied with
lo N. or v. and; lo-lo, both —— and
looneet or; looneet—looneet, either —— or
LLuarpoq v. NTR. well, right; opportunely; completely; at all
Lluinnarpoq v. NTR. wholly; completely
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LLuppoq, luppoq n. intr. has (a) bad ---; v. intr. badly ---;
  has a pain (in some part of his body)
lussinnarpoq v. NTR. in vain
lusoog N. or v. like, as if it were
mmaaq v. one who is practised in —, skilled in —
mmaawog v. is practised in —, skilled in —
mawog v. NTR. is in the state of -
me N. or v. (intensive) indeed, then
mmersorpog V. NTR. long time, long
mmippoq rmippoq N. (instrumentalis) makes a movement with
  --- (that part of his body)
mineq N. a piece of —, a fragment of —
mio N. inhabitant of
misaarpoq v. NTR. by little and little; weakly
mmiog, rmiog v. NTR. (rare) after all
miwoq see imiwoq
mukarpoq, mmukarpoq N. INTR. goes (is gone) in the direction
mukaarpoq N. INTR. is situated in the direction of —, faces —
naq, rnaq N. peculiar.
nnaaq, nnaaqua N. his dearest one, favorite, pet
nnaurpog v. NTR. enjoys to ----, with pleasure, continues to ----
naarpaa, nnaarpa v. makes it too ----; finds it beyond his expec-
  tations
narpoq, nnarpoq v. (this suffix gives the third person of the finite
  verb a subjective sense; the third person is used thus for I as a
  form of modesty; the impersonality = 1); (passive; thus used in
all persons) is to be ——ed, is ——ed naraa v. he thinks it ——ing
nawiarpoq v. NTR. there is a risk that ----; most probably it
  will -
naweerpog v. NTR. there is no longer any risk that ---; now
  he (it) can not more —
naweersarpaa v. prevents him from -
neq (verb abstract; mode xII)
negarpog (passive suffix, especially of such verbs as are not used in
  mode II)
nerarpaa v. says that he (it) ——, says that he is ——
ner' Luppoq v. ntr. wrongly (cf. Lluppoq)
nerpoq v. NTR. I wonder whether ---, or if ---
neruwoq v. ntr. (comparative) more
niaq, niarpoq NTR. aims at; endeavors
nnarpoq (suffixed to local adverbs) goes (to) there
nnippoy (verbal derivative, of the verb abstract, mode XII)
  $ 60
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naa, raa has him (it) for —, he (it) is his —; takes him (it)
  for ---; thinks him (it) to be -
najak N., najappog V. NTR. nearly, almost
nasaarpog N. is much frequented, full of -
naarpog v. NTR. in a high degree, very much
neek, neet, reet; neeput, reeput N. (or v.) pair, joined in pairs;
  reciprocally, mutually
nnilag v. NTR. not (forms the negative conjugation in the verbs;
  see §§ 32 et seq.)
nippoq, rippoq N. NTR. is good, has good ---- or nice ----
noog (goog), roog N. or V. it is related, it is said to be --
nnorpoq N. INTR. becomes, grows; TRANS. makes him (it) be-
  come -
nnuaq n., nnuarpoq v. ntr. little ----, dear little; with pleasure
nuppoq (guppoq) n. intr. longs for -
paät, passuit n. a multitude, a great many
palaaq N., palaarpoq v. NTR. worthless; trash
pallappog, paluppog NTR. looks as if —, sounds as if —,
  behaves as if -
pal'Laarpoq, see wallaarpoq
piluk N., piluppog V. NTR. evil, bad
ppoq, rpoq N. has caught a ---; has put ---- (one's clothes) on
raa, see naa
reerpog v. NTR. has done with ----, has already ----
riarpoq v. NTR. (in epic style) eagerly
rippog v. INTR. is skilled in —, is master at —
rgaainiooput v. NTR. in emulation; they contend with —
rgajarpog v. NTR. nearly, had nearly -
rgammerpoq v. NTR. just, just now
rgarpog v. NTR. hardly, with difficulty
rqaarpoq v. ntr. first
rqippoq v. ntr. again
rqippoq (cf. Llarqippoq) v. NTR. is able to
rqissiwoq v. INTR. is or can better now than before
rqissaarpoq v. NTR. doing to the best of one's ability; dili-
  gently
rgoorpog v. ntr. presumably, most likely
rgortoog N. has a large ---, has a great ---
rguppog, rguppaa N. goes that way, along that side of it
rquwaa v. ntr. wants him to ----, bids or asks him to; intr.
  wants himself to be --- ed by some one else
recently, recently
rujuk N., rujuppoq v. NTR. improper, improperly
rujonnuag wretched; miserable, pitiable
rujussuaq enormous; awfully -
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rusuppoq v. NTR. is inclined to —, should like to —
sarpaa v. (causative) works that he (it) ---
sarpoq, see tarpoq
ssaq N. future; something that may be used for ----
*ssawoq v. NTR. (future tense) shall, will (cf. ssooq and ssua)
ssaarpoq v. INTR. manifoldly
ssaarpoq v. NTR. has ceased to -
ssanawoq v. NTR. thinks that he shall or will ---
serpua, see lerpaa
siaq N. bought; got into one's possession
simawog v. NTR. (preterite, especially the perfect tense) pre-
  sumably, likely
sinnaawoq v. NTR. is able to; can
siorpog N. is out hunting —; is in search of —; moves, travels
siwoq, ssiwoq gets or has got ----; comes into possession of ----;
  comes across ---
ssippaa N. manufactures (that) to him which he shall have
ssooq < *ssawoq (q. v.), 1 sing. ssooqa; 2 sing. ssootit; 3 sing. ssooq;
  1 pl. ssoonut; 2 pl. ssoose; 3 pl. ssapput
soraa, sogaa v. thinks that he (it) ---, supposes that ---
ssuaa < *ssawaa (see ssawoq), mode III, 1 sing. ssuara; 2 sing.
  ssuat; 3 sing. ssuaa; 1 pl. ssuarput, etc.
ssuaq N., ssuarpoq v. great, big; large; wide; greatly, strongly,
  largely
sunnippoq N. INTR. has a smell or taste of
ssuseq v. (verb abstract, cf. neq)
ttaaoq, ssaaoq N. and V. also, too
taailiwaa v. prevents him (it) from
taq, saq, ssaq v. (passive participle, mode viii)
taq, saq, n. a part of ---; belonging to ---
taaq, saaq N. a new ---
taarpoq, saarpoq N. has got a new --
tarpoq, sarpoq v. ntr. (iterative) often, frequently; used to ——,
  is in the habit of —; knows how to -
te v. (verb noun, mode vii)
tinaaoq v. intr. is so, is such
tigaa v. is to him such; has him for his ---
tippaa, sippaa v. (causative) occasions him (it) to —, makes
  him —; INTR. makes himself ——
togaq, soqaq n. old
torpoq, sorpoq, rssorpoq employs it several times; eats it; uses it
toorpog v. NTR. it occurred to him that ---
tterpaa, serpaa; tteerroq v. waits for ----
ttiaq N., ttiarpoq v. NTR. middling, moderate; pretty; a short time
  § 60
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tuaq N., tuarpoq V. NTR. the only one; only, only one time tuinnarpog v. NTR. assiduously, continuously tuwoq n. intr. has a great ---; has many uarpoq N. has too many umaarpoq, jumaarpoq v. NTR. (future tense) will or shall in the future, not immediately, but later on umawoq, jumawoq v. NTR. (future) will, wishes to unnarpoq, junnarpoq v. NTR. probably, most likely unnaarpoq v. NTR. no longer, no more uppaa v. (this suffix transforms an intransitive verb into a transitive, or gives the transitive verb another object) with regard to him (it); and the other one too useq v. state of ----, quality of usaq, ussaq; russaq, nussaq n. similar to —; imitation of usaarpoq, ussaarpoq n. represents —, makes it represent —; plays that it is ut (ssut; t) v. vehicle, instrument, medium, means by which ---; the cause of utiyaa v. by means of that; on that occasion, for that reason ut N. owned; belonging to ---wwoq N. INTR. is ---, is a --wallaarpoq, pallaarpoq v. too much; in a very high degree wik, see Fik winaa, see rinaa wik N., wippoq V. NTR. proper; properly, strictly § 60

TEXT

Kaasassuk

(Fragment of a tale from North Greenland, recorded in Disco bay, 1901.)

Kaasasorujonuaq 1 allineq 2 ajormmat 3 tinumissaraluarlono 4 attanut 5

Kaasasuk wretched little growth because not although they ought to have on the dungtaken him up able to ujaraannittog 9 initarppaait 6 ilaai ⁷ o,qas'sapput 8 alliumaarpoq they used to throw his placeused to sav he being not a stone later on he will grow him fellows pini'arttunik 11 ani'sorssu'it 10 ulikaartut¹² naakisarppaait 13 ittut houses very large with hunters filled they used to pity him allisarumallono 14 tinussarpaa 1 t allineq ajormmat nulee 16 o,qarwanting to make him grow they used to take him growth because not his wife to them able to Fen'issuaa 17 ajukasippoq 18 attanut in'issuk 19 inippaait 20 allineq used to say to her growth he is unfortunately on the dungthrow him they threw him unable to hill tinusissaärümmät²¹ arnarquasaap²² tinowaa²³ okkarme²⁴ ineqarllune²⁵ (she) being without any an old woman she took him in the fronthaving her place hope of (any other) foster to her wall platform child ¹ Kaasasorujoyuaq< Kaasasuk + ruju(k) Poor Wretch + yuaq Little. u>v before r and p (§§ 10-11). K. is the object of tinumissaraluarLono initarpaait. 2 alliwood GROWS, allined verb abstract. ajormat mode IX of ajorpog IS UNABLE TO. tigumiwaa (= tiyummiwaa) he takes him with his hand or into his arms. Suffixes; sea(r) + aluaq + loyo (mode vi). Allative of attät (only in the plural). ini(ppaa) + tar(paa) mode III, third person plural. ila companion, fellow (house-fellow or place-fellow), third person plural possessive. soga(rpoq) + ssa(woq).ujara(k) + a < u(woq) + yyi(laq) mode VII. 10ayi(woq) IS BIG + soq (mode VII) + ssuaq, in plural ssuit. ¹¹ pe thing, something + niar(poq) + to(q) mode vii + nik instrumentalis. 12 ulikaar(poq) is FILLED + toq, plural tut, mode vii. 18 naak(aa) (conjugation II) + sar(ppaa). $^{14}aLLi(woq)$ (cf. note 2) + sar(paa) + uma(woq) + Loyo (mode VI) third person singular. 15 tiyu(waa) + sar(paa) mode III.16 nule + e fourth person singular. 17 oqa(rpoq) (see note 8) + Fey(aa) (conjugation 11) + ssua<ssawaa future tense, mode 111, third person singular. $^{18}ajo(rpoq) + kasi(k)(poq).$ 19 Imperative transitive singular (cf. note 6). 20 Cf. note 6.

m tiquei(woq) TAKES HIM TO HERSELF (e.g., as her foster-child) [cf. notes 4, 15] + ssa + erup(paa),

The transitive verb corresponding to the intransitive tinusiwoq (cf. note 21).

*ine PLACE + qar(poy) + Lune mode VI, fourth person singular.

mode x, third person singular (AS, SINCE).

22 arna(q) WOMAN + quasaa(q) (obsolete) OLD.

M Locative singular <okkaq.

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tinummanulo 26 piniartut kamallutik 27 arnarquasaaq Kaasassummik and after having the hunters they being angry the old woman taken him tinusimmät²⁸ torssoonut²⁹ pissippaa¹t torssooneelerppoq³⁰ ullaakut³¹ because she had he began to live in the into the entrancethey moved taken him to her Dassage entrance-passage anilerunik 32 kammiut tiqussuaat 33 anaataraloqo 34 qimmit 35 they would take using it to thrash when they were the bootthe dogs because they about to go out with stretcher it neetarmmata 36 arnaquasaarLo 37 ilanuLLono 35 anaalerttarppaait 30 and the old woman considering her as they used to thrash her usually stay in the entrance-passage his partner anuniarunik 40 tikikkunik 41 anusimaLLutik 42 katammik Kaasassuk when they caught when they came having caught seals from the inner Kaasassuk home entrance-hole nuissooq 48 qinasinut 44 assamminik 45 qaqissuaat 46 anussatik 47 qalattahe shall ascend by the nostrils with their fingers they would lift him their capture rinnata 48 . natsermmut 49 poonutaq ilissuaat nererqu'siLLu'tiLLo50 was boiled on the floor a dish they would and when they were invited put it to eat Kaasassuk kisime 52 saweqarane 53 nerrisissapput⁵¹ mikaainar-Kaasassuk having no knife they would get the meat he only LLune⁵⁴ neresarppoq 55 arqalannera 56 sualuppat 57 kinutaai peearhe used to eat his teeth the tearing it off if he scolded his teeth they taking SCf. note 23, mode x + lo AND. #1 < ka'map(poq) mode vi, fourth person plural. The object of an intransitive verb is set in instrumentalis (Kaasassummik). 29 < torssoot (only in plural). 20 torssoo(t) + ne (locative) +ip(poq) is there +ier(poq) begins to, mode ii, third person singular. 31 ullaa(q) in the prosecutive. 22 ani(woq) + ler(poq) mode XI, fourth person plural. 32 Cf. note 23, + seu(aa) mode III, third person plural. ***anaa=te A STICK TO BEAT WITH + ra + loyo VI, third person singular. 25 < qimme(q). ≈ Cf. note 30, + tar(pog) mode x, third person plural. 27 LO AND indicates that they thrashed both Kaasassuk and the old woman. 28 <ilayup(paa) mode vi, third person singular, Makes it (or him, her) A part (ila) of some</p> OTHER THING. anaaler(paa) + tar(paa) mode III, third person plural. ** ayu(woq) CATCH + niar(poq) mode XI. $^{41} < tikip(poq) \mod x_1$. anu(woq) [cf. note 40] + sima(woq) mode vi. = nui(woq) + ssu(oq) (future). "qipa(q) in the prosecutive. assak in fourth person possessive and instrumentalis plural. 46 qaqi(waa) + 88u(aa).⁴ Cf. note 40, in mode viii, fourth person plural. =qalap(poq) + tar(e) irregular, mode x, third person plural.

ma'tseq in the allative.

⁵⁰ neri(woq) EAT + qu(waa) INVITE + si(woq) mode VI + lo AND.

si < neri(= neqe?) + si + ssa(oq) mode II, third person singular. nerrikippoq IS ACCUSTOMED TO EAT ONLY LITTLE (Kleinschmidt, Ordbog, p. 426).

sawi(k) + qar(poq) + a negative.

⁴⁴ mikkappog especially PLUCES THE HAIR OF A SKIN BY MEANS OF THE TERTH.

⁵⁶ neri(woq) + sar(poq).

arqalap(paa) + neq verb abstract, third person possessive.

Mode XI, third person singular.

Lonit 58 ajulissuaa 50 kinotaarotariname 61 killinnea nerissane 60 the biting he began to be his food because he was deprived of them out unable to his teeth nällinileraanamiuk 63 sawimminik 64 tunisarppaa 65 isubecause she (or he) used to pity him her (or his) knife she used to give him he pissässartartut⁶⁷ nakuarsuanorillutillo 68 maliulerppog 🌕 innuit begins to ponder using to train their man and growing very strong strength ilaaine 69 iterame 70 qaqqamut majuarppoq qaqiLLonolo⁷¹ torlloonce upon a when he awoke on the mountain he ascended and climbing he called day pissaap inuwa 72 naa*k alakkarppaalo 73 laarppoq maaneepona and he made his strength's here I am its genius where appearance to him (are you)? terianniaq anisərujussuaq 4 maaneepona ersilerporlo 75 qaarquaalo 75 immensely big and he begins to fear and he calls on a fox bere I am him to approach ersenaqunnane 76 ofnnippaa 77 tikikkaane 78 oqarppoq 79 pa'miuma 80 bidding him not to fear he went towards he arriving at he (the fox) said " Of my tail him him him nooättinut⁸¹ tenoonna 82 immuppaalo 83 'pi'ssipporto^{ss} tinuwaa and he wrapped it and (the fox) made by the end of it take hold of me" He took hold of it around himself a jump silaa'nafmilo 4 qa'nattarppoq 'tukkamilo 5 anninnilaq 50 oqarfinaalo 57 and falling down he felt no pain and in the air he rose aloft and he said to him, on the earth

mpe (cf. note 11) + iar(pog) mode vi, third person plural.

so Cf. note 18, +ler(poq) + ssu(q).

Cf. note 55, mode viii, fourth person singular.

a kinuta(q) + erup(poq) + tare (cf. note 48).

adaaseq ONE (in the relative ataatsip or ataatip).

^{**} $n\ddot{a}LLiy(a)$ conjugation I + ler(poq) + aa(p) made x, fourth person subject, third person object, singular.

[#] sawi(k) third person possessive, instrumentalis.

[#] tuni(waa) + sar(paa).

^{*} isuma THOUGHT + lio(rpoq) MAKES + ler(poq).

^{*} pissa(k) STRENGTH + sar(poq) GET + tar(poq) in mode VII.

mnakua(q) strong + sua(q) great, very + yor(poq) mode vi, fourth person plural + lo and.

[#] ila in the locative, literally IN (ON) ONE OF THEM (viz., the days).

⁷⁰ i'terpoq mode x, fourth person singular.

 $n_{qa'qip(paa)}$ (mode vi, third person singular) + lo.

¹² inuk in third person possessive singular.

^{18 -}lo AND.

¹⁴ ayi(woq) IS BIG + so(q) (mode VII) + ruju(k) + ssuaq.

^{15 .} lo AND.

necroin(a) is AFRAID OF + qu(waa) + na negative, fourth person singular.

[&]quot; = ornippaa mode III, third person singular.

⁷⁸ Mode IX, fourth person singular HE (Kassassuk) ARRIVING AT HIM (the fox). The object of ARRIVING AT is the same person as the subject of the governing verb (oqarpoq), viz., the fox; therefore the fourth-person suffix is used. If the meaning of the word had been HE (the fox) ARRIVING AT HIM (Kassassuk), the compound suffix would have been (k)franc.

⁷⁹ The fox is of course the genius of strength.

so pamioq TAIL first person singular, relative.

⁸¹ nook (the third person possessive singular nooa) prosecutive case.

⁸⁹ Mode 1, first person singular < tiyuwaa = tiguwaa.

 $^{^{\}circ \circ}$ -lo AND = Lo (l becomes unvoiced after k, q, t).

 $^{^{}M}$ sila the space outside of the house, the air, the weather + -innaq only, mere + me (locative) + lo and.

tup(poq) mode x, fourth person singular + lo.

^{*}anner(poq) SMARTS, ACHES + yyilaq negative.

^{*} oqar(poq) bays, tells + - Fiyaa + lo and.

kenumut⁸⁸ qiviareet89 takuvaalo pennuät katasimmalLono. " back look behind you!" and he saw playthings (the fox) shaking it off terianniarlo oqarpoq allineq 91 ajootitit 92 penuaaro'mattoona'wit 98 and the fox "growing the reason why because you have been without said. you are unable to any plaything aamålo 4 pa'miu'ma allineq ajorputit nooattinut tinumma ** you are unable of my tail by the tip of it take hold of me." growth Once more to. immuppaa pissipporto ortonnilaq oqarfinaalo tässa nakuarsuannoq 🛰 he wrapped it and he (fox) he (K.) did not and he said to "this is growing very strong around made a jump fall down him a'ternearit 97 ater Lune imminut 98 malonilerpoq 90 nakoannor Lune 100 he going down to himself he began to feel himself growing strong ujarassuillo 101 ani'sərssuit 102 sarmmillonit 108 artonnilaai 104 illullo 105 and the big stones enormous upsetting them he mastered them and of the (bowlders) house killinanut 108 pimmät 107 meeraqataasa 108 aluttoraat 100, etc. the border of it as he came his fellow-children they were fascinated etc. with him,

^{**}keyo (in possessive keyua) THE BACK OF IT; keyomut allative.

^{89 =} qiwiarit mode I, second person singular.

^{*}AND HE SAW THE FOX SHAKING PLAYTHINGS OFF HIS BODY (out of his fur) katap(paa) + sima-(waa) mode vi, third person singular.

⁹¹ alliwoq mode XII.

²² < ajootippaa? Is unable to carry out a work, or to buy something = ajooppaa, mode ix irregular (obsolete form).

pequa(q) + er(paa) + up(paa) + ma(woq) + toor(poq) mode x.

Maama AGAIN + lo.

[≈] Cf. note 82, same mode and person, irregular.

makua(q) strong + sua(q) very, greatly + poq rate form for -pooq it is said.

mater (poq) +niar(poq) mode I, second person singular.

mimme BELF, allative.

maloy(aa) + ler(poq).

nakua(q) + yor(poq) mode vi.

in ujara(k) + sua(q) (in the plural suil) + lo.

log api(woq) is Bio, mode vii + sua(q) plural.

¹⁰⁸ sarmip(paa) mode vi, third person plural.

¹⁰⁴ artor(paa) DOES NOT MASTER, negative, mode III, third person plural.

¹⁰⁵ illo relative + lo.

¹⁰⁰ killi(k) (possessive killiya) allative NEAR TO, CLOSE TO.

¹⁰⁷ pi(woq) mode x, third person singular.

¹⁰⁰ meera(q) + qat(e) relative, third person plural.

¹⁰⁰ aluttoraa mode III, third person plural.



